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W. Russell's family.

engraved by C. G. Collins.

LORD W. RUSSELL'S

REVIEW WITH HIS FAMILY.

Printed by W. L. G. & Co. London.

THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**REIGN OF GEORGE III.**

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A VIEW OF THE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF ENGLAND,  
IN PROSPERITY AND STRENGTH, TO THE  
ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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BY ROBERT BISSETT, LL. D.  
AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF BURKE," &c. &c.

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*A NEW EDITION,*

BROUGHT DOWN TO THE DEATH OF THE KING.

VOLUME III.

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THE LIBRARY EDITION.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

## REIGN OF GEORGE III.

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### CHAPTER LXX.

Meeting of parliament.—State of the Continent—France—Spain—Portugal—Italy—Turkey—Germany—Switzerland—Holland—Russia—Prussia.—Parliamentary discussions on the preliminary treaty—on the convention with the northern powers.—Measures adopted for the security of the country.

THE king, having called together the parliament on the 29th of October, announced, in his speech from the throne, that the important negotiations in which he was engaged at the close of the former session, had been brought to a favourable conclusion. The differences with the northern powers had been adjusted, by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede. By this convention the essential rights for which Great Britain had contended were secured; and provision was made that the exercise of them should be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contending parties. Preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between his majesty and the French republic, and he trusted that this arrangement, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. After expressing his heartfelt gratitude to Divine Providence for the blessing of a plentiful harvest, and applauding the temper and fortitude manifested by the nation, under a complication of difficulties, he acknowledged in the warmest terms the eminent services performed by the navy and army, particularly in the expulsion of the French from Egypt. The conclusion of this speech deserves to be recorded; because, while it does honour to the paternal feelings of the sovereign, it contains the avowal of a sacred principle, which no monarch of Great Britain, worthy of the title, can willingly consent to abandon. "It is my first wish and most fervent prayer, that my people may experience the reward they have so well merited, in a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, in a progressive increase of the national commerce, credit, and resources, and above all, in the undisturbed possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, under the safe-guard and protection of that constitution which it has been the great object of all our efforts to preserve, and which it is our most sacred duty to transmit unimpaired to our descendants."

## [Treaty between France and Spain.—War with Portugal.]

The addresses were voted in both houses without a division; but in the commons some animadversions were made, that portended considerable discussion on the preliminary treaty; copies of which, and of the convention with Russia, were presented on the following day. The debates which then took place, related not merely to the treaty itself, but to other compacts negotiated between France and the continental powers, by which she had been and was still seeking to consolidate the preponderating dominion which her arms had acquired. It may be useful, though not very gratifying, briefly to consider these transactions, because they greatly affect the momentous question that was now agitated in the councils of Great Britain.

On the 21st of March, a secret treaty was signed at Madrid by Godoy, Prince of the Peace, and Lucien Bonaparte, in which the king of Spain engaged that the reigning duke of Parma should renounce his duchy, and all its dependencies in favour of the French republic. The grand duchy of Tuscany, which the grand duke had renounced, and of which the cession to France had been guaranteed by the emperor of Germany, was to be given to the son of the duke of Parma, as an indemnification for the territories ceded by the infant, his father, and in fulfilment of another treaty concluded between Spain and the French republic, ceding to the latter power the possession of Louisiana. The prince of Parma was to be acknowledged sovereign of all the territories of the grand duchy, excepting part of the isle of Elba, to be retained by France; and he was to receive as an indemnity the country of Piombino, which belonged to the king of Naples. In July, the prince, protected by a body of French troops, commanded by general Murat, took possession of his dominions, and assumed the title of king of Etruria; and Europe beheld the singular spectacle of a Bourbon prince elevated to a throne under the auspices of the French republic. This vassal sovereignty was purchased by the cession of Parma, Elba, and Louisiana.

Meantime the court of Madrid, having, at the instigation of France, declared war against Portugal, a Spanish army under Godoy entered that country, and soon reduced all the strong places in the province of Alentejo. On the 6th of June preliminaries of peace were signed at Badajoz, by which the fortress and district of Olivenza were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal were closed against the English. The French government refused to concur in this treaty, under the pretext that Spain was bound not to make peace with Portugal, unless certain places in that country were allowed to be garrisoned by France until a general peace. A division of French troops advanced from Salamanca, and laid siege to Almeida. The Portuguese were encouraged to a brave resistance by pecuniary succours from their ancient ally, and an expedition was sent from England to protect the island of Madeira; but they at length found it necessary to negotiate. On the 29th of September, only two days before the signature of preliminaries between Great Britain and France, the latter power exacted from Portugal a treaty by which she agreed to shut her ports against English vessels both of war and trade, and open them to those of France, as well as to consent to a reduction of her limits in South America, for the extension of the French territory in Guiana.

On the side of Italy, the power and influence of the French were

[Ascendency of France in Italy, Germany, &c.—Peace with the Porte.]

predominant. They claimed the merit of having exercised great forbearance toward the king of Naples, in demanding only the port of Otranto as necessary to their designs in the east, since Malta had been occupied by the British. To the states of the pope they paid a dutiful regard, by leaving them in all their integrity, maintaining only a garrison in Ancona to preserve the communication with their army of the south. The Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, whose independence had been guaranteed at Luneville, were preparing to ensure it, by imploring Bonaparte to unite the office of president over them with his more sacred functions as first consul of France. Lucca was occupied in deprecating his vengeance, by re-organizing her institutions on the approved republican model; and four thousand Frenchmen were to keep Leghorn for the king of Tuscany, until his majesty should organize a national army.

The pacification of France with the Porte exhibited an ingenious specimen of diplomacy. On the 9th of October, two days after the ratification of preliminaries with Great Britain by Bonaparte, a treaty was executed at Paris, between the minister for foreign affairs, and a Turkish agent, named Esseyd Ali, who on this occasion was prompted to assume the functions of ambassador, by which treaty the French consented to evacuate Egypt, (having been already expelled by the English,) and to acknowledge the Seven Islands, under a stipulation that the treaties before the war should be renewed in full force, and that France should enjoy throughout Turkey, her former rights of commerce and navigation, in common with the most favoured nations. In this treaty the Porte was to acknowledge the guarantee of the French republic as well as that of Russia, for the Ionian Islands; and England was not even mentioned. It has been observed, that extraordinary means were used to keep from the Turkish agent and his suite all intelligence of recent events, in order that France might assume the credit of having introduced into the preliminaries with Great Britain, the fifth article, which stipulates that Egypt shall be restored to the sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed before the war.

In Germany the ascendancy of France, and the consequent depression of the house of Austria, were particularly manifested. By the treaty of Luneville the republic had acquired in full sovereignty the country and domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine from the frontier of Switzerland to that of Holland, which formerly belonged to the empire; and by another article in the same treaty, the princes and states who had sustained losses by this cession, were to receive indemnities taken from the whole of the empire, according to arrangements to be determined in a diet held at Ratisbon. In the discussions which took place there the French government professed to take no immediate concern; but in reality they exerted their influence to benefit those members of the Germanic body who were devoted to their interests, at the expense of those who were hostile; and they were particularly disposed to favour Bavaria. Unhappily the jealousy of Prussia against Austria afforded them the means of fomenting those divisions which they deemed necessary for maintaining what was termed a just equilibrium in Germany. By their treaty with Russia, concluded a week after that with England, they sought to repair those



[Views of France respecting the West Indies.—Debates on the preliminary treaty.]

disappointments which they had sustained in the death of the emperor Paul, and to lead his youthful successor into a concurrence with Prussia, for the furtherance of their future schemes of policy.

Switzerland, distracted by dissensions between the Helvetic government, which was entirely in the French interests, and the democratic states, who insisted on the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution, was but too likely to yield to those dictates, which under the semblance of mediation Bonaparte might prescribe to her.

The Dutch, in obedience to the intimations of the French cabinet, had accepted a new constitution, evidently framed on the same revolutionary model which had served for so many others, but more effectually calculated than them all, to defeat its avowed objects, liberty and equality. At the solicitation of the Batavian government the first consul consented to reduce the protecting force stationed in their territory from twenty-three thousand to ten thousand men.

While pursuing their schemes of aggrandizement in Europe, the French were intent on acquiring the ascendancy in the western world. A powerful armament was in preparation, for the avowed purpose of subduing the revolted colony of St. Domingo, but there was little doubt that its ulterior objects were the occupation of the ceded territory of Louisiana and the consequent establishment of a power in the West Indies which might at a future period enable them to give the law in that quarter, both to Great Britain and the United States.

Such was the system of policy pursued by France after her splendid career of conquest; and such was the imposing attitude in which she stood, while extending the hand of amity to Great Britain. She had reduced Spain to the condition of a tributary ally; she had enthralled Italy; she had cajoled the Ottoman Porte; she had discomfited and humbled Austria; she had disorganized the Germanic body; she had overawed Prussia; she had conciliated Russia; she had planted around her frontier a vanguard of dependent republics, over which she held unlimited control; and which, as they were her tributaries in peace, must become her auxiliaries in war. And finally, she had entered into a treaty with Great Britain, of which the basis, in regard to herself, and her allies, was the *uti possidetis*, and in regard to her rival, with few exceptions, the *status quo ante bellum*. In the parliamentary discussions which took place on this treaty, the number of those who disapproved it, was necessarily very small, in comparison with the majority, consisting of three distinct parties in the state, who stood pledged to defend it. These were, the adherents of ministry: the friends of Mr. Pitt; and the whigs, who, under their leader, Mr. Fox, had uniformly contended against the policy of the late administration. Yet the arguments of the small phalanx who were now stigmatized as the war-party were of sufficient force to shake the confidence of those who, participating in the sanguine exultation of the people on their release from the burthen of protracted and expensive hostilities, predicted that the peace would be as permanent as it was honourable. In the house of peers, lord Grenville censured the terms of the treaty as disadvantageous to the country, and fraught with national humiliation. He drew a parallel between the two contracting parties, and after appreciating the acquisitions of France, observed that on our side we had to boast successes no less brilliant

[Objections against it and defence of the Ministry.]

and striking. We had multiplied our colonies, and our navy rode invincible. We had captured Malta; we had occupied Minorca, and shut up the Mediterranean against the navies of France and Spain. In the East Indies we had every thing except Batavia; and that possession would have been ours, but it was not worth the cost of an expedition. We had the Cape of Good Hope; if not the only, at least an important key to the east. We possessed the most desirable of the West India islands, and on the continent of South America, the valuable settlements of Surinam and Demerara. If colonial acquisitions were not the main objects of the war, yet they were highly essential, as they enabled us to cripple the maritime strength of the enemy by contracting her commerce. These possessions should have been held as pledges of indemnity, and still more, as pledges of security; and if the continent of Europe could not have been restored to its former state, they ought to have been retained as a counterpoise to the power of France. In the West Indies we had ceded all our conquests except Trinidad; and for this we had given in exchange the valuable island of Martinique. In the Mediterranean, where we possessed every thing, we had given up all except Gibraltar. Malta we had surrendered, and had reserved its future protection for subsequent discussion; yet no arrangement respecting that island could replace us in the situation in which we stood before the war. As the treaty did not specify who the protecting power was to be, it would be indecorous in him to say more upon that subject; but in any contest with that power, he would hold this important fortress as a pledge for our acquiescence in any demands which might be made. Having noticed the unsatisfactory guarantee for Portugal, and the omission of an effectual stipulation for Naples, he observed, that if we had negotiated on a footing of equality, he saw no reciprocity; all the sacrifices were made on our part, and none on that of the other contracting parties. If the peace was not a measure of necessity, was it one of security? Were the disadvantages of the war more than the advantages of peace? He could not think so; in his opinion our danger was greater than ever. He would not suppose the threat of invasion to influence it; but if it did, that threat would be repeated whenever the enemy had a point to carry. By the peace we had removed every security which we before possessed. Malta, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin, all were surrendered; and our only security was the word of the government of France.

To these objections, the reply on the part of ministers was, that the war had been carried on until it was hopeless to proceed. We had entered into the contest to guard the country against principles which had been designedly propagated for the purpose of overturning the constitution; and we had been successful; because those principles no longer existed to any extent that could be attended with danger. The aim of ministers had been to render the peace, if not very honourable, at least secure and lasting; and their predecessors had often declared that they had no other object in view. With respect to the cession of Malta, it could not endanger our security in the Mediterranean, since the isle was to be placed under the guarantee of a third power; and there was no use in maintaining a naval station there, if we could not command the commerce of that sea. In adverting to the West

[Arguments of Lord Hawkesbury in support of the treaty.]

Indies, it was urged, that government would have retained Martinique in preference to Trinidad, had it been in their power; but as that object was unattainable, was it necessary to recur to the alternative of spending thirty millions more, that ministers might be able to ask themselves, that day twelve months, how many more years were to pass away before peace could be made? On what terms, it was asked, would the opponents of the treaty consent to a peace? The restoration of the ancient monarchy of France was doubtless a desirable object; but if the existing government of that country was an evil, how was it to be removed? It could not be done without a great coalition of the European powers; and when such a combination did exist, it was able to effect nothing. On the other hand, to have insisted on carrying on the war until France should be reduced within her ancient limits, would have been on the part of ministers a criminal waste of blood and treasure. The present peace might not be glorious, but it was a peace which would secure the substantial interests of the country.

In the house of commons lord Hawkesbury pursued a similar line of argument, and in defending the peace, urged three main considerations, the time, the tone, and the terms of the treaty. We had negotiated at a period when our triumphs were complete, and when it was becoming in the spirit and magnanimity of the government and people to listen to the voice of peace. We had maintained a dignified and independent tone, and had successfully resisted every idea of humiliation, both with respect to ourselves and our friends. As to the terms, it would be found, that toward our allies we had maintained the characteristic good faith of the country. We had generously released powers in connexion with us from their engagements, when they were exposed to danger. To Portugal every assistance had been given consistent with our strength and with her interests. Naples had not only obeyed the call of France in excluding our shipping from her ports, but had joined in an alliance which would have warranted a declaration of war; yet we had interfered in her favour, and had obtained the restoration of her dominions, and the re-establishment of her independence. For the Ottoman Porte we obtained not only the restitution of all her dominions and territories, but the renunciation by France, of acquisitions that would have threatened the independence of the Turkish empire. France had ceded Venice to Austria; and in return, Austria had ceded the Ex-Venetian or Ionian islands to France. These islands, which from their situation might in such hands have been productive of much danger to the Porte, had been abandoned by the French republic, and their independence had been recognised. With respect to the stadtholder and the king of Sardinia, though not bound by any obligation of strict faith to them, yet this country had done all for them which was possible. An arrangement in favour of the stadtholder had, at our instance, been commenced at Berlin; but, from various causes, it had been withdrawn. In favour of Sardinia we had also interfered, although she had abandoned the coalition, and had entered into an offensive alliance with France.

On the subject of cessions, he could not perceive that any which we had made, either in the East or West Indies, were to be regretted; especially when counterbalanced with the acquisition of Ceylon and



[Peace deemed insecure.—Sentiments of Mr. Pitt concerning it.]

Trinidad. Of those in the Mediterranean, Malta was of more importance as a fortress than as a commercial emporium. Minorca we had always conquered when we pleased, and had always restored it at the conclusion of peace. In proceeding to estimate the relative power of Great Britain and France, he observed, that the commerce and the maritime strength of this country had progressively increased during the war, while the manufactures and trade of France had been depressed to the lowest degree; and were she to direct her whole attention to the recruiting and augmentation of her navy, she could not, for many years, cope with that of Great Britain. In conclusion, his lordship declared, that nothing had been left undone, in exertion, in perseverance, and in moderation, to secure to the country that blessing, of which she was so much in want. We had been engaged in a most tremendous conflict, but we had come out of it with honour and advantage. The situation of Europe and that of Great Britain, he admitted, might still appear critical; yet he hoped that in a sound system of policy, uniting firmness with moderation, a counterpoise might always be found to every danger, and a remedy for every evil.

Mr. Thomas Grenville took an entirely different view of the provisions in this treaty, to which he considered that the term honourable had been most absurdly applied. No peace was safe that was not honourable, and no peace honourable which was not safe; but unfortunately this peace was neither; nor could any peace be honourable which gave us territories that did not belong to the power by whom they were given. He strongly apprehended that if the definitive treaty were completed, it would place us in a state of war with France in twelve months. Could peace be good if its duration were so short? It would reduce us to the necessity of dismantling our navy; and disbanding our army. It had deprived us of all our military points and stations; and, notwithstanding all our economy, our condition would be indeed deplorable, if France, in the course of twelve months, should take us unprepared, and direct her whole force against us. Lord Castlereagh saw no cause to participate in these apprehensions. If France thought proper to commence a fresh war, we should be found capable of again repelling her attacks. The peace would try France; and it was fair to give her a trial. The question under consideration was, whether in all circumstances, England ought to have continued the war? She had in this defensive contest, not only poured forth her own blood and treasure, but had offered to Europe the means of preservation. When the confederacy of powers on the continent was dissolved, it became necessary for Great Britain to make peace, if it could be done, on terms consistent with safety and independence. France had certainly attained a degree of power which could not but create uneasiness in the mind of every thinking man; while Great Britain, with a navy, all-powerful as it was, could not affect France on the continent, unless assisted by a confederacy of the continental states.

Mr. Pitt considered, that, after the events which had taken place in Europe, the question of peace or war with Great Britain became a question of terms only. He would not aver that this peace fully answered all his wishes, but the government had undoubtedly endeavoured to obtain the best terms they could; and the difference between

[His opinion on the colonial cessions.—Conduct of Great Britain towards her allies.]

them, and those of retaining all we had given up, would not have justified ministers in protracting the war. The ministers had acted rightly in stipulating for the retention of those acquisitions which were best calculated to confirm and secure our ancient territories. They had wisely preferred the possessions in the East and West Indies to those in the Mediterranean, as the trade to the latter sea was comparatively of small importance. With respect to Malta, he considered it consistent with sound policy rather to put that island under the guarantee of a third power, capable of protecting it, than by retaining it ourselves to provoke the jealousy of the enemy. He regretted that a more definitive arrangement could not have been made respecting that important place; but unless we had been prepared to say we would retain it ourselves, he did not know any better plan than to render it independent.

In adverting to the more remote cessions, he considered that the value of the Cape, though great, was far inferior to that of Ceylon, which he regarded as most essential to the security of our Indian possessions. With respect to Cochin, for which the French, in 1796, had stipulated in their negotiation with lord Malmsbury, its importance had been infinitely diminished by our subsequent acquisition of Tippoo's dominions, and it was no longer a frontier post. In the West Indies we retained Trinidad, the most valuable of all the islands which the fortune of war had put into our hands. It had always been his opinion, that if it came to be a question merely of terms between England and France, we ought to retain possession of one great naval station in the West Indies. Of these stations there were four, Guadaloupe, Martinique, St. Lucie, and Trinidad; of these Trinidad and Martinique were the best, and the former was the better of the two.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to examine the conduct we had pursued in reference to our allies. For the Porte we had obtained the evacuation of Egypt, and the integrity of her dominions. There was another point obtained, to which, in his opinion, sufficient importance had not been attached; the establishment of an infant power, the republic of the Seven Islands, which would otherwise perhaps have fallen under the dominion of France; this was an acquisition of great importance to us, and might prove not inferior to the possession of Malta itself. Mention had been made of a treaty between France and the Porte, by which the evacuation of Egypt was stipulated for; but no one could doubt that the deliverance of that country had been effected by the brilliant achievements of our army and navy, and no diplomatic artifice of that kind could derogate from the merit of this country.

For Naples, who had been compelled to relinquish her engagements with us, we were not bound to do any thing; and in the present situation of Europe any guarantee of her dominions on our part must be unavailing. Sardinia was in the same predicament; and unless it could be maintained that we were to arbitrate the affairs of the continent, we were not bound to interfere in her favour. If our influence was inefficient in Switzerland, how could we procure the restoration of Piedmont, annul the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and replace Italy in its former condition?

Portugal had sustained great misfortunes; but if it was right in her to demand to be released from her engagements with us, and if it was

[Remarks on the colonial cessions.—Main object of the war.]

right in us to consent to it, then we were clearly absolved from any obligation to her. Much had been said on the acquisitions of France from Portugal by an alteration in the limits of Guiana; but it should be recollected that a South American and an European river were materially different, and that the banks of a river on the former continent were often little different from the coasts of an ocean. It had been said, you affect to guarantee the integrity of Portugal; but it is only after France and Spain have taken every thing they wished for. This however was not correct. The treaty of Badajoz did not give to France all she desired; because France, by a subsequent treaty, extorts another cession of still greater importance to her. What happens then? Portugal has given up this second portion of her territory by force, when you interfere and cancel the second treaty, and bring them back to the stipulations of the first. To you then Portugal owes this difference in the limits of her South American empire; and to her you have acted not only with good faith, but with dignified liberality.

For the Prince of Orange, the only remaining ally, unparalleled exertions had been made to restore to him his dominions; and on the present occasion, his interests had not been neglected; they were at this moment the subject of negotiation, and assurances had been given that he would receive an indemnity.

It had been assumed that we ought to have obtained something to balance the great power which France had acquired; that we had given France the means of augmenting her maritime strength, and in fact had signed the death-warrant of the country. But, if we had retained all our conquests, it would not have made any difference to us in point of security; these islands would not have enabled us to counterbalance the power which France had acquired on the continent; they might have given us a little more wealth, but this would have been badly purchased by a little more war. Our resources were still great, but they ought not to be lavished away in continuing a contest with the certainty of enormous expense. We might sit down in a worse relative situation than at present, the object not attained, our security not effected. On the general point of balancing powers on the continent, it was undoubtedly right, that if the French had conquered much, we ought also to endeavour to retain much; but in treating with France, we were not to consider what France had gained from other countries, but what was the relative situation between us and France. It would be but bad reasoning, if one power were to say to another, you are much too powerful for us; we have not the means of reducing that power by force, and therefore you must cede to us a portion of your territories, in order to make us equal in point of strength. This might indeed be desirable; but many things might be wished for, which were hardly to be expected. He did not mean to assert that we should not have been justified in asking for more; but, that we should have obtained more, or that we ought to have continued the war for the purpose of augmenting our possessions, was a proposition to which he could not give his assent.

The great object of the war on our part, was defence for ourselves and for the rest of the world. To accomplish such security, we certainly did look for the subversion of that government, which was found-



[Comparative power of France and England.—Sentiments of Mr. Fox on the peace.]

ed on revolutionary principles; but we had never insisted, as a *sine qua non*, upon the restoration of monarchy in France, though that was most consistent with the interests and security of this country; and he should ever lament that the efforts of other European powers were not correspondent with our own, for the accomplishment of so great a work. In relinquishing those hopes, we had the satisfaction of knowing that the fever of revolution had subsided, that jacobinism had been deprived of its fascination, and that its mischievous tendency had been manifested in such a way, as would afford a memorable lesson to the world.

He could not participate in the gloomy apprehensions of those who thought that France had far outgrown this country in power and dominion. England would always be able to check the ambitious projects of France, and to give that degree of assistance to the rest of Europe which had been afforded, though unfortunately not with the desired effect, in the late contest. But in considering the immense acquisitions made by France, it was but fair to weigh against them her losses in population, in commerce, in capital, in industry. After this comparison the augmentation of her power would not be so enormous as some persons had apprehended. When he took into consideration the great wealth of our own country, and the natural and legitimate growth of that wealth, he could not but entertain the hope, founded in justice and in nature, of its solidity. This hope was strengthened by collateral considerations, when he looked to the great increase of our maritime power and to the recent achievements of our army. There were two events which had especially contributed to the consolidation of our strength, the destruction of Tippoo Sultan's power in India, and that crisis of peril in the sister kingdom, which, in stimulating to great and noble exertions, had led to that happy union, which added more to the power and strength of the British empire than all the conquests of France could impart to that republic, one and indivisible. He hoped that every measure would be adopted which prudence could suggest, to do away animosities between the two countries, and to obviate every cause of animosity by sincerity on our part. This, however, was not to be done by paying abject court to France. We must depend for our security only upon ourselves; and with respect to the disposition manifested by the government of that country, he was inclined to hope all that was good, but he was bound to act as if he feared the contrary.

Mr. Fox expressed his hearty approbation of the peace as being honourable, though not glorious; for no peace could be glorious which did not follow a glorious war. The great points for consideration were, whether peace on the conditions obtained was preferable to war; and whether better terms could have been procured. We had gained Ceylon and Trinidad; nor did he regret the Cape, as from its destination we should, without expense, insure all the benefits which it is calculated to afford. If any part of the cessions were to be regretted, it must be Malta, because a place of such strength and importance in the Mediterranean would be highly beneficial to our interests in any future war; but as we could produce no pressure upon France, perhaps it was better not to risk the rupture of the negotiation by insist-

[Motion for an address carried.—The treaty censured by Mr. Windham.]

ing on an advantageous article which the pride or prejudices of the enemy would have led him to refuse.

After some observations from other members, the motion for an address was carried without a division; but, on the following day, when the report was brought up, the debate was renewed with unexpected vigour. Mr. Windham pronounced an energetic protest against the peace, founded in a great measure on the arguments which had been used on the preceding night. Having animadverted on the terms of the treaty as they affected the dignity and security of England, he estimated its results as they affected France, and reviewed the extent of power and territory actually remaining in her hands. She possessed the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia and Austria. If some parts of Germany, and the northern courts of Denmark and Sweden were not fairly described as being immediately under her control, that consideration must be balanced by contemplating her influence with those governments, and her commanding position with respect to Austria, secured by the possession of Switzerland and Mantua, which had afforded her a direct inlet into the dominions of that power. In Asia she had Pondicherry, Mahé, Cochin, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands. In Africa she had the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Senegal. In the Mediterranean she held every port and post, with the exception of Gibraltar, including the invaluable and impregnable isle of Malta. In the West Indies she had St. Domingo, Martinique, St. Lucie, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curaçao; in North America, St. Pierre and Miquelon, with a right to the fisheries in the fullest extent to which they were ever claimed, together with Louisiana (as was supposed,) a word dreadful to be pronounced to all who considered the consequences with which that cession was pregnant. In South America she had Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, taken by us and now ceded; and in consequence of her fraudulent treaty with Portugal, a tract of country extending to the Amazon, and giving her the command of the entrance into that river. Such was the grand and comprehensive circle into which the new Roman empire might be soon expected to spread, now that peace had removed all obstacles, and opened to France a safe and easy passage into the three remaining quarters of the globe.

To the mighty dangers with which England was threatened by this enormous power, ministers opposed, as a greater security, our wealth; but when we had surrendered our arms, and laid down our fortresses, could our wealth afford us any protection? Even our commerce would not be left to its natural course. It had been argued that the peace, such as it was, must be contrasted with the continuance of war. Were we then to forget that it was at the option of the enemy at any moment to convert this peace into a new war? The treaty, on their part, might, if they chose, be nothing more than a piece of legerdemain to possess themselves of Malta, recover twenty or thirty thousand seamen, and otherwise strengthen themselves for a renewal of the war with decided advantages.

Mr. Windham denied the assertion of certain advocates of the peace, who maintained that our great object, security, had been gained. Bonaparte, who held absolute rule in France, would suppress among his own people those jacobinical principles which had

[Vindicated by the chancellor of the exchequer.—Defects of the treaty.]

helped him to the throne; but he would encourage the diffusion of them among other nations, and promote insurrection against all established governments for the purpose of realizing his own views of aggrandizement. All these views tended to one point, of which he never lost sight, the destruction of this country; and to this all his measures would be directed, both in peace and in war. His hope of its accomplishment was strengthened by the remembrance of his past successes, and by experience in the superiority of his policy over that of his late adversaries on the continent. "When I look," said Mr. Windham, "at the conduct of the French revolutionary rulers, as compared with that of their opponents; when I see the grandeur of their designs; the wisdom of their plans; the steadiness of their execution; their boldness in acting, their constancy in enduring; their contempt of all small obstacles and temporary embarrassments; their inflexible determination to perform such and such things; and the powers which they have displayed in acting up to that determination; when I contrast these with the narrow views, the paltry interests, the occasional expedients, the desultory wavering conduct, the want of all right feeling and just conception that characterize so generally the governments and nations opposed to them, I confess I sink down in despondency, and am fain to admit, that if they shall have conquered the world, it will be by qualities by which they deserve to conquer it." In this view of the subject, he insisted that we were still in effect at war; and the only question was, whether the war that would henceforward proceed under the name of peace, was likely to prove less operative and fatal than that which had hitherto appeared in its natural and ordinary shape. We were in a state of armed truce; and then the only questions would be, at what price we purchased this truce; what our condition would be while it should last; and in what state it was likely to leave us, should it terminate otherwise than we were willing to suppose.

After various observations for and against the peace by different members, the debate was closed by the chancellor of the exchequer, who justified the parallel which had been drawn between the present treaty and the projet of Lille, contending that those who approved that measure could not censure the present. On a fair comparison of political power and influence, it would not be found that with all her recent acquisitions, France could claim the advantage over England; and he desired those who had doubts on this point to look at the state of our armies and navy, and consider their achievements; to contemplate our national commerce, resources and wealth; and above all, our inestimable constitution. In making a parallel of this kind we must not omit the extent of our dominions and possessions as well at home as abroad; and then let the national character of both countries be cast into the scale, and no wise and candid man could hesitate in pronouncing on which side the balance must preponderate.

Although the conduct of ministers was approved by a large majority in both houses, yet the discussions tended to repress the exultation which the people manifested on the cessation of long protracted hostilities, and to abate the hopes which they had formed of a safe and permanent peace. The terms which had in the first instance been conceded to France seemed an acknowledgment of her ascend-



[Debate on the convention with Russia.]

ency, while they bespoke a consciousness of adversity and distress on the part of England; and firmly as the ministers adhered to the general principles laid down in the outset of the negotiation, they suffered some imperfections to remain in the articles ultimately adopted which could hardly fail to occasion subsequent disputes. The arrangement respecting Malta was censured as culpably indefinite, because the importance which France attached to that island plainly showed that she was intent on annexing it to her dominions, and was therefore anxious that the stipulation respecting it should be so framed as to leave her a plausible pretext for that annexation. The complaint against ministers was, that instead of detecting and resisting the artifices employed with this view, they had coincided in them; and it was further urged that on a general view of the treaty in all its bearings, it appeared to have been proposed, if not solicited by England, on terms which she was but too willing to admit at the dictation of her ambitious rival. They had been prompted, it was said, by two great parties in the state, to make peace; and yielding to this suggestion as well as to the strong impulse of popular feeling, they had hastened to make it on the best terms they could obtain. An imperious necessity for this measure was moreover imputed to them, which could not be openly avowed. The public finances were in great confusion; there were enormous deficiencies in the civil list; and the accumulated arrear of debt, for which the income tax was pledged, could no longer remain unfunded. With the depression of the stocks from a continuance of war, and the addition of the sinking fund created with every loan,<sup>1</sup> which could not in that case have been changed without great danger to public credit, the chancellor of the exchequer must have found taxes in perpetuity to the amount of five or six millions. At a period when the hope of a continental alliance had vanished, the prospect of relief from these exigencies by so popular a measure as that of terminating the war, would naturally operate as a strong inducement to pacification, even at the price of concessions, which were stigmatized, as exceeding the just line of moderation which the honour and dignity of the country prescribed.

The convention which terminated the dispute with the northern powers, afforded another topic of censure to the new opponents of ministers. In the house of peers lord Grenville resisted the motion for an address, proposed by lord Darnley, on the ground that it was inconvenient and unexampled to call on the house for approbation of the treaty before the terms of the accession of Sweden and Denmark were known. In examining the tenor and effect of the articles, he referred to corresponding provisions in the two hostile conventions of armed neutrality in 1780 and 1800, and showed that those compacts had been followed in the present instance with a scrupulous and servile exactness wherever they could be made to apply. We stood therefore in the face of Europe, no longer as resisting, but as acceding to the treaties of armed neutrality, with modifications indeed on some important points, but sanctioning by this concession the general weight and authority of transactions, which we had hitherto considered as gross violations of public law, as manifest indications of hostile

<sup>1</sup> Annual Register, 1802.

[Strictures on the extension of neutral privileges.—Right of search, &c.]

purpose, and as sufficient grounds to justify on our part the extremities of war itself. In the first place, he contended that the terms of the treaty did not, in a manner sufficiently explicit, prevent neutrals from undertaking even the French, or any other coasting trade, in time of war; and he pressed this objection the more earnestly, because the stipulation was copied from the hostile treaty of 1780. On the proposition which opposed the pretension, that free bottoms make free goods, he admitted that as to Russia the present convention seemed to have obtained a recognition of the just and equitable principle asserted by Great Britain; and with respect to Sweden and Denmark, as far as the public faith of nations could be considered binding, the stipulation was contained in our treaty with both those powers. On the point relating to contraband of war, the negotiation had not placed us on a like footing of advantage and security. By a commercial treaty with Russia, renewed in 1797 for ten years, we had by a temporary stipulation admitted the subjects of the Russian empire to carry, in their own ships, naval stores to the ports of our enemies. This permission was now made perpetual, and might eventually be exercised to an extent highly prejudicial to our most important interests. By another article in the present convention, it was provided that the privileges of neutrality should be allowed to such vessels only as had on board a captain and one-half their crew composed of the subjects of the power whose flag they bear. The proportion of hostile seamen heretofore permitted had been only one-third; but it was now augmented to a degree which would greatly multiply the opportunities of fraudulently disguising the real property of the vessel, and of controlling the conduct of the remainder of the crew. There was, moreover, a most exceptionable ambiguity in the clause, for it stipulated that this compact should not prejudice the particular treaties of the contracting parties with other powers. On the subject of maritime blockade the provisions were transcribed, with a variation of only a single word, from corresponding articles in the two conventions of the armed neutrality. Those articles had declared that no ports should be considered as blockaded, unless where the attacking power should maintain a squadron constantly stationed before it, *and* sufficiently near to create an evident danger in entering. In the present treaty the contracting parties had substituted, "*or* sufficiently near," doubtless intending, by this minute change, to establish in their full extent the principles which Great Britain had maintained on this great question, and which the article, as it originally stood in the two neutral conventions, was designed completely to subvert. The mention of attacks in that article seemed to sanction an unfounded opinion, that a power blockading a port by sea, must, like a land force, have some view of reducing it to subjection. If the stipulation thus modified, were to be understood as implying that a blockade should continue so long only as danger actually existed, and be considered as raised when the danger ceased even for a short interval, it would tend to the utmost confusion. On the right of searching neutral ships, he observed that it could be useful only as it facilitated the exercise of other rights; as it led to the detection of frauds, and the prevention of unlawful commerce; and as it afforded the means of ascertaining those facts which would justify detention, seizure, and

## [Defence of the treaty.]

confiscation. It would be therefore of little value if we were henceforth to continue to neutrals the advantages which this convention guaranteed to them. When we had opened to them the coasting and colonial trade of our enemies, what should we gain by the right of ascertaining that they availed themselves largely of that permission? Or when we had admitted that a port blockaded only by a cruising squadron, is open to the trade of neutrals, what purpose would it answer to know the name of every vessel sailing with such a destination? The claim of the neutral league of 1800 confined the examination to a bare perusal of the papers of the neutral ships, which papers were for that purpose to be communicated by the neutral officer to the belligerent on board his own vessel. The same course of proceeding was here stipulated, and it was added that no farther search should take place unless some valid motive of suspicion should exist. Hitherto the practice had been, that the commanding officer going on board a neutral ship examined her papers, her crew and cargo, and questioned the men; and if he saw reasonable presumption of unlawful conduct, detained the ship; but by the present treaty, the suspicion must precede the inquiry; and what was there in the appearance of a ship to create suspicion in an officer who had never been on board, but viewed her from a telescope, beyond the range of cannon-shot? It was, he contended, but too manifest that while we had in words established the right of visiting ships under neutral convoy, we had in fact so limited and circumscribed the practice, as utterly to renounce every beneficial purpose to which it ever could, by any possibility, be applied. There was another objectionable article which would alone prove the necessity of proceeding by farther negotiation to explain the ambiguities and correct the errors with which the treaty unfortunately abounded. In every transaction on subjects of this nature, but more especially in those in which we limit by new stipulations the exercise of our ancient rights, it ought to be the object of our particular attention to prevent all possibility of converting our special engagements into general rules, applicable alike to all countries. By some fatality it had happened that we had done the very reverse of all this. Adopting the clause inserted in the conventions of the armed neutrality, we had declared that all the stipulations to which we had now acceded should be regarded as permanent, and should serve as a constant rule to the contracting powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

The lord chancellor observed, that the words of the treaty did not in any manner bear the interpretation which had just been put upon them. The nation had gained the great objects for which she had contended; namely, that free bottoms did not make free goods; that ships of war had the right of search; that the blockade of ports should be recognised as legitimate; that the exercise of these rights should be regulated upon clear, intelligible, and liberal rules; and, what was of more consequence than all, that any casual violation of them should not be a cause of quarrel, but should be the subject of amicable adjustment. So far from concurring in the objections made to particular expressions, because they were taken with some variation from the convention of the neutral powers, he declared that he liked them the better for being so taken. The variation showed that we did not



[Address on the convention voted.]

recognise the doctrine as there assumed. Thus, in regard to the words, “free navigation *to the ports and upon the coasts*,” it was manifest that we did not mean that they should enjoy free navigation to and from the ports of an enemy. In the same way, the conjunction *or*, in the article recognising the right of blockading ports, was all that we could desire, since it established the doctrine, that if our squadron was stationary off a port, or sufficiently near to create an evident danger of entering, such port was to be considered in a state of blockade.

He denied that a neutral power could set up any such pretension as that of carrying on the coasting trade in time of war. The clear understanding between the parties was, that when a Russian ship should happen to take in a cargo, part of which was to be delivered at one port in the enemy’s country, and part in another port, such ship should be at liberty to put in at the several ports where she was to deliver the several parts of her cargo. But if it should appear that at any of those ports she took in any part of the enemy’s property, for the purpose of conveying it to other ports; if, in short, she should attempt to carry on a coasting trade for the enemy, that cargo should be liable to search and confiscation. With respect to the colonial trade, he would ask, whether, if it had been intended to give up a right of such essential value as the one in question, some notice would not have been taken of it in the treaty? He had no doubt that the clear understanding was, that the right should not be given up; and a farther explanation might still be had upon the subject. The interpretation which lord Grenville had given of that part of the treaty which related to the contraband trade, was, he contended, not correct. It had been affirmed, that a foundation was thus laid for a contraband commerce, which all other neutral nations would think they had a right to carry on; but this was a specific treaty confined to Russia alone; it had nothing to do with any treaty hereafter to be concluded with Denmark or Sweden, and could never hereafter give either Holland or America the right of carrying on such a commerce. The objections which had been made to the article relative to the right of search on the part of Great Britain, did not apply to the right itself, but to an undue detention after the search was made. The captain of the belligerent power would have the right to go on board the ship that guarded the convoy. If he had then no motive of suspicion he might go away; if he had sufficient motive, he was not bound to declare what it was, but might proceed to his search. If the result should show that there had been no justifiable motive for the detention of the vessel, he was responsible for what he had done, to his country, and to no other power. Under the present stipulation therefore, a search might still be made; and there would be as little danger now as formerly, of a contraband trade in neutral vessels. The ground of suspicion must necessarily depend upon the discretion of the officer, and he was to determine from other circumstances besides the examination of papers, whether or not he had good cause to make a search.

These were the principal arguments used on the occasion, and after some remarks from lord Holland and lord Mulgrave, the address was agreed to without a division. In the house of Commons, where the discussions took a similar course, lord Hawkesbury replied to the objections urged by Mr. Grey and lord Temple; and the treaty was

[Forces retained.—Thanks to the army and navy.]

warmly applauded by Mr. Erskine, sir William Scott, and Mr. Tierney, among so large a majority of members as rendered a division on the address unnecessary.

Meanwhile the necessary precautions had been taken for the security of the country in the event of any interruption of the pacific measures which were in progress. The naval and military forces which it was judged expedient to retain, consisted of 130,000 seamen, including marines; 58,718 land troops for Great Britain, and 18,660 troops for Ireland. The militia, until the peace, were to be 34,500, and some general regulations were to be offered to the consideration of parliament respecting that portion of the military force. The gallant and meritorious services of the army and navy were acknowledged by unanimous votes of thanks in both houses. Earl St. Vincent mentioned, in terms of high commendation, the spirited conduct of sir James Saumarez, in the action with the united fleets of France and Spain off Gibraltar; and this just tribute of applause was seconded by lord Nelson, who added that he was not surprised at the matchless skill and intrepidity of his gallant friend, when he considered the professional school in which he had been bred, under lord Howe, lord Hood, lord Bridport, and his noble friend the earl St. Vincent. Similar thanks were moved to captains Hood and Keates, and the other officers who distinguished themselves in that engagement. The vote of gratitude to sir John Hely Hutchinson and the deliverers of Egypt from the French, included by name the several officers of highest rank, and mentioned in general terms the non-commissioned officers and privates. Lord Hobart, on whom devolved the gratifying duty of originating this vote, took occasion to commend the judicious and well-timed measure adopted by the marquis Wellesley of sending from India a reinforcement to co-operate with our army in the deliverance of Egypt.

## CHAPTER LXXI.

Mission of the marquis Cornwallis as minister plenipotentiary.—Congress at Amiens.—French expedition to St. Domingo.—Bonaparte president of the Italian republic.—His arbitrary measures in Switzerland.—Negotiations.—Definitive treaty.—Separate article between France and the Batavian republic.—Accession of Sweden and Denmark to the convention between Great Britain and Russia.—Budget for the year.—Debate on the treaty.—Lord Whitworth ambassador to France.—Appropriation by Spain of revenues belonging to the knights of Malta.—Disputes between England and France concerning that island.—Meeting of parliament.—Despard's conspiracy.—Sebastiani's mission to the Levant.—The king's message to parliament recommending warlike preparations.—Attempted adjustment of differences.—Declaration of war.

IN the beginning of November, the marquis Cornwallis, who had been appointed his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, for negotiating the definitive treaty of peace with France and her allies, proceeded to Paris, where he was received with marked distinction, and after a short residence there, repaired to Amiens, the place appointed for the conferences. On his arrival, he was joined by the first consul's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, to whose management the interests of France were on this occasion entrusted; but he had to await, for a considerable time, the arrival of the Dutch and Spanish ministers, Mr. Schimmelpenninck and Don Nicolas de Azara; and after the negotiations had actually commenced, he encountered many unexpected obstacles, which showed that the principal of the three parties, with whom he had to treat, was in no haste to complete the amicable arrangements which had been begun.

The French government, intent on their own schemes of policy, obviously regarded the pacification with Great Britain, as an affair of inferior importance. After the cessation of hostilities, Bonaparte had not for a moment relaxed his efforts to realize two great projects, the reduction of Italy and Switzerland under his despotic sway, and the re-establishment of slavery and the slave trade in the French West Indies. Although the former project was contrary to express stipulations in the treaty of Luneville, he apprehended no resistance on the part of Austria to its accomplishment; but the latter demanded a strong military and naval force. The formidable expedition, which he had been for some time preparing at the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and L'Orient, had not escaped the anxious vigilance of the British government; and he found it necessary to transmit to them express assurances that its purpose was to take possession of the colonies, and suppress the insurrection. He sought to quell the revolutionary spirit, which his democratic predecessors had propagated in that quarter, and which had animated the negroes of St. Domingo under Toussaint Louverture, and those of Guadeloupe under Pelagie, to assert and vindicate their claims to liberty and equality as members of the indivisible French Republic. He was desirous to put an end to a state of anarchy, which was pregnant with the most appalling dangers; not only to the French colonists, but to those of every other



[Bonaparte president of the Italian republic.—Issues a proclamation.]

European power. The British ministry, receiving these assurances, consented to the sailing of the armament before the conclusion of the definitive treaty; and accordingly a fleet of eighteen French and five Spanish ships of the line, having on board 25,000 troops under general Le Clerc, put to sea on the 14th of December. Admiral Mitchell, who was then stationed at Bantry Bay, with seven sail of the line, was ordered to follow them, and observe their motions. A mutiny broke out among the men in some of those vessels, which, however, was soon suppressed, and the squadron proceeded to the West Indies to reinforce the protecting fleets on that station.

Meantime the negotiation of the definitive treaty was delayed by the absence of the Spanish minister, Azara, who did not arrive at Amiens until the 29th of January; and a transaction took place in this interval which materially altered the basis on which the preliminaries had been settled. Bonaparte having convoked an assembly of Cisalpine deputies at Lyons, and having sent his minister, Talleyrand, to confer with them, arrived in that city on the 11th of January, and after many pompous ceremonials received an address from a committee of the deputies, declaring that the only method by which the Cisalpine republic could secure its independence would be to submit it to a man who, by the ascendancy of his name and power, might place it in the rank which became its grandeur. The deputies, unable to find such a man among themselves, expressed their ardent wish that general Bonaparte would continue to govern it, and cause it to be acknowledged by all the powers of Europe. In his reply he informed them, that the appointments which he had made of persons to fill the high magisterial offices of their country, were completely independent of all idea of party, of all spirit of locality; but that as to the office of president, he had not found any man among them who would have sufficient claim to the public opinion, who would be sufficiently independent of the spirit of locality, and who, in fine, had rendered services so important as to merit from his country so great a trust. In complying with their wishes he avowed his determination to continue, as long as circumstance might require it, the care of their affairs. A constitution for the republic was then promulgated, and Bonaparte was declared president. He was to exercise his functions for ten years, and to be indefinitely re-eligible.

One of his first acts, after being invested with this new authority, was to issue a proclamation, in which, anticipating the alarm likely to prevail among the states of Europe, he laboured to show that France, by attaching to herself the Italian republic, had made no addition to her influence. In 1788 she exercised considerable control over the republic of Venice, who by her situation was necessarily hostile; over the king of Naples, on account of the family compact; and over the king of Sardinia, because he was bound to her, not only by his inability to defend Savoy and Nice, but by double alliances, and still more by the pretensions of Austria to Montserrat. At the present period Venice belonged to the emperor; and the family compact with Naples was no more. In these circumstances, if the Italian republic did not become the sure and faithful ally of France, the political state of Europe would be at the disposal of Austria, who held the key of the Adriatic, and indeed of Italy. The same reasoning was applied in

[His conduct towards Switzerland.—Domestic policy.]

relation to the affairs of France with Germany. In acquiring the four departments of the Rhine, she found no compensation for the accessions which her neighbours had secured by the partition of Poland. Through that partition she had seen a natural ally not only withdrawn from the balance of Europe, but even appropriated by those powers whom she should have assisted to keep within bounds. In the equilibrium of the affairs of Germany it was affirmed that France had rather lost than gained; and if she had been obliged to acquiesce in the partition of Poland, without obtaining either Belgium or the four departments of the Rhine, she would have ceased to be a power of the first rank. The parallel was carried farther, by an allusion to the extinction of Tippoo Saib's power in India, and the consequent augmentation of the English dominions in that peninsula. The proclamation concluded by declaring that no nation ever showed so much moderation as France: that her object was to preserve a just equilibrium in the affairs of Europe; and that, in her recent measures for the attainment of that object, she had gained no new accession of influence, but had merely maintained her former rank.

These professions of moderation were strangely at variance with the measures adopted by Bonaparte, for subverting the independence of Switzerland. He had already annexed the Pays de Vaud to the French dominions; and early in February he sent general Thureau into the adjacent state of the Valais, who suppressed all the constituted authorities, and possessed himself of the public treasury and the archives of government. A communication of the most menacing nature, was at the same time sent from the first consul to the canton of Berne; and all Switzerland began to apprehend, either her speedy reduction by force of arms, or the imposition of a constitution, which would eventually degrade her into a province of France.

While Bonaparte was thus extending his authority abroad, he was no less occupied with the internal arrangements of his dominions. Chambers of commerce and agriculture were established throughout the republic, and societies were organized for the encouragement of arts and manufactures, while the most decided, and, indeed, hostile rivalry was manifested against the continental trade of Great Britain. Our intercourse with Genoa, with Piedmont, with Tuscany, and with Spain, was shackled with the severest prohibitions; and in the north of Europe, the same system of exclusion was enforced. British goods were refused all transit through the states of Holland, and there were strong reasons for apprehending that our future connexion with Germany would be controlled by a rival, who, while a pacification was pending, did not think it necessary to dissemble his inveterate animosity.

The negotiations at Amiens had now lingered three months, and from the alarming increase of power which France had acquired during that period, it was manifest that they had been protracted designedly on her part, to afford time for the accomplishment of those projects which had already so essentially altered the basis established by the preliminaries. The British government, therefore, deemed it necessary to counteract this temporizing policy by strong and decisive measures; they suspended the reduction of the sea and land forces, which had already proceeded to a considerable extent; and in the beginning of March, issued orders for fitting out and victualling the

[Measures of the British government.—Treaty signed.—Stipulations of the treaty.]

whole of the men of war at Portsmouth capable of being sent to sea. A strong fleet of observation was already in the West Indies, and a squadron had sailed from the Mediterranean, in consequence of the departure of Gantheaume with a reinforcement destined for St. Domingo. Admiral Cornwallis, commanding the Channel fleet, despatched from Torbay, six sail of the line on a cruise; the greatest activity prevailed throughout the naval establishments of the country; and every step was taken for an immediate renewal of hostilities. These warlike preparations, by alarming France for the safety of so large a proportion of her maritime force then absent from her ports, accelerated her decision in favour of peace, though they did not compel her to moderate her pretensions; and on the 25th of March, the definitive treaty was signed.

The following is an abstract of its articles. Great Britain restored to France, Spain, and the Batavian republic all her conquests during the war, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad, which were respectively ceded to her by the two latter powers. The territories and possessions of Portugal were secured to her as before the war, except that a new limit was drawn between French and Portuguese Guiana. The territories of the sublime Porte were maintained in their integrity. Malta, Gozo, and Comino were to be restored to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held by them on the conditions existing before the war, and under the following stipulations; the knights were invited to return to Malta as soon as the exchange should have taken place, and there elect a grand master; no individual belonging to England or France was to be admitted into the order: a Maltese *langue* was to be established for admission, to which no proofs of nobility should be required; half of the civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, were to be filled by inhabitants of the island; the British troops were to evacuate Malta within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or earlier if possible; and at that epoch it was to be given up to the order of St. John, provided the grand master, or commissaries fully authorized, were then present to take possession, and provided 2000 Sicilian troops, which the king of Naples was to be invited to send, should have arrived there: these troops were to remain a year, or longer if at its expiration the Maltese troops should not be competent to garrison it themselves; the neutrality of Malta to be proclaimed and its independence guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia; the ports to be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations except the states of Barbary. The French agreed to evacuate Naples and the Roman States, and the English to evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands occupied by them in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland and the adjacent islands, as well as in the gulf of St. Lawrence, were to be placed on the same footing as before the war. The French fishermen of Newfoundland, and the inhabitants of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were allowed to cut wood in the bays of Fortune and Despair for the period of one year from the ratification of the treaty. The branch of the house of Nassau, formerly established in the United Provinces, having sustained losses, as well with respect to private property, as by the change of constitution, was to receive an



[Convention between France and Holland.]

equivalent compensation. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated in the treaty, were to be executed in Europe within a month; on the continent and seas of America and Africa within three months; on the continent and seas of Asia within six months, after the ratification, except in case of a special reservation.

On the 27th of March, two days after the signature of the treaty, a separate article was added to it, by the ministers of the contracting powers, by which it was agreed, that the omission of titles which might have taken place in the treaty should not be prejudicial to the powers or persons concerned; and that the English and French languages used in all the copies, should not be quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the contracting parties whose language had not been used.

On the same day a separate convention was concluded between France and the Batavian republic, in which the minister of the former power, in virtue of special instructions from his government, declared it to be understood that the indemnity stipulated in favour of the house of Nassau should not on any account or in any manner be at the charge of the Batavian republic. And the plenipotentiary of the Batavian republic accepted that declaration as explanatory of the eighteenth article of the treaty.

On the 30th of March the courts of Sweden and Denmark formally acceded to the convention which had been concluded between Great Britain and Russia; and a declaration was at the same time issued by the court of St. Petersburg, announcing its abandonment of the system of armed neutrality, not only as a code of maritime law, but even in its more limited import, as a specific engagement between Russia and the other confederates. Thus Great Britain renewed her amicable relations with the other powers of Europe, while concluding a peace with France; and in the immense sacrifices which she made to procure that peace, she gave an unequivocal pledge of her sincere wishes for its continuance.

In the British parliament great anxiety had prevailed respecting the issue of the negotiations at Amiens, and all affairs were considered of inferior importance compared with the great question of peace or war. A motion, made by Mr. Manners Sutton, solicitor-general of the prince of Wales, concerning the claims of his royal highness to arrears due from the revenue of Cornwall, led to the appointment of a committee to investigate them; but, in a subsequent discussion, the house, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, passed to the other orders of the day.

From the uncertainty that existed, whether the country would have to provide for a war or a peace establishment, the budget for the year was not brought forward until the 5th of April. It was the greatest which had ever been opened, since, besides the loan to cover the expenses of the year, the minister announced his intention of abolishing the income tax, and of funding the fifty-six millions with which it was charged. The total sum to be funded amounted to nearly ninety-eight millions; the interest of which was to be provided by new taxes to the amount of 3,211,202*l*. The branches of revenue on which these taxes were to be imposed were malt, hops, and beer, two millions; assessed taxes one million; exports and imports one million.

[Parliamentary proceedings.—Debate on the treaty.]

Twenty-five millions were to be raised by way of loan. The national debt was stated at 500 millions. The resolutions upon the budget were agreed to without a division.

The debate respecting the definitive treaty took place in both houses on the 25th May. The ministry encountered little resistance in point of numbers; but the arguments of the war-party derived additional force from the aggressions which had been committed by France since the signature of the preliminaries, and from her manifest design to exclude the commerce of this country from the continent of Europe. By the appropriation of the Cisalpine republic she had acquired a direct control over the kingdom of Naples, and was thus enabled to convert to her own advantage the inconclusive and disputable arrangements which had been made respecting the disposal of Malta. In animadverting on this part of the treaty, lord Grenville observed, that few things could be more absurd than to place that island under the guarantee of six powers, who could not be expected to agree on any one point relating to it. The treaty professed to restore it to the order of St. John: this was still more absurd; for how could it be said that such an order was in existence when almost all their funds had been confiscated? The expenses of the order of Malta, chiefly in fortifications and garrisons, on an average of the last ten years, had been 130,000*l.* per annum. Their revenues from the island of Malta amounted to only 34,000*l.*, and only 8000*l.* came into the coffers of the knights. Of the revenues which supported the order, France, at the time of the suppression of the French *langue*, had confiscated 58,000*l.* annually, and Spain had confiscated 27,000*l.* The property of the order in Lombardy and Piedmont had also been confiscated, so that of their former income of 130,000*l.* only 27,000*l.* was now left, a revenue evidently insufficient to keep up the fortifications or maintain the security of the island. The order of Malta was therefore extinct as a power, and must necessarily come under the influence and into the pay of France. In adverting to other points of the treaty, he observed, that our sovereignty in India had not been recognised, while the Cape of Good Hope, a station of the first importance to that sovereignty, had been ceded. In the Mediterranean, where our naval superiority was most important, we had dispossessed ourselves, not only of Malta, but of Minorca; and even of the isle of Elba, which France wanted, merely to exclude us from the port of Leghorn. Every object of importance, obtained by the valour of our navy, had been ceded to France; and ministers had at the same time disclaimed the plea of necessity for peace, which could alone have justified such enormous sacrifices. He concluded by moving an address, pointing out the dangers to which this country was exposed in consequence of the sacrifices which she had made, without any adequate compensation on the part of France, and praying his majesty to settle, by an amicable arrangement, those points which the definitive treaty had left unsettled. This address was negatived by 122 votes against 16; and that which was moved in the other house by Mr. Windham was also rejected by the still greater majority of 276 against 20.

The remainder of the session was occupied by a great variety of public business, among which, a most important act was passed for consolidating the existing militia laws, and for augmenting that force

[Bonaparte sends an army into Switzerland.—Piedmont annexed to France.]

to 70,000 men, the proportion for Scotland being fixed at 10,000. The parliament was prorogued on the 28th of June, and shortly afterwards dissolved by proclamation.

The re-establishment of amity between Great Britain and France was not immediately confirmed by an interchange of embassies. So early as April, indeed, the king had appointed lord Whitworth as his minister at the consular court, and general Andreossi had been nominated at the same period as representative of the French republic at the court of St. James's; but their respective departure was delayed until the month of November. This delay gave rise to a multitude of anxious conjectures; and, considered with relation to the policy pursued by France, it afforded no favourable augury of her pacific disposition. The dissensions by which the Helvetic republic was distracted, having induced its government to solicit the mediation of France, Bonaparte, availing himself of so plausible a pretext, sent an army into Switzerland, and issued an arrogant proclamation, commanding the senate to assemble at Berne, and to send deputies to Paris; ordering at the same time all authorities constituted since the commencement of the troubles to cease to act, and all armed bodies to disperse. The diet of Schweitz, however, as the supreme representative body of the Swiss union, remained at their post, hoping for the interference of foreign powers; but of these Great Britain alone manifested an interest in their behalf. An English resident was sent to Constance, empowered to promise pecuniary assistance if the people were determined to defend their country; but the approach of the French troops had compelled the diet to dissolve; Aloys Reding, and other patriots, were arrested and imprisoned; and the independence of Switzerland, which had been guaranteed in the treaty of Luneville, was annihilated by the power whose mediation she had solicited. In September, Piedmont was formally annexed to France, and Turin, its capital, was degraded into a provincial city of the republic. In October, the king of Spain, at the suggestion of the French government, annexed to the royal domains all the property of the knights of Malta in his dominions, and declared himself grand master of the order in Spain. Thus the order of St. John was diminished by the suppression of three *langues*, those of Arragon, Castile, and Navarre; and thus was the treaty of Amiens vitiated; because that was now no longer the corporate body to whom, by the tenth article of the treaty, the island of Malta was to be ceded in full sovereignty. About the same period the long-pending affair of the German indemnities was settled upon a plan drawn up by the ministers of Russia and France, the mediating powers, and adopted in a definitive conclusion of the diet of Ratisbon. These indemnities were so apportioned as to favour the views of France, by the aggrandizement of Prussia and Bavaria, the reduction of Austria, and the disunion of the smaller states of Germany. While thus extending his influence abroad, Bonaparte aimed to consolidate his power and exalt his authority at home. He re-established the Roman Catholic religion in France, under the express sanction of the pope, and he issued a decree of amnesty in favour of emigrants who would return within a stipulated time, and remain under *surveillance* or special inspection for ten years. Thus secure of popularity, he claimed the suffrages of the French, to prolong his consulate for life; and after securing his



[Consul for life.—Legion of honour.—West Indian affairs.]

election, procured a vote from the senate, empowering him to appoint a successor. To give splendour to his new dignity, he instituted a republican order of nobility, under the title of the *legion of honour*, the members of which were to be nominated from the military men on whom he had conferred honorary distinctions, and from all citizens who had distinguished themselves by their knowledge or talents, or by their eminence in the administration of justice. Their oath required them to erase every vestige of the feudal system, and to maintain the strictest fidelity to the indivisible French republic, and to himself as its chief. He imposed a new constitution on France, by which he invested himself with the right of making war or peace; of ratifying treaties; of pardoning in all cases; of nominating all inferior officers; of appointing by his own absolute authority, forty of the one hundred and twenty members composing the senate; and of prescribing to that body the subjects on which alone it was competent to deliberate. The other departments of the state were equally subservient to his will; so that, having utterly destroyed the liberty of the press, he might be said to govern the republic by means of an enormous standing army, and a numerous inquisitorial police. At this juncture nothing seemed to be wanting to his prosperity, but the success of his expedition to the West Indies. Guadaloupe had indeed been recovered after many sanguinary conflicts; and in St. Domingo various advantages had been obtained over the negroes, which ended in the submission of Toussaint Louverture, under promise of pardon. In violation of this promise, he was sent captive to France, and was never afterwards heard of. The other chiefs, indignant at the treachery practised on their leader, again united in insurrection against the French army, enfeebled by the ravages of the yellow fever, and a most sanguinary warfare ensued. But however anxious Bonaparte might be for the recovery of St. Domingo, his attention was at present less occupied with the affairs of that colony than with the revival of his schemes respecting the Mediterranean. As a preparatory step to their development, he despatched a Corsican officer, named Sebastiani, in the ostensible character of a commercial agent, on a political tour in the Levant, to ascertain the consequences produced by recent events, and to seize every opportunity for promoting the French interests in that region. It may be mentioned, as a matter of subordinate importance, that soon after the pacification of Amiens a treaty had been concluded with the dey of Tunis, by which the republic was recognised throughout that state as the most favoured nation.

In the transactions that took place between Great Britain and France, it soon became manifest that the change from war to peace was merely a transition from active hostility to acrimonious litigation. The chief topic of dispute was Malta, which the British government were desirous to retain, until a substantial guarantee could be procured for its independence; while Bonaparte, adhering to the positive stipulations respecting it, and evading or disregarding the conditions with which they were coupled, insisted on its evacuation. Various expedients were proposed for obviating the difficulties which impeded the fulfilment of this article of the treaty; but the protracted discussions to which they led were attended with no beneficial result. Meanwhile,

[Parliament.—Augmentation of the forces.—Despard's conspiracy.]

ministers had adopted a measure which placed them in a most delicate and embarrassing predicament. On the violation of the Swiss territory by a French army, perceiving the strong sensation which that event produced in the Batavian republic, they deemed it necessary, in the event of a war, to have in their possession some of those conquests which had been ceded at the treaty of Amiens. Orders were therefore despatched to the English commander at the Cape of Good Hope, and also in the islands of Martinique, St. Lucie, Tobago, and Curaçoa, and the Dutch settlements at Surinam, to delay the restitution of those colonies till further orders. As most of the French possessions had been already ceded, these precautions principally affected the Dutch; and in case of a spirited resistance to the military occupation of Holland by France, they might certainly have been of essential service. But the independence of Switzerland, and the deliverance of Holland, becoming hopeless, it was found expedient to rescind the orders which had been sent for the retention of the colonies, and instructions to that effect were despatched on the 15th of November. Great doubts were entertained whether these instructions would arrive at the important settlement of the Cape, in time to prevent an act of direct hostility, which might have thrown on Great Britain the odium of violating the treaty of Amiens.

The new parliament assembled on the 16th of November, and on the 23d his majesty opened the session in a speech from the throne. After alluding, in congratulatory terms, to the internal prosperity of the country, he observed, that in his intercourse with foreign powers, he had been actuated by a sincere desire for the maintenance of peace; but that it was nevertheless impossible for him to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and that he could not be indifferent to any material change in the relative condition and strength of those states. He declared that his conduct would be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of his people; and he expressed his conviction that parliament would concur with him in the opinion, that it was necessary to adopt those means of security which were best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving the blessings of peace. The presage conveyed in this intimation was soon afterwards confirmed by proposals for augmenting the naval and military force of the country. The attention of parliament, until the Christmas recess, was chiefly occupied by financial arrangements and by a bill introduced into the house of peers by lord Pelham, for appointing commissioners to inquire into frauds and abuses existing in the naval departments.

This month of November was signalized by the discovery of a treasonable conspiracy against the government, fomented by Colonel Marcus Despard. He and several of his accomplices were tried, and found guilty in the following February, and the sentence of the law was executed on him and six other persons.

The question concerning Malta was only one among many points, on which Bonaparte manifested a disposition to give the law to this country. While he enforced the prohibitions which had been im-

[Bonaparte demands the expulsion of the Bourbonists.—Sebastiani's report.]

posed on British commerce during the war, with increased rigour and severity, he appointed a number of agents to reside in the sea-port towns of Great Britain and Ireland, who under the professed character of consuls, entrusted with the trading interests of France, were furnished with secret instructions directing them to obtain soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of their respective places of destination. He required that the adherents of the Bourbons should be sent away from England, and that it should be recommended to the princes of that house to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family. He demanded that the British government should adopt effectual measures to check the animadversions promulgated in the English journals, and in various occasional publications; complaining, with childish petulance, that every wind which blew from England breathed nothing but hostility against him; and forgetting, in this vain attempt to control a free press, that almost the only liberty he allowed to the press of France was that of abusing the English government and people. After the interposition of this country in favour of Switzerland, he distinctly advanced the principle, that his Britannic majesty had no right to complain of the conduct or interfere with the proceedings of France on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens; a principle utterly at variance with that on which the treaty itself was founded, and contrary to the established law of nations. But, even allowing that unjust and extravagant pretension, he had encroached on the stipulations in question to an extent which rendered it necessary for Great Britain to demand a renewal of the treaty on other terms. She had agreed to restore Malta to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, consisting of the langues of Arragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia, to which a Maltese langue was to be added. After the treaty, two of the contracting parties; France and Spain, had destroyed the integrity of the order as a corporate body, and had appropriated the revenues necessary to maintain their independence. The French government had also instigated the elector of Bavaria to sequester the property of the order within his territories, and had not only sanctioned, but encouraged the intention entertained by the emperor Alexander, of separating from it the Russian langues.

The views of Bonaparte in pursuing this sinister course of policy soon became manifest. On the 30th of January he published, in his official journal, the *Moniteur*, a report made to him by his agent Sebastiani, on returning from his mission to the Levant. That document contained the most unwarrantable charges and insinuations against the British government, and against their forces stationed in Egypt; it represented the state of that country to be such, that six thousand French troops would suffice to conquer it; and asserted, in explicit terms, that the Ionian islands would declare themselves French as soon as an opportunity should offer. This was no equivocal announcement of the mode in which the first consul was preparing to dispose of the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of Amiens, which stipulated the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the independence of the Seven Islands. He disclosed his views still more plainly in an interview with the British ambassador, lord Whitworth. In enumerating



[Interview with lord Whitworth. —Message of the king.]

rating the provocations which he pretended to have received from England, he laid peculiar stress on the retention of Malta, in which he declared that no consideration on earth should induce him to acquiesce; adding, that of the two, he would rather see the British in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than of that Island. Adverting to the British garrison in Alexandria, he said, that instead of being a means of protecting Egypt, it only furnished him a pretext for invading it. This he should not do, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might perhaps be considered the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte. He demanded in the most peremptory manner, the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war, threatening that if recourse was had to the latter alternative, he would risk his life and reputation in the arduous enterprise of invading England. Coupling with this threat an alluring intimation of the benefits that might be expected from a concurrence in his policy, he said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; *participation in indemnities, as well as in influence*, on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, or have testified his friendship. Thus the treaty of Amiens was to have been converted into a temporary expedient to be modified according to his good pleasure; and Great Britain, if she seconded his aggressions on the continent, was to have been admitted to a share of the spoil. That he considered her as reduced to this state of subserviency was evident from an act of government, containing a view of the state of the republic, which he published immediately after this interview, and in which he asserted, “with conscious pride, that England alone could not maintain a struggle with France.”

After this insult, the ministers of Great Britain were compelled to alter the tone of conciliation which they had hitherto maintained in their intercourse with the French government. On the 8th of March his majesty sent a message to parliament, announcing that very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland; and that he had therefore judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. It was added, that though the preparations referred to were avowedly directed to colonial service, yet as discussions of great importance were then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must be uncertain, it was necessary to make such provision as circumstances might require, to enable him to support the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people. An address was unanimously voted, and a resolution was afterwards passed for raising 10,000 additional seamen, including 3,400 marines. Another message to parliament announced the king's intention to call out the militia. If these precautionary measures were adopted in consequence of intelligence, announcing the retention of the Cape, they were most unfortunately timed; for in a few days after the promulga-



[Its effects in France.—New arrangements proposed respecting Malta.]

tion of the message, an official account arrived of the surrender of that settlement to the Dutch, pursuant to the counter-orders.

The French government, when informed of these warlike preparations, expressed their astonishment at the motives assigned for them. They denied that they had any armaments in progress, except that at Helvoetsluys, which was evidently destined for colonial purposes, and which, in consequence of the king's message to parliament, should be countermanded. But they added, that if satisfactory explanations on that measure were not given, and if the arming of England actually took place, it would be natural that the first consul should move 20,000 men into Holland, form an encampment on the frontiers of Hanover, continue the military occupation of Switzerland, and advance a fresh force upon Italy. Not confining himself to this threat of visiting neutral states with the vengeance he meditated against England, Bonaparte, in a court held at the Thuilleries, accosted lord Whitworth under considerable agitation, and uttered a bitter and insulting invective against the British government, in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors. An indirect apology was afterwards made for this rudeness; but the particulars of the scene were introduced into a scandalous manifesto, which the French resident at Hamburg caused to be published in the official journal of that city. When a remonstrance was made on this repetition of the insult, the French government disavowed the conduct of their agent; but the scandal contained in the paper had already been circulated throughout Europe.

It was now supposed that the negotiations would terminate in a renewal of war; but they were protracted until the month of May. Various arrangements were proposed by the British government, for settling the grand point of dispute concerning Malta; but they were successively met by objections, which gave rise to fresh discussions.

At length, when lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, Bonaparte induced him to delay his departure, by announcing that he had a communication to make of the greatest importance. He professed his willingness to consent that Malta should be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who had guaranteed its independence, either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, provided that some minor arrangements respecting its guarantee were established. In the despatch containing a reply to this proposition, lord Whitworth was informed, that if his majesty could be disposed to waive his demand for a temporary occupation of the island, the emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign, to whom, in the present state of Europe he could consent that it should be assigned, and that his majesty had certain and authentic information, that the emperor of Russia would, on no account, consent to garrison Malta. In these circumstances, his majesty adhered to the project already delivered as his *ultimatum*, stipulating for the occupation of Malta during a term of ten years, provided that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to cede the island of Lampedosa for a valuable consideration. At the end of that period, Malta was to be surrendered to the inhabitants, and declared an independent state, and an arrangement was to be made in the interim for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe. To obviate, however, an objection on the side of France,

## [Declaration of war against France.]

it was now proposed, that the definite term of years might be inserted in a secret article, and the temporary occupation would thus be made to depend on the actual state of Lampedosa. This overture was met by the offer of a counter-project, which lord Whitworth, being instructed to avoid every thing which would protract the negotiation, did not feel authorized to receive. Having obtained his passports, he quitted Paris, and arrived in London on the 19th of May. His majesty's declaration of war against France had been issued on the day preceding.

## CHAPTER LXXII.

State of the naval and military force of the country on the renewal of hostilities.—Discussions on the late negotiation.—Hanover seized by the French.—War declared by England against the Batavian republic.—English residents in France detained as prisoners of war.—Supplies for the year.—Insurrection in Ireland.—Blockade of the Elbe and Weser.—Successes in the West Indies.—Capture of the French army in St. Domingo.—Glorious campaign in India.—Parliamentary affairs.—Illness and recovery of the king.—Change of administration and return of Mr. Pitt to office.—Murder of the duke D'Enghien.—Nomination of Bonaparte as emperor of the French.

AFTER the promulgation of his majesty's message on the 8th of March, the ministers had found it necessary to make overtures to Mr. Pitt, inviting his return to office; on the rejection of which, some changes took place in the cabinet, that did not tend to strengthen the hands of government. In the period of suspense which preceded the declaration of war, the measures adopted in contemplation of that event, were scarcely adequate to the urgency of the occasion, and in the most important branch of the service, they were lamentably deficient. The inquiry into abuses existing in the naval department had led to a system of economical retrenchment, which had been so rigorously enforced, that, on the renewal of hostilities, the royal arsenals were not provided with the quantity of stores necessary for the equipment of the fleet; and in the bustle of preparation many ships were sent to sea which were actually in a course of repair. With respect to the military force of the country, the augmentations proposed, were limited to the purposes of defensive warfare.

The discussions which took place in parliament on the 23d of May, respecting the late negotiation, terminated in a general approval of the conduct of ministers; and addresses were voted, strongly concurring in the sentiments communicated in the royal declaration. An amendment moved in the house of peers by lord King, proposing the omission of expressions imputing to France the guilt of breaking the treaties, was negatived by a majority of 142 against 10. In the commons Mr. Grey moved an amendment, assuring his majesty of their support in the war, but disapproving the conduct of ministers, which was rejected by 398 votes against 67. Some days afterwards, a proposition was made by Mr. Fox, for an address, advising his majesty to accept the proffered mediation of the emperor of Russia; but it was withdrawn in consequence of a declaration from lord Hawkesbury that the government would be ready to accept the mediation, but that in the meantime it would be inexpedient to suspend the measures adopted for the prosecution of the war.

Hitherto those measures had by no means kept pace with the prompt and vigorous exertions of the enemy. A few days after his majesty's message in March, admiral Linois was despatched from Brest for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, having 6000 troops on board, who were destined not only to strengthen the French colo-



[The French take Hanover.—Britain declares war against Holland.]

nies, but also to reinforce the Dutch garrison at the Cape. Orders were issued to increase the forces of the republic to 480,000 men: the army of Italy was considerably augmented; and large detachments were pushed forward upon Tarentum and on all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples which lay on the Adriatic. During the protracted negotiations, reinforcements were ordered into Holland, and a powerful army was collected on the frontiers of Hanover. On the 25th of May, general Mortier, from his head-quarters at Coeverden, summoned the electorate to surrender; it being the determination of the first consul to occupy that country as a pledge for the restoration of Malta agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens. The Hanoverian army made dispositions for a brave resistance, which, however, proved ineffectual against so overwhelming a force; and the invaders ultimately took possession of the entire electorate, and the strong places dependent upon it, together with all the artillery, baggage, and ammunition. By this flagrant violation of the German empire, they were enabled to control the navigation of the Elbe and Weser, and to levy considerable contributions, under the shape of loans, on the rich Hanse-towns of Hamburg and Bremen.

It soon became manifest that other nations would be involved in the contest between France and Great Britain. On the 17th of June the king announced to parliament that he had communicated to the Batavian government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided the French government would do the like. and would withdraw their forces from the Dutch territory; but as this proposal had not been complied with, he had judged it expedient to recall his minister from the Hague, and to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the Batavian republic. In conformity to another message on the following day, recommending a large additional force to be raised for the defence of the country, the ministers proposed to levy an army of reserve, consisting of 50,000 men: their services during the war to extend to Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands of the channel. Various objections were urged in both houses against the bill; but it passed without a division, and in the course of the session was followed by another, enabling his majesty to raise a levy *en masse* of all his subjects in case of invasion. The necessity of such a levy, however, was superseded by the renewal of volunteer associations throughout the kingdom, in such augmented numbers, that in a short time the aggregate of this description of force amounted to 300,000 men. This manifestation of spirit in the people was caused by the preparations made by Bonaparte for executing his threatened descent on the shores of England. He had collected a vast flotilla at Boulogne, and had assembled an army, which was held in readiness to embark on the first favourable opportunity. If, as it has been asserted, he never seriously meditated so desperate an enterprise, he committed a great political mistake in rousing by this formidable demonstration the energies of his antagonist. The mistake was the more unfortunate for his purposes, because Great Britain was the only European power which retained a free constitution.

These preparations for invasion had been preceded by an act which savoured more of malice than of mere political hostility. He arrested as prisoners of war all the English between the ages of eighteen



[Budget.—Insurrection in Ireland.—Assassination of lord Kilwarden.]

and sixty, and others holding any commission from the king, who were resident in France at the time when war was declared; and he detained them to answer for those French citizens who might have been made prisoners by English ships before that declaration was issued. They had previously received assurances that they should enjoy the protection of the French government as fully after the departure of the English ambassador as before, and were resting on the faith of those assurances, when, by a remorseless violation of the laws of hospitality, they were doomed to an indefinite captivity, since, as the British government could not include them in exchanges, they could only hope to be released on the termination of the war.

In producing the budget for this year, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to raise, by an increase on the customs, and duties on sugar, exports, cotton, and tonnage, above two millions annually, and by new duties on the excise of tea, wine, spirits, and malt, he calculated on six millions more. He then presented a plan of a tax on property and income, the net produce of which he estimated at 4,700,000*l.* making in the whole 12,700,000*l.* annually for war taxes, to expire six months after a peace.

An insurrection broke out in Ireland on the 23d of July, which, from its supposed connexion with the projects of the enemy, created considerable alarm. Its instigators were a band of political enthusiasts, whose director and principal mover was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of promising talents, and a brilliant imagination. They had formed the design of establishing an independent Irish republic, and hoped to accomplish it by striking a decisive blow in the capital, possessing themselves of the seat of government, and proclaiming the new constitution which they had prepared. The armed mob collected for this purpose, marched through the principal streets of Dublin unresisted on their way to the Castle; but they soon lost all sense of subordination to their leaders, and meeting a carriage, in which were lord Kilwarden and his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, they dragged them from it, and butchered them on the spot. There was one circumstance attending this act of atrocity, which showed that the infatuation of popular fury could not wholly extinguish the instinctive generosity of the Irish. The daughter of the venerable and ill-fated nobleman was likewise in the carriage; and to his earnest appeal to their humanity, they replied, that they would sacrifice him and his male companion; but they must spare the lady. They then desired the distracted daughter to escape as well as she could, and suffered her to pass through their entire column without injury or interruption. The rioters were at length dispersed by about 120 soldiers, and the whole insurrection was speedily extinguished. On the communication of this event to parliament, a bill was passed for trying the rebels by martial law, and another for suspending the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland. Several leaders of the insurrection, among whom was Emmett, having been apprehended, were tried for high treason in Dublin by special commission, and underwent the sentence of the law.

In consequence of the seizure of Hanover by France, and the interruption of our commerce on the Elbe and Weser, the British government appointed a squadron to blockade the mouths of those rivers. This spirited measure, which was in some degree a retaliation on

[Cession of Louisiana.—British capture St. Lucie.—French evacuate St. Domingo.]

Germany for permitting the violation of its territory, occasioned such distress to the Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, that they appealed to the king of Prussia, as protector of the neutrality of the northern part of the empire; but he declined to interfere; and the French were thus left to pursue their iniquitous exactions with impunity.

Those exactions were not confined to the small states of the north of Germany. Bonaparte having compelled the Batavian and Italian republics to become parties in the war, imposed on them their full share of its burdens; and he drew pecuniary assistance from Spain and Portugal in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with the generosity of Great Britain whether they should not be considered as involved in acts of direct hostility. The supplies to his treasury derived from these sources were augmented by the sale of Louisiana to the United States for three millions of dollars; and thus a territory obtained from Spain in exchange for the possessions of his neighbours, was transferred for a valuable consideration to a power from whom he would have been unable to withhold it.

While completing their arrangements for internal security, the British government did not neglect to assail the enemy in the only vulnerable part of his dominions. An expedition was despatched on the 20th of June from Barbadoes, under the command of lieutenant-general Grinfield and commodore Hood, against St. Lucie. They effected a landing on the 21st, drove in the advanced posts of the French, took the town of Castries, and summoned the French general Nogues to surrender at discretion. On his refusal to accede to those terms, general Grinfield directed an attack on the fort of Morne Fortunée, which was carried next morning in the most gallant manner. This exploit, which produced the unconditional surrender of the island, was attended by a circumstance highly honourable to the British character. Notwithstanding the obstinacy of the enemy in abiding the consequences of an assault, not a single Frenchman was killed or wounded after the works had been carried. On the 1st of July general Grinfield directed his forces against Tobago, which capitulated without resistance. In September, the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, surrendered to a detachment sent against them after the capture of the last-mentioned island.

To these successes of the British arms may be added that of compelling the French to abandon the valuable colony of St. Domingo. The negro chiefs, Dessalines, Clervaux, and Christophe, who headed the insurgents in the northern part of the island, invested Cape François, the head-quarters of general Le Clerc, who was then dying of the fever which had so much exhausted his army. On his decease, general Rochambeau succeeded to the command, in circumstances of great difficulty; his means of defence consisting merely in the strength of the fortifications, and in the facilities that existed of transporting detachments from one point to another, in the line of posts on the coast that were occupied by the French. These facilities were destroyed on the renewal of war, and the consequent blockade of the Cape and all the principal positions by British squadrons. Several places successively fell into the hands of the insurgents; and fort Dauphin, a post from which supplies of provisions were furnished to the

[India Mahratta confederacy.—Alliances with the Peishwa.]

head-quarters, was taken by the English. Cape François was soon afterwards completely invested by Dessalines, with whom Rochambeau at length entered into a negotiation, proposing to give up the place on being allowed to carry off the garrison. At this juncture, the blockading squadron entered the roads, and a capitulation was signed, by which all the ships of war and merchant vessels belonging to France were to be surrendered to the British, who were to receive the garrison as prisoners of war. Thus the French lost all their possessions in the island except the city of St. Domingo, the capital of that part which formerly belonged to Spain. The negro chieftains issued a proclamation, declaring the island free and independent.

These successes were but of secondary importance, compared with the brilliant triumphs achieved by the British arms in India, under the able and vigorous administration of the marquis Wellesley.

At the period when his comprehensive measures had effected the downfall of the Mysorean usurper, and rescued the nizam of the Deccan from the dangerous and rapid increase of French influence, a considerable degree of internal commotion prevailed in the Mahratta states. It is to be presumed, that after the revolution, which had reduced the hereditary monarch to the condition of a nominal sovereign, his prime minister, the peishwa, whose office also became hereditary, was acknowledged by the whole Mahratta confederacy as his representative, and their supreme head. He established himself at Poonah, in the centre of a valuable territory, partly wrested from the rajah of Sattarah, his sovereign, and enlarged by acquisitions from the neighbouring princes. Bhoonsla, the commander of the rajah's forces, followed the example of the peishwa, and made himself independent in Berar. Holkar, a distinguished military chieftain, founded a dominion on similar principles, in the fertile provinces of Malwa; the whole of Candeish became subject to the celebrated warrior, Ranojee Scindia; and a similar usurpation in the Guzerat subjected that province to the family of Gorkwar. Thus among five chiefs, the peishwa, Bhoonsla, Holkar, Scindia, and Gorkwar, were the Mahratta dominions divided, while the rajah of Sattarah was confined within his capital, in a state of subjection to his minister the peishwa, sovereign of Poonah.

As a union of the different states of the Mahratta empire would have been dangerous to the British interests in India, it had been the policy of the successive governors-general, to contract such alliances with the peishwa, as might preserve him independent, and thus effectually counteract the projects of the more ambitious chieftains. On this principle, the marquis Cornwallis in 1789, had concluded the treaty of Poonah, which was afterwards frustrated by the ambition and rapacity of Dowlut Rao Scindia, who had succeeded Madhagee Scindia in 1794, and whose conduct tended to favour the designs of France against the British empire in India. In pursuance of the same course of policy which had distinguished the government of his predecessor, the marquis Wellesley formed an alliance with the peishwa, and with the nizam of the Deccan, against Scindia, Holkar, and the rajah of Berar, supported by the French general Perron. The peishwa having in 1802 been expelled from his dominions by Holkar, negotiated a subsidiary treaty with the English company, which was concluded



## [Victory of General Wellesley at Assaye and Argaum.]

at Bassein, on the last day of the year. Agreeably to a stipulation in this treaty, a plan for the restoration of the peishwa was adopted, and immediately carried into effect. Orders were despatched to general Stuart, commanding at Hurryhur, directing him to detach from the main body, a considerable force, for the purpose of advancing into the Mahratta dominions. The command of this detachment was confided by lord Clive, to major-general Arthur Wellesley, whose extensive local knowledge and personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, were peculiarly calculated to insure success to the intended operations. Holkar having precipitately retreated at the approach of the British, general Wellesley advanced rapidly to Poonah, which was re-entered by its sovereign on the 13th of May. Meanwhile Scindia and the rajah of Berar were negotiating an alliance with Holkar, of which the governor-general having at length obtained positive evidence, it was resolved to employ the whole military force in the three presidencies, Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, to break a confederacy rendered particularly dangerous by the junction of Perron, who had obtained almost the power and influence of a sovereign prince, and possessed an army trained in European discipline. It was a fortunate occurrence, that the French admiral Linois, on arriving with a reinforcement of French troops before Pondicherry, was prevented from forwarding them, and that on the arrival of intelligence of the renewal of hostilities, all those whom he landed were made prisoners of war.

While negotiations were carrying on with the confederate chieftains, a vast plan of operations was formed by the British, for a combined attack, on the united armies in the Deccan, on Perron's establishment in the Douab; and on every assailable point in the vast territories of Scindia and the Berar rajah in Hindostan. When the period arrived for commencing hostilities, general Wellesley, who was opposed to the two latter chieftains, marched against the fortress of Ahmednugur, which he reduced on the 12th of August, and then advanced to Aurungabad. On the 23d of September he extended the foundation of his military renown by a complete victory at Assaye, over the combined enemy, commanding more than six times the number of his own army. In the mean while the Bombay army had been successful in the Guzzerat, and speedily gained possession of the territories of Scindia in that province. In the months of September and October the town and province of Cuttack were wrested from the rajah of Berar by a force under the command of lieutenant-colonel Harcourt. In the north of India, general Lake, at the head of the Bengal army, reduced the strong fortress of Ally Ghur, after urging to a precipitate retreat the forces commanded by Perron, who from that moment lost his reputation and influence in India, and forfeited the confidence which the native powers had reposed in him. Pursuing his successes, the British general advanced towards the city of Delhi, and gave battle to the army of Scindia, commanded by Louis Bourguien, and, after a severe conflict, obtained a complete victory, which prevented the release of the mogul emperor Shah Aulum. He then reduced the fort of Agra, and on the 1st of November defeated the remainder of Scindia's forces, in which were fifteen of Perron's regular battalions, at Laswaree. Meantime general Wellesley, following up his victory



[War in Ceylon.—Parliament.—Suspension of Habeas Corpus in Ireland.]

at Assaye, drove the rajah of Berar into his own territories, and encountering him on the 28th of November in the plains of Argaum, achieved another splendid victory; which was followed by the capture of Gamil Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India. These successes compelled the rajah to sue for peace, which was concluded on the 17th of December. By its conditions he renounced the confederacy against the British; ceded the province of Cuttack, with some other territories, and engaged never to take into his service the subject of any state at war with the English. His example was speedily followed by Scindia, who entering into similar engagements respecting the Shah, and the employment of foreigners, ceded all his forts, territories, and rights in the Douab, and in the districts northward of the dominions of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Judpoor, together with Baroach in the Guzzerat and Ahmednaghur in the Deccan. Thus, after a glorious campaign of five months, was dissolved this powerful confederacy, by a treaty, which extended and consolidated the dominion of the British, while it annihilated the influence of the French in India.

During this war, hostilities broke out in Ceylon, between the British, and the king of Kandi, who had refused to give satisfaction for the seizure of some property belonging to the former. The king fled from his capital on the approach of the army sent against it, and his throne was occupied by a new claimant, who purchased his elevation by a grant of territory. The exiled monarch agreed to an armistice; and afterwards, taking advantage of the absence of the British forces, who had been withdrawn in consequence of sickness, he invested the fort of Kandi, and after promising a safe retreat to the garrison, murdered the new king and about 170 Europeans. He afterwards invaded the British possessions, and met with a severe repulse; but he succeeded in re-establishing himself on the throne of Kandi.

On the meeting of parliament in November, the principal topics of the speech from the throne were, the successes in the West Indies, the suppression of the Irish insurrection, and the conclusion of a convention with Sweden, for the adjustment of certain differences arising from an article in the treaty of 1661, relative to maritime rights. In reference to the threat of invasion, the king declared, that as he and his brave and loyal people were embarked in one common cause, it was his fixed determination, if occasion should arise, to share their exertions and dangers in defence of their constitution, religion, laws, and independence.

After the usual addresses had been voted, acts were passed for continuing the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and the existence of martial law in Ireland; and as the probable duration of the war demanded an augmentation of the army, troops were voted to the amount of 129,000 men for Great Britain and Ireland, and 38,600 for the colonies and dependencies, exclusive of India. On this occasion Mr. Windham inveighed with great acrimony against the military system adopted by ministers, and pointed out the inferiority of volunteer associations and bodies of reserve, to a regular army of genuine soldiers, disciplined for offensive as well as defensive warfare. In connexion with these military arrangements, a bill was introduced on the 1st of February for consolidating and explaining the existing laws

[Illness and recovery of the king.—Navy.—Declining influence of ministers.]

relative to the volunteers. In the course of the debates to which it gave rise, Mr. Pitt proposed that this description of force should be subjected to stricter discipline and more active service, that it might be more nearly assimilated with the regular army; but his amendments were rejected, though not by a large majority.

On the 14th of February his majesty was taken suddenly ill while at the queen's palace, and the public sympathy was deeply excited by an apprehension of the return of the malady by which he had been formerly afflicted. The attack, however, was so slight that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions; and in the course of a month the symptoms of convalescence were so decided as to afford hopes of a rapid and complete restoration of health.

On the 15th of March, Mr. Pitt moved for an inquiry into the administration of the navy. He called for the production of an account stating the number of ships and armed vessels in commission at three different periods, 1793, 1801, and 1803; from which he thought the result would be a conviction, that considering the existing dangers of the country, its naval resources were more inadequate at the present than at any former period. The board of admiralty had considered gun-boats peculiarly serviceable for resisting invasion; yet, in the course of a year they had built only twenty-three, while the enemy in the same period had constructed nearly a thousand. From the period when hostilities were renewed, our navy ought to have been increasing instead of diminishing; notwithstanding which, government had only contracted for the building of two ships of the line in the merchant yards, when it was well known that during a war the building of ships was always nearly suspended in the king's yards, which were then wanted for repairing damages which our ships might sustain in the service. It was also worthy of remark, that in the first year of the late war, our naval establishment was increased from 16,000 to 76,000 seamen; whereas, having begun the present war with an establishment of 50,000, we had augmented them in the course of the first year to only 86,000 men. Mr. Tierney in resisting this attack, enumerated the efficient naval force, and asserted that it was adequate to all the purposes both of defence and aggression. Some of his statements were controverted by admiral Berkeley, who urged the necessity of immediate inquiry. Mr. Sheridan vindicated the admiralty, and hinted that lord St. Vincent had rendered himself obnoxious by his laudable zeal in the correction of abuses, and his hostility to all corrupt and fraudulent practices. In that eulogy Mr. Fox concurred, but he was disposed to believe that the maritime defence of the country had been neglected. The motion was negatived by the small majority of 71, which indicated that the influence of ministers was on the decline.

This change became more apparent in a division on Mr. Fox's motion for an improvement in the defensive system of the country; and in that which took place on the following day (April 25,) in a committee on the army-of-reserve suspension bill, when the ministerial majority was reduced to 37. Mr. Addington then determined on retiring from administration, after he had adjusted the financial concerns of the year. The supplies were estimated at thirty-six millions for Great Britain alone: and the ways and means consisted of certain

[Resignation of Mr. Addington and return of Mr. Pitt.—Conspiracy of Georges, &c.]

additions to the war-taxes, a loan of ten millions, and a vote of credit of two millions and a half. The corresponding resolutions were agreed to. On the 3d of May, the thanks of both houses were voted to the civil and military officers and the army in India, on the motion of ministers; and this was their last act. On the 12th, it was announced, that Mr. Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Pitt was nominated his successor.

The nation conceived great hopes from this transfer of the helm of government into the hand of so able and experienced a statesman, at a crisis when the contest with France was likely to become more arduous in consequence of the change which was taking place in that country. On the occurrences which led to that change, it may be necessary to bestow a brief notice. Early in February, a plot was detected at Paris, the object of which was to subvert the consular government. The principal persons accused were general Pichegru, Georges, a Chouan leader, and Lajolais his confident. General Moreau was so far implicated in the conspiracy as to have had some secret interviews with Pichegru since his return to Paris. On the testimony of an agent of the parties who had been apprehended near Calais, Moreau and Lajolais were arrested. Pichegru and Georges for some time eluded the search of the police, but were discovered, and committed to prison. The plot was attributed to the machinations of the English government; and on its disclosure, the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, sent deputations to Bonaparte, imploring him to take proper measures for the preservation of a life so dear to France. Georges and some of his accomplices were publicly executed, but a different fate was reserved for Pichegru, who was found strangled in prison, by his own hand, according to the government report; which, however, was not universally credited. General Moreau, who could not have been sacrificed without giving great offence to the army, by whom he was sincerely beloved, was permitted to pass into Spain, from whence he embarked for the United States.

Bonaparte sealed the suppression of this conspiracy by an act which has fixed an indelible stain on his character. The duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, after serving with distinction in the emigrant regiment of Condé, had retired, when it was disbanded, to Ettenheim, in the electorate of Bavaria. While residing there, little apprehensive of an attack upon his person, he was seized on the 15th of March by a body of French cavalry, who had passed the Rhine on the preceding night, under the command of Caulaincourt, an aide de camp of Bonaparte, and was instantly conveyed to the castle of Strasburg. On the 17th, he was sent forward to Paris, in consequence of orders received by telegraph, and after an uninterrupted journey of four hundred miles, was lodged in the prison of the Temple; from whence, without an interval of repose, he was hurried away to the castle of Vincennes, where he was taken before a military commission, composed of persons devoted to Bonaparte, and selected by Murat. He was charged with having borne arms against the French republic; with having offered his services to the English government, placed himself at the head of a body of French emigrants in Fribourg and Baden, maintained a correspondence in Strasburg in favour of England, and promoted the conspiracy "planned by the English"



[Execution of the duke d'Enghien.—Intrigues of the British envoys in Germany.]

against the first consul. On each of these charges, the court, in the course of two hours, without calling for evidence, pronounced him guilty, and passed on him the sentence of death. He was confined in a dungeon until the following night, when Murat arrived at the castle, accompanied by E. Mortier, Duroc, Hulin, and Louis Bonaparte. A guard of mamelukes, who had escorted Murat, were the torch-bearers at the execution, which was to be perpetrated by Italian grenadiers. The duke, who throughout this cruelly prolonged torture had displayed the greatest firmness and equanimity, met his death with the same nobleness of soul. He was shot in the wood of Vincennes, and his corpse, being placed in a coffin partly filled with lime, was interred in the garden of the castle. It has been said that Josephine Bonaparte, aware of the meditated outrage, interceded on behalf of the devoted victim to her husband; but her tears failed to soften the heart of that sordid, unprincipled, and remorseless man.

To smother the indignation excited throughout Europe by this atrocity, and to pre-occupy the ground of complaint, the French government published the discovery of another plot, in which they implicated the British minister at the court of Munich, Mr. Drake, and the envoy to the elector of Wurtemberg, Mr. Spencer Smith; a mass of documents and intercepted letters were produced, from which it appeared that Mr. Drake had incautiously given some attention to the representations and projects of the infamous Mehée de la Touche, who had obtained access to him, and had made a tender of his services. Having laid this snare, the man reported to the French government the result of his intrigues. The originals of the correspondence were communicated to the elector of Bavaria, who directed his minister, the baron de Montgelas, to express his regret that his capital should have been the central point of a correspondence so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was charged, and declaring that it was impossible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his court. On this intimation, the British envoy found it impossible to continue his residence in the Bavarian territories; and Mr. Spencer Smith, on receiving a similar notification from the elector of Wurtemberg, was also under the necessity of quitting Stutgard. As the papers respecting this transaction were widely distributed throughout Europe, it became necessary for the British government to vindicate itself from the charges which they contained. A circular letter was accordingly addressed by lord Hawkesbury to the different foreign ministers resident in London, which, in repelling the imputation of countenancing projects of assassination, maintained the right of belligerent powers to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they may be at war. The exercise of this right was fully sanctioned by the actual state of the French nation, and by the conduct of its government, who had ever since the commencement of the war maintained a communication with the disaffected in his majesty's dominions, and had assembled on the coast of France a body of Irish rebels for the purpose of aiding their designs. And if any accredited minister at a foreign court had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view to obtain information of the projects of the French government, he had done no more than ministers, under similar cir-

[Bonaparte nominated emperor.—Opposed by Carnot.]

cumstances, had uniformly been considered as having a right to do. These arguments were combatted in a circular note from M. Talleyrand, addressed to the French diplomatic agents, who were authorized to declare to the governments where they resided, that Bonaparte would not recognise the English diplomatic body in Europe, so long as the British government did not abstain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and did not restrain them within the limits of their functions.

The French people were taught to infer from these plots, the necessity of investing their first magistrate with higher functions; and accordingly the senate, on the 27th of March, proposed to nominate him hereditary emperor. Their address was followed by others from the armies, the municipality of Paris, and various public bodies. On the 1st of May, a member of the tribunate named Curée, submitted to that body a proposition for conferring on Napoleon Bonaparte the rank and title of emperor of the French, and of making the said rank and title hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture. The only man who opposed it was Carnot: he remarked that the liberty of Rome perished as soon as Cæsar had usurped absolute power, and enquired whether it were not to destroy Bonaparte's own work, to render France his private patrimony. After the peace of Amiens he had the choice of a republic or a monarchy; but he swore to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, who had made him her guardian. The establishment of a new dynasty would place obstacles in the way of a general peace; and if its recognition were to be extorted from foreign powers by force of arms, the security of France might be endangered for an empty title. This address was answered by vehement animadversions on his own conduct during the revolution, and by expressions of astonishment at his opposition to a measure which alone could prevent the return of the miseries which that revolution had occasioned. The proposition being adopted on the following day, a decree framed in consequence was transmitted to the senate, and on the 18th of May an organic consultum was issued, entrusting the government of the republic to the emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, and empowering him, if he should have no male issue, to adopt an heir from the children and grandchildren of his brothers, Joseph and Louis. Thus, a revolution, unprecedented in the history of mankind, terminated in the establishment of a military despotism, which not only quenched the flame of liberty in France, but threatened to extinguish it in every quarter of the globe.

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

New ministry.—Abolition of the slave-trade postponed.—Plan for the military defence of the country.—India Budget.—Prorogation of parliament.—Dispute between France and Russia.—Supineness of Prussia and the German states.—Remonstrance of the king of Sweden.—Disputes of Austria with Bavaria.—Subserviency of Spain to France.—Expostulation of the British minister.—Armaments in the Spanish ports.—Naval affairs.—Recapture of Gorée.—Repulse of Linois.—Capture of Surinam.—Operations on the coast of France.—Catamaran expedition.—Detention of Spanish treasure ships.—Negotiations at Madrid continued.—Spain declares war against England.—Measures of France for improving her marine.—She obtains the cession of Genoa.—Seizure of sir George Rumbold by the French.—Coronation of Bonaparte.—War in India.—Marquis Cornwallis appointed governor-general.

IN the formation of a new cabinet Mr. Pitt was authorized to make proposals to lord Grenville and all the friends with whom he had of late been accustomed to vote, with the exception of Mr. Fox. The answer of his lordship was, that they saw no hope of any effectual remedy to the mischiefs resulting from a weak and inefficient administration, but by uniting in the public service as large a portion as possible, of the weight, talents, and character, to be found in public men of all descriptions, and without any exception. Entertaining that opinion, they agreed in deciding that they ought not to accept the proposals, on the principle of exclusion avowed in them. The nation was thus disappointed in the hopes excited by the prospect of such a union; and contemplating the increasing dangers and difficulties of the war, beheld with anxious solicitude the partial change of administration which ensued on the rejection of these overtures. It had been confidently predicted that if Mr. Pitt, lord Grenville, and Mr. Fox, could have acted in perfect concert, they might have restored the balance of Europe.

The following members of Mr. Addington's administration retained their stations under the new arrangement: the duke of Portland, president of the council; lord Eldon, chancellor; the earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal; the earl of Chatham, master-general of the ordnance, and lord Castlereagh, president of the board of control. Lord Hawkesbury passed from the office of foreign affairs to the home department. The new members were, Mr. Pitt, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty; lord Harrowby, secretary for foreign affairs; lord Camden, secretary for the department of war and colonies; and lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet. The government of Ireland remained unchanged, with the exception of Mr. Wickham, chief secretary, who retired in ill health, and was succeeded by sir Evan Nepean. The following new appointments took place in the subordinate offices of government: Mr. William Dundas, secretary at war; Mr. Canning, treasurer of the navy; Mr. George Rose and lord Charles Somerset, joint paymasters of the forces; the duke of Mon-



[Abolition of the slave trade postponed.—India budget.]

trose, joint paymaster-general; Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Sturges Bourne, secretaries to the treasury.

The proceedings in parliament sustained little interruption from these ministerial changes. Some progress was made toward the abolition of the slave trade, by the appointment of a committee, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, to consider the propriety of introducing a bill for the attainment of that object after a time to be limited. The bill was framed accordingly, and after passing through two stages was committed by a majority of seventy-nine votes to twenty; but on account of the lateness of the season, the enactment was postponed until next session.

One of the first measures instituted by the new minister, related to the military defence of the country. He proposed to remove the difficulties of recruiting for the regular army, by destroying the competition which existed between those who offered bounties for the limited service, and those who recruited for the general service. He also proposed that an additional force should be created, of such nature and quality as would render the troops of the line more disposable; and enable the government to interfere with effect, in case any favourable opportunities should occur on the continent of Europe. By supplying the deficiency of the number appointed to be raised under the army-of-reserve act, and by reducing the militia to its ancient establishment, he calculated on procuring an annual supply of 12,000 recruits to the regular army.

To render the ballot less burthensome on individuals than it was under the former act, and at the same time to encourage and oblige the parishes to furnish their respective quotas, he wished to impose on such as failed a certain fine, which was to go into the general recruiting fund. The "additional force" thus created, was to serve for five years, but not to be sent abroad; it was to be auxiliary to the regular army, and to form a stock, from which that army might be recruited. Mr. Windham considered this measure as an injudicious mixture of voluntary and compulsory service. He knew of no legal mode which parish officers had to find the men; he thought they must have recourse to crimping and high bounties; and he did not believe that to attach battalions of men so raised to regular battalions, would be any encouragement to them to enlist, as it confined them to the one battalion to which they were attached. He considered that the military strength of the country would be less improved by making every man a soldier, than by placing the regular armies on the best possible footing. The bill encountered much opposition in its successive stages, but was at length passed.

On the 10th of July, the India budget was produced in the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, who represented the affairs of the company as affected both by the European war, and by the hostilities against the Mahrattas. From the statement of their accounts, it appeared that the debt had increased within the last year, 1,229,821*l.*, that their assets had increased 1,959,396*l.*, leaving the net improvement for the year 729,575*l.* When he had before stated the expectation that the company entertained, of being able to pay the annual 500,000*l.* to government, it was on a presumption of the continuance of peace, and in a posture of affairs very different from the present.

[Parliament prorogued.—Measures for improving the national force.]

Lord Archibald Hamilton observed, that the house was annually amused with splendid promises of the extinction of the company's debt, and of the approach of that era, when India would contribute to the expenses of the empire. On the contrary, the debt which was last year 18 millions, had now increased to 19 millions. Mr. Francis thought, that the mischief was in a state of progression, and that every year would find our affairs deteriorated. At the renewal of the company's charter, it had been expressly provided that the country should receive half a millington annually; and yet, after the first year, this sum was never paid. It was strange, that out of a territorial revenue of 13 millions, and a flourishing home-trade, there was not surplus enough to pay a sum so comparatively trifling. The deficiency demanded the most serious investigation of parliament. It had been the constant practice for the last twenty-one years, and appeared to be a regular system with those who produced the India accounts, to announce the approach of prosperity, by estimates rated higher than subsequent events had justified. Mr. Charles Grant asserted from his own positive knowledge, that the company's affairs were in a much better state at the present period, than in the year 1793. After some explanations from lord Castlereagh, the resolutions were agreed to in the committee. On the day appointed for discussing them, lord Castlereagh entered into a very detailed statement, to prove, that neither he nor his predecessor had ever held out any promises that would not have been fulfilled, if it had not been for wars that could not have been foreseen. He concluded by moving, that the proper officer should be directed to lay before the house, an account of the revenue, and charges of India, for the last ten years, distinguishing each year; and after a long conversation, the motion was carried without a division.

Parliament was prorogued on the 31st of July, when the king, after applauding the measures which had been adopted for resisting the threatened invasion, expressed a hope that the exertions and example of this country might by their influence on other nations, lead to the re-establishment of a system that would oppose an effectual barrier to those schemes of unbounded ambition and aggrandizement, which threatened to overwhelm the continent of Europe.

To realize this hope of a coalition against France, the minister redoubled his efforts for the augmentation of the regular army, and for the restoration of the navy to that state, which might afford to our future allies the surest prospects of support and co-operation. Happy would it have been for the great cause, if he had taught them to depend more upon these aids, than upon the subsidies, which he prepared to lavish with so unsparing and indiscriminate a hand. It was no easy task to repair the mischiefs which the late system of economy had occasioned in every department of the naval administration. The deficiency of stores may be appreciated from the single fact, that even the hemp, which the vigilance of the former admiralty had amassed, was sold at the peace, on the pretext that it was not worth the expense of warehouse-room; and agents from France were the principal purchasers. The different convoys were unprotected; the commerce of Great Britain in every sea was exposed to the insult and depredations of the enemy; and the means for blockading the hostile ports were reduced to a shattered and mutilated fleet, inade-

[Remonstrance of Russia respecting the duke d'Enghien.]

quately manned by mariners, whom privation and rigorous discipline had not wholly disgusted with the service. On the appointment of lord Melville to the admiralty a total change of system took place: the arsenals were replenished; orders were given for the construction of men of war and frigates in the king's yards, and the practice was revived of contracting for the building of others in the merchants' yards; the pressing urgency for a strong reinforcement to the fleets was supplied by the purchase of East India ships; and the most judicious preparations were made for restoring to each vessel in the service its full complement of men. This rapid augmentation of maritime force was evidently prompted by the changes, which were now taking place in the foreign relations of Great Britain.

After the arrest and murder of the duke d'Enghien, the emperor of Russia caused a strong remonstrance to be presented to the French government, and called upon the princes of the German empire to demand satisfaction for that gross violation of its neutrality. The French government replied, by observing, that the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, most concerned in the fate of Germany, had understood that the French government were authorized in arresting, at two leagues from the frontier, French rebels, who by their conduct had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations. The first consul had no account to render to the emperor of Russia, on a point which in no wise concerned his interests; and he enquired what need there could be of empty pretences, if the intentions of his imperial majesty were to form a new coalition. He accused Russia of protecting French emigrants, who were forming plots against him; and in avowing his repugnance to a war with that power, declared that he should prefer it to a state of things derogatory to the station which France held in Europe. A recriminative correspondence ensued on various points of dispute; and at length, the Russian chargé d'affaires at the court of France demanded his passports.

The appeal of Alexander to the diet of Ratisbon failed to rouse the spirit of the Germanic body. The king of Prussia, whose influence in the north of the empire was decisive, evinced no disposition to resist the aggressions of Bonaparte; and his minister, in conjunction with that of Baden, merely expressed a hope that the first consul would, of himself, give such a full and satisfactory explanation respecting the seizure of the duke d'Enghien, as might entirely correspond with the views of the emperor of Russia. The great majority of the other states, fearful of the renewal of a contest in which they might risk more than they could hope to gain, maintained an inflexible silence. The king of Great Britain reminded the diet that a still greater violation of the treaty of Luneville, and of the independence of Germany, had been committed by France in her unjustifiable seizure of the electorate of Hanover. The king of Sweden, as duke of Pomerania, expressed in still stronger terms his abhorrence of the conduct of France, which he considered as doubly injurious to himself, in his quality of a member of the Germanic body, and in his sovereign capacity of guarantee for the treaty of Westphalia. These spirited remonstrances, from sovereigns who might safely defy the resentment of France, were not likely to be imitated by princes whose territories lay at her mercy; and accordingly the few who declared themselves



[Dispute between Austria and Bavaria.—Subserviency of Spain to France.]

on this occasion adopted the cautious and quiescent policy of Brandenburg and Baden. But though the influence of France seemed to be thus paramount in Germany, it was not so absolute as to leave her at full liberty to direct her whole force against England. In protesting against the outrage committed against the law of nations, the emperor of Russia had pressed for the execution of a treaty, of which the objects were a guarantee of the independence of Naples, and an indemnity to the king of Sardinia; and these demands provoked the first consul to remove into Italy some of the battalions destined for the invasion of England.

Meanwhile Austria had been employed in repairing the losses which her armies had sustained in the late war, and in placing her military establishments on the best possible footing. She had been involved in a dispute with the elector of Bavaria, who, either stimulated by France, or calculating on her support, had oppressed the equestrian order in his newly acquired territories of Franconia. On the appeal of that body, the emperor sent a dignified and energetic remonstrance to the court of Munich, and at the same time assured the complainants of his support. This mark of decision served to convince Bonaparte that there was a line beyond which his aggressions must not pass, so long as he deemed it prudent to continue at peace with Austria; and he therefore expressed his displeasure at the conduct of the elector of Bavaria; and thus the affair terminated. In the course of the year, the emperor Francis, in consequence as it should seem of the assumption of imperial dignity by the French consul, caused himself to be proclaimed hereditary emperor of Austria.

While the course of affairs in one part of the continent took a direction favourable to the interests of Great Britain, a change was operating in another quarter, which threatened to involve her in extended hostilities. Since the renewal of war, Spain had maintained an ostensible neutrality, while she continued to serve as the secret ally and vassal of France. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded in 1796, she had covenanted to furnish a stated contingent of naval and military force for the prosecution of any war in which the French republic might think proper to engage; and she specifically surrendered any right or pretension to inquire into the nature, origin, or justice of that war. This acknowledgment of unqualified vassalage, gave Great Britain an incontestible right to declare to Spain, that unless she renounced the treaty, or gave assurances that she would not perform the obligations of it, she could not be considered as a neutral power. For prudential reasons, and from motives of forbearance, Great Britain abstained from exercising the right in its full extent; and in consequence of assurances of a pacific disposition on the part of the Spanish government, she did not insist on a distinct and formal renunciation of the treaty. No express demand of succour seems to have been made by France until July 1803; and on the first notification of the war, Mr. Frere, the British minister at Madrid, was led to believe that his catholic majesty did not think himself necessarily bound by the mere fact of a war between Great Britain and France, to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty of St. Ildefonso. In the month of October a convention was signed, by which Spain agreed to pay to France a certain sum monthly in lieu of naval and military

[Armaments in Spanish ports.—Blockade of Ferrol by the British.]

succours; but of the amount of that sum no official information was given. The British ambassador made known to the Spanish government, that a subsidy as large as that which they were supposed to have engaged to pay to France, far exceeded the bounds of forbearance, and could only be connived at as a temporary expedient. He was afterwards instructed to protest against the convention as a violation of neutrality, and a justifiable cause of war; and to declare, that if persevered in, it would be so considered; that the entrance of any French troops into Spain must be refused; that any naval preparation would be a great cause of jealousy, and any attempt to give naval assistance to France would be an immediate cause of war; that the Spanish ports must remain open to British commerce; and that British ships must have equal treatment with those of France. He was also instructed, if any French troops entered Spain, or if he received authentic information of any naval armaments preparing for the assistance of France, to leave Madrid, and to give immediate notice to the British naval commanders, that they might proceed to hostilities without the delay that might be occasioned by a reference home. Considerable discussions had taken place before the receipt of these instructions, which were dated 21st of January, 1804; and Mr. Frere declared that all further forbearance on the part of England must depend on the cessation of naval armaments, and a prohibition of the sale of prizes in the Spanish ports. On the second of these points a satisfactory answer was given, and orders were issued accordingly; on the first, a reference was made to former declarations; but to a question concerning a disclosure of the treaty by France, no satisfactory answer was ever given. In the month of July, the Spanish government gave assurances of faithful and settled neutrality, and disavowed any orders to arm in their ports; but in the subsequent month it was ascertained by the British admiral commanding the ships off Ferrol, that reinforcements of soldiers and sailors had arrived through Spain for the French fleets at that port and Toulon. On this intelligence, Mr. Frere presented two notes to the Spanish ministers; but no answer was received to either of them. Towards the end of September, it was discovered that very considerable armaments were preparing in the principal ports of Spain; that three first-rate ships of the line had been directed to sail from Cadiz, and that orders had been given to arm the packets as in time of war. No satisfactory explanations were given to the inquiries and representations grounded on this intelligence; whilst, under cover of his Britannic majesty's forbearance, the French government had continued to receive considerable remittances of treasure, and had multiplied the facilities of receiving other supplies. Strong measures of precaution were consequently adopted, and in particular the British admiral off Ferrol was instructed to prevent any Spanish ships of war from quitting that port, or any additional ships of war from entering it. At the same time, orders were issued to all admirals and commanders, to exercise a scrupulous and indulgent forbearance toward the Spaniards, and to avoid by all means consistent with the attainment of their object, any act of violence or hostility. Official notice was given to the court of Madrid of these precautions, with an assurance that Great Britain still felt an earnest desire to maintain a good understanding with

## [Capture of Gorée.—Repulse of Linois by captain Dance.]

Spain; but this could be only on condition that she abstained from all hostile preparations, and made a full and explicit disclosure of the nature and extent of her engagements with France, which had hitherto been so frequently and so fruitlessly demanded. The precautions were deemed indispensably necessary to guard against the augmentation by Spain of her means of naval preparation during the discussion, and against the possible consequences of the safe arrival of the expected American treasure in the Spanish ports; an event which had in former times become the epoch of the termination of discussions and the commencement of hostilities on the part of Spain. She had bound herself not only to pay an annual subsidy to France, but, whenever it should be deemed necessary, to assist that power with all her forces; and it was in the sole option of Bonaparte to determine at what period she should pass into the condition of an active auxiliary from that of a tributary vassal, to which he had reduced her in common with Holland, Portugal, and Naples.

The year 1804 was not distinguished by any very important achievements, either military or naval. In January, the English settlement at Gorée, on the coast of Africa, was taken by a small French force under the chevalier Mahé. On the 7th of March, captain Dixon, of his majesty's frigate the *Inconstant*, with a store ship and some sloops under his command, arrived off the island, and suspecting that it had fallen into the hands of the enemy, sent his first lieutenant to ascertain the fact. As that officer neither returned nor made the preconceived signal, the captain commenced hostilities by cutting a ship out of the harbour, and stationing his small force in such a position as to cut off all succours from Senegal. On the following morning, as he was preparing to attack the town, he was agreeably surprised to see the English colours hoisted over the French, and shortly afterwards received information that the garrison had capitulated to the officer sent on shore. Thus, without a blow being struck, the settlement was recovered, and three hundred black and white troops were captured.

In the Indian seas, an affair took place, which afforded a very gratifying proof of British spirit and intrepidity. Admiral Linois, who, after his escape from Pondicherry, had plundered the settlement of Bencoolen, and committed many depredations on the company's trading vessels in those seas, was encouraged by his uninterrupted successes, to cruise near the straits of Malacca, for the purpose of intercepting the homeward-bound China ships. On the 14th of February, a fleet of fifteen company's ships and twelve country ships, under the command of captain Dance, who being senior, acted as commodore, came in sight of this hostile squadron, consisting of a line of battle ship, three frigates and a brig. Captain Dance immediately made signal to form a line of battle in close order. At sunset the enemy were close up in the rear, and the country ships were then placed by the commodore on the lee-bow, for better protection. On the 15th, at day-break, the enemy were three miles to windward, lying to; both fleets now hoisted their respective colours, and at one in the afternoon, captain Dance, not wishing to wait an attack, and apprehensive that his rear might be cut off, made signal to tack, bear down on the French line, and engage them in succession. In prompt and



[Capture of Surinam.—Attempt to destroy the French flotilla by catamarans.]

exact conformity to this order, the company's fleet bore down upon the enemy under a press of sail. Admiral Linois then closed his line, and opened a fire upon the headmost ships, which reserved theirs for a nearer approach; but before the first three could get into action, the enemy's squadron hauled their wind and stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two the commodore made the signal for a general chase, and pursued his dismayed antagonist for two hours. He then continued his voyage and brought his fleet safe to England. For his gallant conduct in having put to flight a French admiral, commanding ships of war superior in force and in men, and in thus preserving from capture a property valued at a million and a half sterling, he participated with the various commanders and their brave crews, the munificent rewards of the East India Company, and received the well merited honour of knighthood at his majesty's hands.

On the 5th of May, the Dutch settlement of Surinam capitulated to a force sent from Barbadoes under the command of sir Charles Green and commodore Hood. The colony, with the ships of war, artillery, stores, &c., was given up to his majesty, the troops were made prisoners of war, and the inhabitants, to their great satisfaction, were placed under the protection of the British government.

Several operations were undertaken against the enemy's armaments on the coasts of France and Holland; but they generally proved abortive. On the 16th of May an attempt was made by sir Sidney Smith, in the *Antelope* frigate, with some sloops of war, to prevent the junction of the flotilla from Flushing with that at Ostend. The failure of success was attributed to the want of gun-boats. Fifty-nine sail of the Flushing division reached their destined port in safety, and the English force, after the falling of the tide, were obliged to haul off into deep water, with the loss of about fifty men killed and wounded. In August an attack was made by captain Owen on the flotilla anchored in the road of Boulogne, with but indifferent success; and those of captain Oliver, made about the same period at Havre, failed of their object, and produced no other result than some damage occasioned by the explosion of shells in the town. In the beginning of October, so great a proportion of the enemy's flotilla had assembled at Boulogne, that the alarm of invasion became universal in England; and ministers were induced to sanction a project which had been submitted to them for destroying the whole armament, by means of copper vessels of an oblong form, filled with combustibles, and so constructed as to explode by clock-work in a given time. These vessels, called catamarans, were to be towed and fastened under the bottoms of the enemy's gun-boats, by a man in a small raft, who being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly elude detection in a dark night. Fire-ships of various constructions were also to co-operate in the attack. The experiment was to be made under the direction of lord Keith, who was to cover the smaller force with his powerful squadron; and the appearance of about 150 sail of the hostile flotilla in the outer road of Boulogne presented a favourable opportunity for executing an enterprise respecting which the public curiosity had been strongly excited. On the 2d of October lord Keith anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the port, and the requisite

[Detention of the Spanish treasure ships.]

preparations were made for commencing the attack at night. So strongly were ministers interested in its success, that Mr. Pitt and several other members of the cabinet were induced to witness the scene from the elevation of Walmer castle. At a quarter past nine the first detachment of fire-ships was launched, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, which was answered by a tremendous one from the hostile batteries. The vessels of the flotilla opened a passage for them as they approached, and so completely avoided them, that they passed into the rear of the line without doing any damage. At half-past ten the first explosion ship blew up, producing an immense column of fire, but no mischief either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better; and at length, when twelve had been exploded, the engagement ceased, about four in the morning, and the English smaller vessels drew off without the loss of a man. No perceptible destruction had been effected, except of two brigs and some small craft, which seemed to be missing in the morning. The enemy acknowledged a loss of twenty-five men in killed and wounded. Thus terminated, to the confusion of the projectors and the disappointment of the public, an expedition prepared at greater expense than the merits of the plan, on mature examination, might have warranted.

The remonstrances with Spain having failed to rouse that devoted country from the abject state of vassalage to which it had been reduced by an imbecile and corrupt administration, the British government issued orders for the detention of such Spanish ships of war homeward bound as contained bullion or treasure. Pursuant to these orders, captain Graham Moore was detached from the channel fleet to cruise off Cadiz with the *Indefatigable* and three other frigates. On the 5th of October he fell in with four large Spanish frigates steering for that port. At his approach they formed the line of battle a-head; and held on their course without regarding his summons to shorten sail, which he gave on placing each of his ships along-side one of theirs. He fired a shot across the fore-poop of the second, which bore a rear admiral's flag, and this had the desired effect of bringing them to a parley. He then sent an officer to inform the admiral that his orders were to detain the squadron; that it was his earnest wish to execute them without bloodshed, but that the determination on the part of the Spaniards must be made instantly. An unsatisfactory answer having been returned, a close battle ensued, and in less than ten minutes, the admiral's second a-stern, *Las Mercedes*, blew up with a tremendous explosion. The other Spanish frigates struck in succession, after a considerable loss in killed and wounded. A most afflicting calamity attended the loss of the *Mercedes*. A gentleman of rank, who was going to Spain in that ship with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons, had passed with one of the latter on board another frigate, before the action commenced; and they had there the horror of witnessing the dreadful catastrophe, which in an instant severed from them their dearest relatives, and deprived them of a fortune which had been saved during twenty-five years of service. On the passage to England, captain Moore did all in his power to mitigate their affliction; and their peculiar claims on the consideration of the British government

[Spain declares war against England.—Increase of the French marine.]

were not disregarded. The cargoes of the captured vessels were of immense value, consisting of gold and silver bullion and rich merchandise. The seizure ought to have been preceded by a declaration of war; and it should have been effected with such a superiority of force as would have precluded all hope of successful resistance.

This event did not occasion a rupture of the negotiations at Madrid. On the 26th of October, the British chargé d'affaires presented to the Spanish minister a note, in which three conditions were insisted on, as preliminary to the appointment of a minister from Great Britain to settle other matters which remained for discussion. He demanded that the orders given at Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthageua, should be countermanded, as well for the equipment of ships of war in those ports as for their removal from one port to the other; that the armament should be discontinued, and the establishment of ships of war replaced on its former footing, at the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and France; and that a full disclosure should be made of the existing engagements and future intentions of Spain with respect to France. From the above period until the 2d of November the discussions continued with little variation in their tenor, of urgent demands of satisfaction on one side, and evasive replies on the other. The British chargé d'affaires left Madrid on the 14th of December, his catholic majesty having declared war against England on the 12th. During the whole negotiation no mention whatever had been made of the detention of the treasure-ships, and the rupture ultimately took place on grounds distinct from, and totally unconnected with that measure. It was a necessary consequence of the arbitrary conduct of France in compelling Spain to violate conditions, on which, according to distinct and repeated notice from England, depended the continuance of peace. This indeed was not the only act by which she testified an implicit subserviency to the will of her ambitious neighbour. When Bonaparte had sold Louisiana to the United States, the Spanish minister protested against the transfer on the ground that France had not fulfilled those conditions of the private treaty on which she was to receive that territory from Spain. This protest was seconded by preparations for resisting by force of arms the occupation of it by the Americans; but his catholic majesty was obliged to bow to the authoritative interposition of Bonaparte, and acquiesce in the cession.

France had now at her disposal the fleets of her tributary ally, and was thus enabled to cope on less unequal terms than formerly with the navy of Great Britain. She had in the meantime neglected no means for the improvement and augmentation of her own marine. By a convention, concluded on the 20th of October, she obtained from the Ligurian republic, in exchange for some commercial advantages of a very equivocal nature, the service of six thousand seamen during the war, and the use of the harbours, arsenals, and dock-yards. Thus the port of Genoa was virtually ceded to her, under an engagement that the Ligurian republic should at its own expense enlarge the basin for the reception of ten sail of the line, which were to be immediately constructed.

The rising hostility of Russia and Sweden increased the jealousy entertained by the French government against the influence of Eng-



[Coronation of Bonaparte.—War in India against Holkar.]

land on the continent, and, under the pretext of frustrating a conspiracy, they committed another insult on the rights of neutral states. On the 25th of October, Sir George Rumbold, the English chargé d'affaires in the circle of Lower Saxony, was seized at his country house near Hamburg by a party of French troops, who had crossed the Elbe for the purpose; he was conveyed to Paris, imprisoned in the temple, and released only on signing a parole not to return to Hamburg, or reside within a certain distance of the French territories. Concerning this outrage, an application was made by the British minister for foreign affairs to the cabinet of Berlin; but a remonstrance from that quarter had already been made with success, for the liberation of the envoy. After in vain applying for the restitution of his papers, he was conveyed to Cherbourg, and sent by a flag of truce on board the *Niobe* frigate, which carried him to Portsmouth.

Toward the end of the year, Bonaparte received the imperial crown of the French republic from the hands of the pope, who had been sent for from Rome to perform the ceremony; and Dessalines, the negro chief of St. Domingo, dignified himself by assuming the title of emperor of Hayti.

In India, the peace which had crowned the successes of the late glorious campaign, was interrupted by the intrigues and aggressions of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, an adventurer, who, having usurped the dominions of his brother, and renounced his allegiance to the peishwa, laid claim to possessions which would have ensured to him an ascendancy in the Mahratta empire. After a fruitless negotiation for the purpose of inducing him to withdraw within his own territories, the governor-general determined to chastise his arrogance by force of arms. The troops in the Deccan, under general Wellesley, reduced the fortress of Chandore, and other strong places which he held in that country, while the commander-in-chief, lord Lake, by a series of skilful and rapid movements, compelled his cavalry and infantry to risk encounters, which ultimately led to his discomfiture. On the 13th of November, a large force of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four battalions, occupying a strong position near Deeg, supported by a body of irregular cavalry, and by 160 pieces of ordnance, was totally routed by general Fraser, who fell in the moment of victory. On the 17th, after a rapid and extraordinary march with the reserve of the army, lord Lake surprised the main force of the hostile cavalry, commanded by Holkar in person, near the city of Feruckabad, and obtained a complete victory, capturing the whole of his baggage and destroying great numbers of his troops, while the chieftain himself escaped with great difficulty from the field. This splendid success would have decided the contest, had not the unexpected defection of the rajah of Bhurtpore, in violation of a strict alliance with the British, enabled the fugitive to repair his desperate fortunes.

A change was now about to take place in the government of India. The marquis Wellesley had long expressed his desire to return to England, and was now waiting the arrival of his successor, the marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed governor-general on the 24th of December.

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

Lord Sidmouth joins the ministry.—Letter to the king from Bonaparte.—Reply of ministers.—Parliamentary discussions on the overture—on the rupture with Spain.—Budget.—Catholic petitions.—Vote of credit.—Proceedings against lord Melville.—Secession of lords Sidmouth and Buckinghamshire from administration.—French fleets put to sea.—Lord Nelson pursues them to and from the West Indies.—Engagement of Sir Robert Calder with Villeneuve.—Victory of Trafalgar and death of Lord Nelson.—Continental coalition.—Neutral policy of Prussia.—Bonaparte takes the field against the Austrians.—Surrender of general Mack.—Bonaparte enters Vienna—marches into Moravia.—Operations of the Austrians in Italy and the Tyrol.—Battle of Austerlitz.—Armistice.—Peace of Presburg.—Treaty between France and Prussia.—Bonaparte's declaration against the Neapolitan dynasty.—Illness and death of Mr. Pitt.

To strengthen the hands of government, or rather to diminish the force of opposition, a reconciliation was effected between Mr. Pitt and the late premier, who was raised to the peerage, under the title of viscount Sidmouth, and introduced into the cabinet as president of the council, in the room of the duke of Portland. Lord Mulgrave succeeded lord Harrowby as secretary for foreign affairs, and the earl of Buckinghamshire was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Several others of lord Sidmouth's friends were admitted into the privy council.

During the confidential intercourse which ministers were now carrying on with the court of St. Petersburg, they were surprised by an overture from France, in the shape of a letter from Bonaparte to the king. It expressed a wish for peace, and deprecated the continuance of hostilities, as tending to a useless effusion of blood. "Your majesty" said Napoleon, "has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war? To form a coalition with some powers on the continent? The continent will remain tranquil; a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.—To renew intestine troubles? The times are no longer the same.—To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed.—To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve?—If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to cause two nations to fight, merely for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it: and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides." This general avowal of a pacific disposition was unaccompanied by any proposal of terms: it evinced no change in the determination recently announced to the legislative body, that France would never accept any other conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens; and it contained no

[Discussions in parliament on the overture.—Catholic petition.]

renunciation of those schemes of aggrandizement, of which the manifest object was, to ruin the interests, and destroy the influence of Great Britain on the continent. The reply to this overture, which was given in a note from lord Mulgrave to M. Talleyrand, announced, that the king was most desirous to avail himself of the first opportunity, to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace which might not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. But as this end could be attained only by arrangements for the future security and tranquillity of Europe, he felt it impossible to give a more particular answer to the overture, until he had communicated with the powers of the continent, with whom he was engaged in confidential relations, and in particular with the emperor of Russia.

The session of parliament commenced on the 15th of January, by a speech from the throne, in which this correspondence formed a prominent topic: and strong animadversions were made on the conduct of France towards the continent, as evincing a determination to violate every principle of public law or civilized usage which impeded the career of its ruler towards an uncontrolled predominance, if not to universal dominion. After the usual addresses had been voted, the general course of business was resumed, and one of the first measures adopted was a continuation of the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland. An animated discussion took place respecting the rupture with Spain, and it ended in the passing of addresses applauding the conduct of government in that transaction. A bill for the abolition of the slave trade was rejected in the house of commons by seventy-seven votes against seventy. In the budget, which was opened on the 18th of February, the minister stated the joint charge of supplies for Great Britain and Ireland at forty-four millions and a half. A loan was negotiated of twenty millions for England and two and a half for Ireland; several new war-taxes were imposed; an augmentation of one-fourth was laid on the property-tax: and an increase of one-half in the duty on salt was proposed; but being strongly objected to, it was modified by an exemption in favour of the fisheries. Petitions were presented to both houses from the Roman catholics of Ireland, praying relief from civil disabilities; they gave rise to very interesting discussions, but the minister declared that existing circumstances were unfavourable to the claims preferred in them, and they were rejected by considerable majorities. On the 19th of June, in consequence of a royal message relative to negotiations pending with some of the continental powers, a sum not exceeding three millions and a half was granted to his majesty, to enable him to enter into such engagements, and to take such measures as the exigencies of affairs might demand. Parliament, on the 12th of July, was prorogued by commission.

In the course of this session proceedings were instituted against a member of administration, which for a long time very strongly engaged the attention of the public. On the 6th of April, Mr. Whitbread, pursuant to a former notice, brought under the consideration of the house of commons the tenth report of the commission of naval inquiry. In 1785, Mr. Henry Dundas, afterwards viscount Melville, was treasurer of the navy, and he supported an act for regulating that



[Proceedings against lord Melville.]

office. By an order of council the salary attached to it was raised from 2000*l.* to 4000*l.* per annum, and this advance was to be in lieu of all profits, fees, and emoluments which the treasurer might before have derived from the public money in his hands. Although the act was passed in July, it was not until the following January that the balances were paid into the bank agreeably to the terms of the act, and this delay in the transfer was ascribed to motives of private interest. The charges brought by Mr. Whitbread against lord Melville were classed under three heads; first, his having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, in express contempt of the act of parliament, and in gross violation of his duty; second, his connivance in a system of speculation pursued by an individual for whose conduct in the use of the public money he was deeply responsible; and third, his participation in that system. Mr. Whitbread observed, that the commissioners of naval inquiry had discovered deficiencies, for a number of years, in the treasurer's department, amounting to 674,000*l.* a year. It then became necessary to call lord Melville and Mr. Alexander Trotter, the navy paymaster at the above period, before them. Lord Melville could not answer, because he had destroyed the documents: and Mr. Trotter could only answer that some advances had been made to other departments, the amount of which he could not tell. Mr. Trotter, it appeared, had opened five different accounts; his own account, his account as paymaster of the navy, his broker's account, and the account of Mr. Jellico, the deputy-master. When asked for what they were intended, he had the assurance to tell the commissioners that they had no right to interfere in his private affairs. He was also found to have bought largely in the funds for the purpose of selling again to advantage, and lord Melville, to whom the official responsibility attached, was never known to interfere, although the speculations, if unlucky, might have occasioned an enormous loss of public money. No explanation relative to these transactions could be obtained from the broker, Mark Sprot, who had been counselled by his legal adviser to maintain a religious silence. After contrasting the reserve of the ex-treasurer with the open disavowal made by his successors of any emolument from the application of the funds entrusted to them, Mr. Whitbread proposed a series of resolutions, adapted to the circumstances of the case which he had developed. Mr. Pitt remarked, that there was nothing in the report of the commissioners which could imply that any mischief had arisen to the public from the transactions in question, or that the delay of even a single day had occurred in the discharge of any of the demands of the seamen. He proposed, as an amendment, that the report should be referred to a select committee; but afterwards withdrew it, on the suggestion of Mr. Fox, and moved the previous question. On a division, there appeared 216 votes for, and 216 against Mr. Whitbread's motion, and the speaker gave the casting vote in its favour. Mr. Whitbread then proposed an address to his majesty for the removal of lord Melville from his presence and councils for ever; but the consideration of it was postponed until the following Wednesday, and the house was then informed that the first lord of the admiralty had resigned his office, and that Mr. Trotter had been dismissed from his post of paymaster of the navy. A

[Impeachment of lord Melville.--The French fleet puts to sea.]

debate ensued respecting another address to the throne, and it was at length unanimously agreed, that the resolutions of the former night should be laid before his majesty by the whole house. On the 11th of June, previously to Mr. Whitbread's motion for an impeachment, lord Melville obtained permission to address the house of commons on the subject of the reports of the commissioners. He acknowledged that the money entrusted to him had been occasionally appropriated to other public purposes; but he solemnly denied having derived any private benefit from it, or having in any degree participated in the profits made by Mr. Trotter; he at the same time confessed that he had applied the sum of 10,000*l.* in a way, which, consistently with private honour and public duty, he never could and never would reveal. Having concluded his address, he immediately withdrew. Mr. Whitbread's motion for an impeachment was in the first instance negatived, and an amendment, moved by Mr. Bond, for a criminal prosecution, was adopted; but on the 25th Mr. Leycester moved that the house should pursue the former course. Accordingly Mr. Whitbread went to the bar of the house of lords on the following day, accompanied by a great number of commoners, and impeached Henry viscount Melville of high crimes and misdemeanors. A bill was afterwards passed, for indemnifying Mr. Trotter and others, giving evidence in the case.

At a period when France had obtained a great accession of maritime force, and when the hope of a continental alliance rested chiefly on the successful exertions of Great Britain by sea, Mr. Pitt severely felt the loss of a colleague who had so wisely and vigorously directed the naval administration of the country. His chagrin might be in some degree augmented by the secession of lord Sidmouth and the earl of Buckinghamshire, who resigned their respective offices on the 10th of July, and were succeeded in them by earl Camden and lord Harrowby. On the resignation of lord Melville the affairs of the admiralty had been entrusted to sir Charles Middleton, a very old and experienced officer in the civil department of the navy, who was elevated to the peerage under the title of lord Barham. He pursued without deviation the salutary measures of his predecessor for restoring the fleet to that state of efficiency which might enable it to cope with and vanquish the united navies of France and Spain.

Meanwhile the movements of the enemy indicated a determination to realize the haughty menace of Bonaparte, that the ocean was no more to belong to England. Early in the year a squadron of six sail of the line and two frigates, which had been blockaded for more than two years in Rochefort, found means to elude the British force stationed off that port, and put to sea. On the 15th of March, the Toulon fleet, of eleven sail of the line, under admiral Villeneuve, quitted the harbour without being perceived by the squadron under lord Nelson, who, preferring active warfare to a rigorous blockade, was then cruising at some distance, in the hope of inviting the enemy to an open engagement. Apprehending another attempt upon Egypt, lord Nelson proceeded to Alexandria, and not finding them there, pursued his search throughout the Mediterranean, finally taking his station in the Sicilian seas. Villeneuve, a few days after his departure from Toulon, encountered a violent storm, in which his fleet suffered so much

[Lord Nelson sails for the West Indies.—Pursues the French fleet to Europe.]

that he deemed it prudent to return to port to refit. The Rochefort squadron had proceeded to the West Indies, and made a descent on the island of Dominica, which was ably resisted by general Prevost, the governor; and the hostile force re-embarked, after exacting a contribution from the inhabitants of Roseau, and setting fire to the town. The squadron then proceeded to the island of St. Christopher's, and there levied a contribution of 18,000*l.* sterling, burnt some merchantmen, and again put to sea. On the arrival of admiral Cochrane, with six sail of the line, it sailed precipitately for France, and arrived in safety, having escaped the different English fleets then at sea, and some detachments which were cruising expressly to cut off its retreat.

The alarm in the public mind respecting the dangers which threatened the West Indies had scarcely subsided when intelligence was received that the Toulon fleet was again at sea. Villeneuve sailed on the 30th of March to Carthage, with the intention of strengthening himself by the accession of the Spanish ships of war in that port, but not finding them ready for sea, he pursued his course unmolested to Cadiz, and there obtained a reinforcement of one French and six Spanish men of war. Sir John Orde, who blockaded that port with a squadron of five ships, thought it prudent to retire, and succeeded in joining the fleet off Brest under lord Gardner. Villeneuve directly proceeded to the West Indies with an accumulated armament of eighteen sail of the line, carrying a force of 10,000 veteran soldiers, in a perfect state of equipment, besides their full complement of seamen.

Meantime lord Nelson was cruising in the Mediterranean, and it was not until the middle of April that he received information of the departure of the French fleet from that sea. He immediately proceeded to the straits of Gibraltar, and anchored in the bay of Tetuan on the Barbary coast. From various accounts which reached him on that station, he concluded that the combined force of the enemy was destined for the West Indies; and thither he determined to proceed, though his fleet consisted of only ten sail of the line, which had been cruising for more than two years. He could expect no reinforcements from the blockading squadron off Brest, since the enemy's fleet of seventeen sail in that port had made a demonstration of putting to sea, but had returned without risking an engagement, satisfied with having thus distracted the attention of the British. He arrived off Barbadoes on the 4th of June, and there learned that the combined fleet under Villeneuve had reached Martinique about three weeks before, and, with the exception of an attack on the Diamond rock by a force sent for the purpose, had remained inactive during that interval. This inertness was ascribed partly to the sickly state of the men on board and partly to a misunderstanding between the French and Spanish admirals. Hearing that Gravina, after separating his fleet from that of his colleague, had sailed on a secret expedition, lord Nelson proceeded to Trinidad, and finding no enemy there, steered for the island of Grenada, which he reached on the 9th of June. He there learned that the hostile armaments, again acting in conjunction, had sailed that very morning from Martinique, and had taken a course to the northward. Proceeding to Antigua, which he apprehended would be the point of attack, he received accounts to which at first he



[Engagement of sir R. Calder with Villeneuve.—Nelson again at sea.]

could scarcely give credit, that the enemy, dismayed at his arrival, and profiting by the delay in his pursuit, arising from uncertain information, had betaken themselves to a dastardly flight, and were then in full sail for Europe. Taking with him the Spartiate ship of the line, which had joined him on this station, the hero pursued the fugitive fleets across the Atlantic, and on the 27th of July arrived off Cadiz. Finding that the enemy had not arrived at that port, he sailed for Cape St. Vincent, and subsequently traversed the Bay of Biscay, but without meeting his antagonists. He then directed his course to the north-west coast of Ireland; and being again disappointed he resolved on returning to England, after despatching nine ships of the line to reinforce lord Gardner off Brest, in which port he judged it possible that the hostile fleets might attempt to take refuge.

Villeneuve with his fleet, now augmented to twenty sail of the line, French and Spanish, fell in with the English squadron consisting of fifteen sail, under sir Robert Calder, which was cruising off Cape Finisterre. This encounter took place on the 22d of July, three days after lord Nelson reached Gibraltar, on his return from the West Indies. Sir Robert Calder attacked the enemy and took two ships, but from the foggy state of the weather he deemed it necessary to bring to the squadron and cover them. On the following day Villeneuve repeatedly bore up in order of battle, and as often hauled his wind, on perceiving no disposition to renew the engagement. On the 24th he bore away to the south-eastward under easy sail. This result greatly disappointed the public, and the murmurs of disapprobation were so loud and general, that the British admiral returned to England and demanded a court-martial. He was reprimanded, not for fear or cowardice, but for an error in judgment in not having done his utmost to take or destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage. The hostile fleets having reached Ferrol in safety, and there augmented their force to twenty-seven sail of the line, proceeded to Cadiz, and entered that port on the 27th of August, the small squadron under admiral Collingwood not offering any opposition; which indeed would have been equally rash and ineffectual against so overwhelming a force.

Lord Nelson, on his arrival in London, was received with those honours which he had so justly merited by his intrepid exertions, and was appointed to the command of an armament of sufficient force to cope with those of the enemy in any quarter of the world to which they might be destined. He hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, at Portsmouth, on the 11th of September, and put to sea on the following day, without waiting for five ships of the line which were preparing to sail with him. Having taken the command of the fleet under admiral Collingwood, on the coast of Spain, he resumed his former tactics, and, instead of blockading the port of Cadiz, stationed his main force near cape St. Mary's, and established a line of frigates to observe and communicate the movements of the enemy. In the middle of October, on being apprized that a reinforcement of seven sail of the line would speedily join him from England, he detached admiral Louis, with six ships of the line, on a particular service, and this bold manœuvre was performed in so open a manner, that it had the desired effect of inducing the enemy to put to sea. On the 21st

## [Battle of Trafalgar.]

of October, the combined fleets, consisting of eighteen French and fifteen Spanish ships, were descried off cape Trafalgar, sailing toward the straits of Gibraltar. The English fleet, which had received the expected reinforcement, and consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, bore up in two columns as they formed in the order of sailing, conformably to instructions issued by the admiral in contemplation of an engagement. In these instructions he directed the captains to look to their particular line as their rallying point, "but if the signals should not be clearly understood, no captain could do very wrong if he should place his ship alongside one of the enemy." Lord Nelson, who headed the weather column, was to attack the hostile line near the centre, while admiral Collingwood, who conducted the leeward column, was to break it if possible at a considerable distance from the extreme rear, and thus, it was hoped, the victory would be decided ere the van could be brought to succour the ships engaged. The last telegraphic signal issued by the great commander on going into action was "England expects every man to do his duty."

Villeneuve, believing that the English fleet consisted of only twenty-one sail, originally intended to attack them with an equal number of vessels, while twelve of his select ships, acting as a body of reserve, were to bear down and double upon the British line after the action had commenced. On perceiving, however, the real force with which he had to contend, he arranged his ships in one line, forming a crescent convex to leeward. The conflict began about noon, when admiral Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, gallantly entered into action about the twelfth ship from the enemy's rear, leaving his van unoccupied: the succeeding ships broke through in all parts a-stern of their leaders, and engaged their antagonists at the muzzles of their guns. Lord Nelson, on board the *Victory*, directed his attack on the enemy's line between the tenth and eleventh ships in the van; but finding it so close, that there was not room to pass, he ordered his ship to be run on board the *Redoubtable*, opposed to him; his second, the *Temeraire*, engaged the next ship in the enemy's line, and the others singled out their adversaries in succession according to the order of battle. During nearly four hours the conflict was tremendous, particularly in that part of the line where the commander-in-chief had commenced the onset. The guns of his ship repeatedly set fire to the *Redoubtable*, and the British seamen were employed at intervals during the heat of the fight in throwing buckets of water on the spreading flames, which might else have involved both ships in destruction. About three in the afternoon, the Spanish admiral, with ten sail of the line, joining the frigates to leeward, bore away for Cadiz; ten minutes afterwards, five of the headmost ships of the enemy's van, under admiral Dumanoir, tacked, and stood to windward of the British line; the sternmost was taken, but the others escaped. The heroic exertions of the British were rewarded by the capture of nineteen ships of the line, with the commander-in-chief Villeneuve and two Spanish admirals. The tempestuous weather which came on after the action rendered it necessary to destroy most of these prizes, and only four were carried into Gibraltar. The fugitive ships under Dumanoir were captured off Ferrol, on the 4th of November, by a squadron under the command of sir Richard Strachan.

[Death of Nelson.—Coalition against France.—Opinion of Mr. Fox respecting it.]

The loss of the victors in the battle of Trafalgar was estimated at 1587 men killed and wounded; but the national regrets on the effusion of so much brave blood were absorbed in the greater sorrow caused by the fall of the commander-in-chief, who was mortally wounded by a musket-shot from the ship with which he was closely engaged. He survived the battle about two hours; and the pain of his last moments was soothed by the glad tidings that the hostile flags were striking around him; when, after breathing his thanks to heaven for being enabled once more to do his duty to his country, he expired without a groan. Thus died the valiant Lord Nelson, after a victory which utterly blasted the hopes of Bonaparte for the subjugation and ruin of England.

It is painful to record, after this splendid achievement, the failure of a coalition against the predatory domination of the French armies on the continent. A treaty of concert was concluded at St. Petersburg on the 11th of April, between his Britannic majesty and the emperor of Russia, by which they agreed to employ the most prompt and efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe; and for the accomplishment of that end, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by Great Britain, might amount to 500,000 men. The objects proposed to be effected by this league were, the establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland; the re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont with as large an accession of territory as circumstances would permit: the future security of the kingdom of Naples; the evacuation of Italy and Elba by the French forces; and the establishment of an order of things in Europe which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations. His Britannic majesty engaged to contribute to the common efforts by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as by furnishing vessels for the transport of troops; and to assist the different powers by subsidies, which should correspond with the amount of their respective forces so employed. It was mutually agreed, that, in the event of such a league, no peace should be made with France but with the common consent of all the confederated powers. Sweden and Austria manifested a disposition to become members of this alliance, provided its objects could not be attained by pacific measures; and conformably to this condition a Russian envoy, baron Novosiltzoff, was appointed to proceed to Paris.

It was in contemplation of such a confederacy, that the British parliament, toward the close of the session, had placed the sum of three millions and a half at the disposal of his majesty. On that occasion Mr. Fox observed, that if it were meant to engage the co-operation of Russia, the prevailing opinion was, that that power could do nothing without the assistance of Prussia and of Austria; and of either of these, he saw no hope whatever. As to Prussia, he thought that there was reason rather for fear than for hope; and if Austria were to move, the experience of the past afforded ground to apprehend that she would be obliged to submit to whatever terms the enemy might dictate. If she chose the alternative of holding out to the last, there would be danger of the total extinction of the second power in



[Neutral policy of Prussia.—Correspondence between Austria and France.]

Europe; and if she chose the more probable alternative, of treating for peace, we should then be driven, after all our efforts and expense, either to make a separate peace, or to carry on a defensive war. If a well-connected alliance could be formed with Russia, Austria, Prussia, and the other powers of Europe, it would afford hopes that we might obtain reasonable terms of peace; but in any other sort of alliance, he could see no hope whatever. His opinion was, that instead of declining to treat, we should have offered to France reasonable terms of peace. If they were accepted, a great object would be gained; and if rejected, the more reasonable they were, the more would the rejection tend to rouse the indignation of all Europe.

These apprehensions were but too fully justified by the event. Actuated by jealousy of Austria, by fear of France, and perhaps by the hope of becoming arbiter in the contest, the court of Berlin pursued a course of policy alike injurious to its own interests, and to the cause of independence on the continent. The other powers, calculating on its eventual co-operation, precipitately availed themselves of a pretext, which was soon afforded, for making warlike demonstrations. Bonaparte, having crowned himself king of Italy, at Milan, annexed Genoa to France. On the intelligence of this act, the Russian envoy, then at Berlin, on his way to Vienna, was recalled; and the formal accession of Austria to the league was declared in a treaty, signed on the 9th of August, at St. Petersburg. About the same period, the Austrian ambassador at Paris addressed a note to M. Talleyrand, expressing the anxious desire of his court, to concur with the courts of London and St. Petersburg in their endeavours to promote a general pacification, at the time when the overtures from Russia were broken off by the recent changes in Italy, and professing its readiness to assist in the renewal of conciliatory measures. M. Talleyrand replied, that neither England nor Russia could act efficiently against France, without the co-operation of Austria or Prussia; that the latter power was the steady ally of France, while Austria was engaged in extensive military preparations, which were evidently the result of a concerted plan. He demanded a discontinuance of these preparations, a reduction of her military force to the peace establishment, and a declaration to England, of her unshaken determination to preserve an exact neutrality.

On the 31st of August, an official declaration was made at Vienna, by the Russian ambassador, announcing the acquiescence of the emperor Alexander, in the renewal of negotiations for peace; and adding that he had, as a measure of precaution, caused two armies of 50,000 men each to march to the Danube, which he should recall as soon as the desired security of the European states should be obtained. A second note was transmitted from Vienna to the French government, on the 3d of September, repeating the pacific intentions already avowed, and complaining of the gross violation, which Bonaparte had committed on the treaty of Luneville: it also alluded to recent aggressions, and particularly, to an encampment of 30,000 men on the plain of Marengo, and another of 40,000 on the frontiers of Tyrol and the Venetian provinces. These acts imposed on the emperor of Austria the necessity of arming; not with hostile views, but to ensure, in conjunction with Russia, the general tranquillity and security of the

[Preparations of Bonaparte.—Surrender of General Mack.]

continent. During the recriminatory correspondence which ensued, Bonaparte unremittingly continued his preparations for offensive warfare. He issued a decree for recruiting the armies by a conscription of 60,000 men; he broke up the camp at Boulogne, and caused the force destined for the invasion of England to hasten by forced marches to the frontier of Germany; he ordered the greater part of his troops in Holland and Hanover, to proceed in the same direction, with equal celerity, and by the most direct routes; and sent strong reinforcements into Italy. These movements were professedly designed to succour his ally, the elector of Bavaria, whom the Austrians had summoned to join them with his troops, enforcing their demand by occupying his territories, where they made severe exactions. The elector retired from Munich to Wurtzburg, and his forces retreated into Franconia. On receiving this intelligence, Bonaparte prepared to take the field in person, and caused the senate to pass a decree for raising 80,000 additional conscripts. Having crossed the Rhine at Kehl, he found himself at the head of 150,000 men, under the command of marshals Bernadotte, Marmont, Davoust, Soult, Ney, and Lannes, and by a series of bold and rapid movements, he placed this great force between Vienna and the positions occupied by the Austrian army under general Mack. That army, consisting of nearly 90,000 men, dispersed over a wide extent of country, was beaten in detail, and reduced to 30,000, who, with their commander, were blocked up in Ulm. On the 17th of October, Mack agreed to surrender, stipulating, however, that the capitulation should not be carried into effect before noon, on the 25th; and that if an Austrian or Russian army should arrive, in sufficient force to raise the blockade, at midnight on that date, the garrison should be released from its engagements. Impatient at the delay consequent on this proviso, Bonaparte, on the 19th, invited Mack to an interview; the result of which was, the surrender of the army on the 20th, with the mere condition, that Ney, with his division, consisting of twelve regiments of infantry, and four of cavalry, should not advance beyond ten leagues from Ulm and its environs, before the 25th, at midnight, the day fixed by the former capitulation. The whole of the Austrian troops laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, with all their artillery and magazines.

This disastrous opening of the campaign blighted the hopes which the allies had begun to form, of the co-operation of Prussia. Frederick William had been provoked to some show of indignation by the march of French troops through part of his territory without asking permission, and was disposed to resent the insult; but on learning the fate of Mack's army, he relapsed into passive neutrality. Bonaparte, secure from molestation from that potentate, directed his march on the Austrian capital. To protect his flanks and rear he caused the division under Mortier, on the left bank of the Danube, to watch the motions of the Austrians in Bohemia, under the archduke Ferdinand. His right was protected by Ney, who ascended the Lech to the frontiers of the Tyrol, and opposed the corps stationed in that country under the archduke John. His communication with France was secured by a strong force under Augereau, which had crossed the Rhine, and occupied the parts of Suabia contiguous to the lake of Constance.

[Bonaparte marches on Vienna.—Operations in Italy, the Tyrol, &c.]

The army directly opposed to him, when reinforced by the first column of the Russians, did not exceed forty-five thousand men. Unable to defend the passage of the Inn, it retreated step by step, on Vienna. Bonaparte was enabled to establish his head-quarters at Brannau on the 30th of October, and in the following week he transferred them to Lintz. Here he received proposals on the part of the emperor of Germany and his allies, for an armistice of a few weeks as a preliminary for a negotiation towards a general peace. In the conditions on which he expressed his willingness to accept this offer, he assumed the tone of a conqueror. He demanded that the Austrian monarch should cause the allied troops to return home; that the Hungarian levy should be disbanded, and that the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol should be occupied by the French army. On the departure of the envoy bearing this answer he continued his operations.

The emperor Francis, perceiving the danger which threatened his capital, retired, with his court, to Brunn, in Moravia; and the greater part of the nobility fled into Hungary. The French occupied Vienna on the 13th, and found there an immense quantity of military stores and ammunition, together with a numerous artillery. From the muskets in the arsenal Bonaparte ordered fifteen thousand to be presented to the elector of Bavaria; and also restored to him the artillery taken on former occasions from the electorate. Great requisitions of wine and clothing were made for the use of the French armies.

On the 14th, Bonaparte, who, after his entry into the capital had retired thence to the imperial palace of Schoenbrunn, received a deputation of the citizens, and told them that they might assure the people of Vienna of his protection. He passed through the city on the following day to join the main army in Moravia, which was advancing in such rapidity that the Austrian court found it necessary to retire from Brunn to Olmutz. The Russians, who had crossed the Danube at Krems, were retiring through that country to unite with the forces under the command of the emperor. After suffering severely in two spirited actions at Hollbrunn and Guntersdorf, their army retreated through Znaim to Brunn, which they were compelled to evacuate on the 18th, leaving large quantities of ammunition and provisions: Bonaparte established his head-quarters there on the 20th, and his main army took up a position at Withau, in face of the Austro-Russian army posted on the plains of Olmutz.

Meanwhile the archduke Charles, who, at the head of seventy-five thousand men on the Adige, was opposed to a French army of ninety thousand under Massena, determined, after a severe but unsuccessful conflict, to hasten to the relief of the capital. The archduke John, severely pressed in the Tyrol, adopted the same resolution, and after encountering many difficulties, the two brothers effected a junction at Laybach in Carniola. Massena, who had advanced closely in pursuit, took up positions with the view of occupying their attention, and established a communication with the corps of Ney and Marmont, who, after the reduction of the Tyrol, approached the Danube, to support the main body of the French army. Augereau remained in Suabia, as well to ensure the communications with France, as to make head against a corps of Russians assembled in Franconia. Davoust, who, after the capture of Vienna, had marched to Presburg to nego-



[Amount of French and allied forces.—Battle of Austerlitz.]

tiate for the neutrality of Hungary, proceeded with his corps to the main army, which was now preparing for a general action.

That army, with the late reinforcements, amounted to about 80,000 men, well appointed and in a high state of discipline. The forces of the allies consisted of 52,000 Russians, and 17,000 Austrians, under the command of general Kutusoff, and prince John of Lichtenstein. The Austrian troops were chiefly new levies; and among the Russians the scarcity of provisions was so great that for nearly two days preceding the battle they had nothing to eat. Their draught horses, exhausted by famine, were scarcely able to draw the artillery. It should seem, therefore, that necessity urged their general to risk an engagement at a time when in other circumstances he might have had every thing to hope from procrastination. At the same time the artifices of his opponent created a belief that he was in a still more desperate predicament. He affected to pay serious attention to the overtures of counts Stadion and Giulay, who were commissioned, by the emperor of Austria, to propose a renewal of negotiations; especially as at this period count Haugwitz arrived at Vienna with offers of mediation from the king of Prussia. After an attack on his advanced posts by the Russians, he ordered his army to retreat in the night, and take up a strong position near Austerlitz, which he showed much eagerness in fortifying.

Encouraged by these symptoms of intimidation, the allies determined to act on the offensive, and having made their dispositions for turning the right wing of the enemy, commenced a general attack at day-break on the 2d of December. To accomplish its main object, their left was obliged to take a circuitous route; and Bonaparte, perceiving that it became more distant from the centre as it advanced, immediately put in motion the massive columns which he had hitherto kept together, and directed them against the main body and right wing of the allies, leaving their other division to pursue its purpose of turning the French army in a position which it had now ceased to occupy. He succeeded in completely insulating the centre of the allies, and, by possessing himself of the heights of Pratzen, decided the fate of the day. The Russians made many brave but fruitless efforts to retrieve their mistakes, and at nightfall retreated upon Boscovitz covered by the Austrian cavalry. The conclusion of the battle was remarkable; at two in the afternoon, when the French were victorious along the rest of the line, the right wing of their army, occupying the heights before Austerlitz, which the opponents had quitted in advancing, changed its front, and descended in its turn to attack the left wing of the allies. The loss of the latter in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at a fourth part of their force, together with their artillery and baggage; and such was the number of wounded upon the field, that they could not all be dressed until two days after the battle.

At night the emperor Francis sent prince John of Lichtenstein to the French head-quarters to propose an armistice. He arrived on the evening of the 3d, and it was agreed that a suspension of hostilities should commence on the following day. An interview subsequently took place between the Austrian monarch and Bonaparte, in the open air, at a windmill near the village of Nasedlowitz. The result of the conference was communicated to the emperor Alexander by an Aus-

[Armistice.—Its impolicy on the side of Austria.—Treaty of Presburg.]

trian general, accompanied by the French general Savary. He received them with politeness; but neither made any positive objection, nor expressed his concurrence in the arrangement which they were instructed to announce. The terms of the armistice were, that the French army should remain in possession of all its conquests, in Moravia, Hungary, Austria, the north of Italy and Bohemia, until the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of negotiations; and that in the latter case, hostilities should not re-commence until the expiration of fourteen days. It was further stipulated that the Russian army should evacuate the Austrian states, Moravia and Hungary, within fifteen days, and Galicia within a month, retiring by prescribed routes; that there should be no levy or insurrection in Hungary, no extraordinary raising of troops in Bohemia, no admission of a foreign army into the territory of the house of Austria; and finally, that negotiators should meet without delay to form a definitive treaty. The emperor Alexander, deeming these conditions derogatory to the dignity of his throne, and the interests of his allies, refused to become a party to them; and on the 6th of December caused his army to withdraw from the Austrian states.

If the emperor Francis was imprudent in giving battle at Austerlitz, he was no less impolitic in accepting the conditions imposed by his victorious adversaries. Before the arrival of intelligence announcing the armistice, the archduke Ferdinand, who commanded a corps of 20,000 Austrians in Bohemia, attacked and defeated with considerable loss, a corps of Bavarians, under general Wrede, and was rapidly advancing in the rear of the French army. Almost at the same period the archduke Charles advanced from Hungary within a day's march of Vienna, with his army in excellent order, amounting to 80,000 men; and on summoning the city to surrender, was informed of the suspension of hostilities. Severe must have been the mortification of this gallant prince and his brave companions in arms, to find their country, to whose deliverance they were hastening, prostrate and bound at the foot of a man, who in the hour of triumph suffered no generous impulse to soften his political resolves, but proceeded with inexorable deliberation to despoil his victim and appropriate or partition the plunder.

A definitive treaty was signed at Presburg on the 26th of December, by which the emperor of Germany recognised Bonaparte as king of Italy, and renounced in his favour the Venetian territories ceded to Austria by the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville. He ceded to the king of Bavaria the margraviate of Burgau, the principality of Eichstadt, the country of Tyrol, and the lordships of Voralberg. His possessions in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, were divided between the king of Bavaria, the king of Wirtemberg, and the elector of Baden. The county of Salzburg and of Berchtoldsgaden belonging to archduke Ferdinand, were incorporated with the Austrian empire, and the archduke received from the king of Bavaria in compensation the territory of Wurtzburg. The total cessions of Austria by this treaty were estimated at 1297 square miles, containing a population of 2,716,000 souls; and the consequent loss of revenue was estimated at 16 millions of florins, about 1,600,000*l.* sterling. These estimates afford but imperfect data for calculating the diminution of power and

[Treaty between France and Prussia.—Royal family of Naples deposed.]

influence which she sustained in abandoning her possessions on the side of Italy, and in relinquishing to the vassals of her victorious rival the line of country through which she formerly maintained her connexion with Switzerland.

While Austria was purchasing a peace on these humiliating terms, a treaty was concluded at Vienna between France and Prussia, the ostensible object of which was, to secure the tranquillity of the north of Germany. It stipulated that Bonaparte should suspend the march of his army against Hanover, and send no more troops into that country, and that the forces of the allies should be withdrawn and replaced by Prussians. The whole of the electorate was in consequence occupied by the troops of Frederick William, with the exception of Hameln, where the French retained a garrison, and of Lauenburg, which was held by the Swedes. In exchange for Hanover, Prussia ceded Anspach and Bayreuth in Franconia, Cleves in Westphalia, and Neufchatel and Valengin in Switzerland.

Bonaparte was not slow in manifesting the absolute authority which he had acquired over the affairs of Italy. On the morning after the signature of the treaty of Presburg, he issued a proclamation from his head-quarters at Vienna, declaring that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign. This act of vengeance was grounded on the alleged violation of a treaty concluded on the 8th of October, by which the French agreed to withdraw their troops from the territory of the king of Naples, who on his part engaged to remain neutral during the war, and to repel by force any encroachment on his neutrality. He had permitted the landing of a Russian force of 14,000 men, and of a body of English, amounting to about 10,000, and had made preparations for carrying on active hostilities in concert with them. The expedition was said to have been undertaken to create a diversion in favour of the Austrians in the north of Italy, a service which might have been of some avail, if its destination had been to Venice. After the disaster in Moravia, the emperor Alexander despatched orders for his troops in the Neapolitan territory to re-embark and return to Corfu; and the British general sir James Craig withdrew with his forces into Sicily.

The total failure of the continental coalition greatly augmented the gloom and disquietude which had begun to prevail in England in consequence of the alarming illness of Mr. Pitt. At the close of the former session of parliament this distinguished statesman had been compelled, by the decline of a constitution originally delicate, to relinquish all active share in public business, and retire to Bath; from whence he returned in the commencement of the year, in a state of debility and exhaustion, augmented by anxiety and disappointment. He expired on the 23d of January, in the 47th year of his age, after having directed the affairs of this country for a longer period than any former minister. Under his auspices her maritime supremacy was confirmed by a series of most splendid victories; her colonial acquisitions were greatly extended; but her public burthens were enormously augmented. He laboured successfully to preserve her from the contagion of the revolutionary principles which desolated France, and exerted himself with equal zeal, but with less success, in resisting the military despotism by which that power threatened to



## [Death of Mr. Pitt.]

subjugate the continent. As a financier, he displayed great ability in the accumulation of public resources; but it may be questioned whether he displayed great political wisdom in the distribution of them. In forming continental alliances he relied too implicitly on the influence of money for ensuring to Great Britain that ascendancy in foreign courts to which by her generous aid she was entitled. But whatever may have been his errors, he is entitled to the praise of upright, of magnanimous intention; and in reviewing his unwearied exertions for the public service during a period of unexampled difficulty, it may be truly said, "*non sibi sed patriæ vixit.*"

## CHAPTER LXXV.

Change of ministry.—Overture from France.—Negotiation.—Mr. Windham's military plan.—Financial measures.—Regulations to prevent abuses in the public service.—Progress of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade.—India Budget.—Trial and acquittal of lord Melville.—Prorogation of parliament.—Campaign in Calabria.—Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed king of Naples.—Operations of sir Sidney Smith.—Expedition under sir John Stuart.—Battle of Maida.—Effect of the victory.—Dispute between the French and Russians in the Adriatic.—Progress of the negotiation with the French government.—Prussia required by France to accept Hanover in full sovereignty.—Hostility between England and Prussia.—Policy of Bonaparte.—Confederation of the Rhine.—Preliminaries signed between France and Russia.—The emperor of Austria resigns his office as emperor of Germany.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, the king proposed to appoint lord Hawkesbury his successor, but that nobleman deeming the post too arduous, was permitted to retire from administration, and received the wardenship of the Cinque Ports as a mark of the royal regard. Lord Grenville was then consulted by his majesty on the formation of a new ministry, and no objection was made to his proposal of taking the advice of Mr. Fox on that subject. In the course of the negotiation, intimations were given on the part of the new candidates for office, that certain changes might be necessary in the department of the army under the superintendence of the duke of York; but strong objections were made to them, and the arrangements were on the point of being abruptly terminated. At length, on the 3d of February, lord Grenville was called to another audience, and it was arranged that there should be no changes in the government of the army without his majesty's knowledge and approbation. The following appointments then took place; lord Erskine, lord high chancellor; earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; lord Sidmouth, privy seal; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; lord Howick, first lord of the admiralty; the earl of Moira, master-general of the ordnance; earl Spencer, secretary of state for the home department; Mr. Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs; Mr. Windham, secretary of state for the department of war and colonies; lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer. The lord chief justice Ellenborough was admitted to a seat in the cabinet. The duke of Bedford went to Ireland as lord lieutenant, accompanied by Mr. Elliot as chief secretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals in Ireland, and sir John Newport, chancellor of the Irish exchequer. Mr. Sheridan succeeded Mr. Canning as treasurer of the navy; general Fitzpatrick was appointed secretary at war; sir Arthur Pigott and sir Samuel Romilly, attorney and solicitor general. Numerous other appointments took place in the subordinate offices of government; and it was remarked, that so complete a change had not been effected since the commencement of Mr. Pitt's first administration. In reference to the principal station in the cabinet, a parliamentary arrangement became necessary. On his accession to power, lord Grenville held the office

## [Overture from France.—Negotiation.]

of auditor of the exchequer, which is incompatible with the functions of a lord of the treasury. As it was not to be expected that he would resign a place which he held for life, in consideration of his appointment to one from which he might be removed at the pleasure of the crown, a bill was passed, enabling the auditor of the exchequer, if appointed a lord of the treasury, to accept that office without forfeiting the auditorship; and that this might be done without injury to the public, he was empowered to name a trustee for the latter office, who should be responsible to the auditor for the salary, and to the public for the execution of the duty.

About ten days after these appointments, a negotiation took place with France, which was no less singular in its commencement, than fruitless in its result. A Frenchman, calling himself Gevilliere, obtained access to Mr. Fox, and after some unimportant conversation, disclosed to him a plan for assassinating Bonaparte. Mr. Fox instantly ordered the wretch from his presence; but on reflection, thought it proper that he should be held in durance, until such information could be given to the French government as might prevent the perpetration of his crime. The short and simple statement which Mr. Fox transmitted of the whole affair, drew from M. Talleyrand a well-merited compliment to his honour and generosity, accompanied by an extract, in the way of news from Paris, of Bonaparte's speech to the legislative body, in which he avowed his readiness to conclude peace, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox answered this overture by objecting to that basis as vague and uncertain, and by proposing, as the only principle of negotiation worthy of two great powers, that it should be the object of each party to obtain a peace, honourable for both, and for their respective allies, and at the same time of a nature to secure, as far as might be in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe. He then declared that England would not treat, still less conclude upon any thing, but in concert with the emperor Alexander; and proposed that while waiting the actual intervention of a Russian plenipotentiary, they might discuss the principal points, and make some provisional arrangements. He concluded by avowing the sincere disposition of England for peace; and added, with becoming frankness and spirit, that "with the resources that we possess, it is most assuredly not on our own account that we need fear the continuance of the war. Of all the nations of Europe, England perhaps is that which suffers the least by its prolongation; but we do not the less commiserate the misfortunes of others." In the correspondence which ensued, Talleyrand endeavoured with much ingenuity to represent Russia as interposing its authority between two great nations fully competent to adjust their own differences, while Mr. Fox insisted on her being a party in the question, and an ally of Great Britain, whose interests were inseparable from her own. He explicitly stated that his majesty was willing to negotiate conjointly with Russia, but would not consent to negotiate separately. As no immediate answer was given to his despatch, this first overture might be considered as having terminated with no other result than that of manifesting a spirit of conciliation, which was considered a great advance toward peace. A pause took place in the discussions, which enabled



[Mr. Windham's military plan.—Terms of limited service, &c.]

the English cabinet to ascertain with greater precision the views and intentions of the court of St. Petersburg.

While their attention was thus occupied by foreign affairs, the new ministers did not neglect to mature those measures which they stood pledged to adopt, for the improvement of the military system. On the 3d of April, Mr. Windham introduced this subject to the notice of the commons, by observing, that the defence and security of a state must depend entirely on the strength and efficiency of its regular army; that the raising and recruiting of such a force could be effected only by two modes, force or choice; and that, as the former mode was peculiarly unfitted to England, our means of procuring soldiers consisted exclusively in voluntary enlistment. To render these means productive, it was necessary to improve the condition of a soldier, and raise it to a competition with the trades and occupations in which the labouring classes usually employ themselves. Of two expedients which offered themselves, the most simple and obvious was an increase of pay; but he objected to this, as tending to promote licentiousness restrainable only by a severity of discipline, which might discourage enlistment. He therefore preferred the alternative of altering the conditions of the service, and proposed that soldiers should in future engage for a term of years, instead of enlisting for life. For the infantry this term was to be divided into three periods, of seven years each; and for the cavalry and artillery, the first period was to be ten years, the second six years, and the third five years. At the end of each period, the soldier should have a right to claim his discharge, and be entitled to certain advantages proportioned to the length of service. With respect to the existing army, Mr. Windham considered that in strict justice it was entitled to no other conditions than those on which the soldiers composing it had engaged to serve; but he was disposed to make an increase in their favour of the Chelsea allowance, and to extend to those who had served seven years the addition of sixpence, and to those who had served fourteen years the addition of a shilling to the week's pay. No man, however, of those in the army, would be entitled to his discharge till after the expiration of twenty-one years of service. He concluded by moving the repeal of the additional force act; and the bill which he introduced for that purpose, after encountering very strenuous opposition from the late ministers, was finally passed. The plan of limited service was introduced on the 30th of May in a committee of the whole house, by the insertion of a clause to that effect in the mutiny bill. It was not suffered to pass without strong animadversions from the opponents of the former measure, who were probably stimulated to a pertinacious resistance by a secret conviction that it was not proposed with the cordial approbation of the king. A bill was also introduced for training to arms a certain number of men, not exceeding 200,000, out of those liable to serve in the militia; the days of training not to exceed twenty-four, and the term of service being limited to one year. Under an apprehension of immediate invasion, the persons liable to serve might be embodied by his majesty's orders; and in case of an actual descent, might be marched to any part of the coast. In the course of these military arrangements, a measure was adopted, which gave rise to much speculation. When ministers came into office,

[Financial measures.—Acts for the prevention of abuses in the public service.]

they found that a greater number of foreign troops had been enlisted and brought into the kingdom than the law authorized; they therefore applied, on the 27th of February, for a bill to indemnify the advisers of that measure; and as it would have been inexpedient to disband these troops, and almost impracticable to send them away, his majesty was empowered to retain them in the country, and to increase them permanently to 16,000 men. It was much regretted that the necessity should have arisen of maintaining an armed force of foreigners, connected with the country by no tie except an unlimited obedience to the crown.

In raising the ways and means for the year, the ministers adhered scrupulously to the principles laid down and followed by Mr. Pitt; professing, at the same time, a more rigid economy, and a stricter attention to the reform of abuses. On the 28th of March, lord Henry Petty opened the budget, by stating that the unredeemed national debt of Great Britain and Ireland amounted to nearly 556 millions, and the redeemed debt to 127 millions, the annual charges being nearly 27 millions and a half. The requisite supplies on account of Great Britain, were estimated at 43,618,472*l.* and among the proposed ways and means, the most considerable were, a loan of eighteen millions, and an augmentation of the war-taxes to 19,500,000*l.*, to be effected principally by raising the property tax from six and a half to ten per cent. chargeable on all property above fifty pounds a-year. This financial measure, though approved by the late ministers and their adherents, was peculiarly obnoxious to those members of parliament who were said to belong to the independent interest; and they inveighed against the harshness and rigour of its provisions. Various modifications were proposed, of which the greater part were rejected, as tending to diminish the productiveness of the tax, and to destroy its efficacy.

Among the provisions for covering the interest of the loan, was a tax upon pig iron, which the chancellor rated at 500,000*l.*, but it excited such serious complaints among the persons engaged in the trade, that he was induced to substitute for it, a tax upon private brewers, which raised a still louder outcry in the country. Disappointed in both these expedients, he found it necessary to propose an addition of ten per cent. to the assessed taxes, which was allowed without opposition.

The budget for Ireland was opened by Sir John Newport, on the 7th of May. It appeared that the supply voted for Ireland, was 8,975,194*l.*; and the ways and means provided by the chancellor of the exchequer were estimated at 9,181,455*l.* The loan, which was for two millions, had been raised at seven shillings per cent. less than the loan for England, and this circumstance was regarded as a symptom of the growing prosperity of Ireland, and of the confidence reposed in its government.

In conformity with the declared intention of ministers, some salutary regulations were adopted, for the prevention of abuses in various departments of the public service. By an act for regulating the office of treasurer of the ordnance, the balances of that office were ordered to be deposited at the bank of England, and the payments to be made by drafts upon that establishment. For the small sums payable on

## [Intercourse between the United States and West Indies.]

the treasurer's petty account, issues were to be made from the bank, on the requisition of the board of ordnance, and were to be applied to no purposes whatever, except those authorized by law. By subsequent acts, the same principle was extended to the excise and customs, to the stamp and post offices, and to the office of surveyor-general of the woods and forests. An act was also passed, for increasing the salaries, and abolishing the fees of the custom-house officers of the port of London. Judicious measures were adopted for expediting and securing the regular settlement of public accounts, of which, on the appointment of the new ministry, the amount not audited was said to extend to 534 millions. Of this enormous arrear, however, it was shown by Mr. Rose, that the greater part had been substantially and effectually examined; and the chancellor of the exchequer admitted, that no very large sums were really due to the nation, from the officers of the different departments. But as the cause of such an accumulation of inaudited accounts, arose from the imperfection of the provisions for compelling public accountants to produce their accounts before the auditors, it appeared highly necessary that a defect, affording so dangerous an incentive to malversation and fraud, should be remedied; and accordingly, no measures of administration were more popular than those which were directed to that object.

Of the commercial laws passed during this session, one of the most important was, an act permitting the free interchange of grain between Great Britain and Ireland, without any bounties or duties, or any restraints whatever. By the operation of this law, the corn-trade between the two countries was placed on the same footing as that between the different counties of England. An act was also passed for regulating the intercourse between the West Indies and the United States, the object of which was, to legalize, under certain restrictions, the trade in lumber and provisions carried on by neutrals with the British colonies. It vested a discretionary power in his majesty to permit this trade, with the proviso, that no commodities, staves and lumber only excepted, should be imported, which were not of the growth and produce of the countries to which the neutral vessels belonged, and that they should not export the indigenous products of the colonies.

During this session considerable progress was made toward the accomplishment of that truly glorious undertaking, the abolition of the slave-trade. A bill was brought in by the attorney-general, sir Arthur Pigott, and passed without much opposition, which prohibited, under strict penalties, the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the 1st of January, 1807; and interdicted all his majesty's subjects, resident either at home or in our foreign settlements, from being in any way accessory to the supply of foreign countries with slaves after that period. A subsequent act prohibited, under severe penalties, all British vessels from being engaged in the African slave-trade, which had not been actually employed in that trade before the 1st of August, 1806, or which had not been under contract for such employment before the 10th of June of that year. The next measure was a resolution, which was moved by Mr. Fox, and which may be said to have closed the parliamentary career of that great statesman. The words of the resolution were "that this house con-



[East India Company.—Trial and acquittal of Lord Melville.]

ceiving the African slave-trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner and at such period as may be deemed adviseable." It was carried in the commons by 114 votes against 15; and in the lords, after a conference, by 41 votes against 20; after which an address was carried from both houses to the king, beseeching him to take such measures as might appear most effectual for obtaining, by negotiation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave-trade, and in the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose.

Various discussions arose during this session respecting the affairs of India. The budget was produced on the 10th of July, and from the perspicuous statements of lord Morpeth, it appeared that the finances of the company were far from prosperous. The charge exceeded the revenue by 2,851,745*l.*; a great diminution had taken place in the annual account, and it was generally admitted that the debts in India might be estimated at 30,000,000*l.*, of which 17,000,000*l.* were payable in England, at the option of the holders of the securities.

No transaction in parliament excited greater interest in the public mind at this season than the trial of lord Melville, which commenced on the 29th of April, in Westminster Hall. The articles of impeachment, which were ten in number, contained three principal charges. The first was, that before the 10th of January, 1786, he had, contrary to the obligation imposed on him by the warrant appointing him treasurer of the navy, applied to his private use and profit various sums of public money entrusted to him in that capacity. The second was, that after the passing of the act of parliament, in 1785, for better regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, he had, in violation of that act, permitted Trotter, the navy paymaster, illegally to take from the bank of England, for other than immediate application to the purposes of the service, large sums of the monies issued to the bank on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place those sums in the hands of his private banker, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition. The third was, that he had fraudulently and corruptly permitted Trotter to apply the money, so abstracted illegally from the bank of England, to purposes of private use and emolument, and had himself fraudulently and corruptly derived profit from those sums. Ten days were employed by the managers in bringing forward and examining their evidence, as also by the speeches of Mr. Whitbread, who opened the case, and of the solicitor-general, sir Samuel Romilly, who recapitulated the evidence. The counsel for lord Melville occupied three days in the defence; on the two following days the managers delivered their reply, on the part of the commons, the legal argument being conducted by the attorney-general, and the observations on the defence being left to Mr. Whitbread. On the 16th day of the trial sentence was pronounced, and on each of the charges lord Melville was found not guilty by a majority of the peers. It was observed that the impeachment was injudiciously framed, the same charge being frequently repeated in different articles, and one article often containing several charges. These defects operated in favour of the defendant by diminishing the apparent number of those who pronounced him guilty. Some of them, though they

[Prorogation of Parliament.—Joseph Bonaparte king of Naples.]

agreed on the facts on which they founded that decision, differed so widely in their construction of the articles of impeachment, that, meaning to find him guilty on the same fact, they voted him guilty on different articles. Accordingly, though 59 out of 135 peers voted lord Melville guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, there were not more than fifty-four who agreed in finding him guilty of any one article as charged by the commons. It was also remarked that the accusation of fraud and corruption was not borne out by evidence; and a peer, highly distinguished for his legal knowledge, who voted for the acquittal, admitted that if the impeachment had been for culpable negligence in the discharge of duty, and for criminal indulgence toward the paymaster of the navy, he must have pronounced lord Melville guilty of the charges.

After a long and busy session, the parliament was prorogued on the 23d of July, by commission. In the speech of the lord chancellor, by command of his majesty, allusion was made to the discussions pending with France; but no very sanguine hopes were afforded of a sincere disposition for peace on the part of that power. The course of events, indeed, was such as to render the probability of an arrangement for the security of the continent still more remote.

The French army which had invaded Naples was sufficiently powerful to establish Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of that kingdom. Several of the nobility attended the king and queen with a part of the army when they retired to Palermo; while others who had enjoyed the favour and confidence of the court, took an early opportunity of conforming to the new order of things. The heir apparent retired into his dukedom of Calabria, where the French emigrant general Damas was endeavouring to rouse the people against their invaders. They were followed by a considerable force under Regnier, who defeated them at Campo Tenese, and speedily reduced the province. The whole kingdom was subjected to the French, except a small place in ulterior Abruzzo, and the fortress of Gaeta, which was gallantly defended by the prince of Hesse Philipsthal. On the 30th of March, Joseph Bonaparte caused himself to be proclaimed king, and exacted oaths of fidelity from the constituted authorities. This usurpation provoked the exiled family to make some attempts for the recovery of their dominions; and they found means to foster the spirit of resistance which the people manifested against the French, particularly in Abruzzo and Calabria. The project of expelling the invaders, even by a general insurrection, was wild and visionary; but great reliance was placed on the co-operation of the English. About the middle of April, sir Sidney Smith arrived at Palermo in the *Pompée* of 84 guns, and took the command of a squadron of five ships of the line, besides frigates, transports, and gun-boats, destined for the defence of Sicily. He sailed with this force along the coast of Italy, and commenced his operations by introducing stores and ammunition into Gaeta. Leaving there a frigate with a flotilla of gun-boats to assist in the defence of the place, he sailed toward Naples, and spread such alarm along the coast, that the French removed the capital part of their battering train from the trenches before the besieged fortress. On arriving off Naples, the English admiral found the city illuminated in compliment to the new sovereign; and he might have disturbed the festivities, but,

[Expedition of Sir John Stuart.—Battle of Maida.]

humanely abstaining from an assault, in which the inhabitants, and not the invaders, would have been the greatest sufferers, he took possession of the isle of Capri. In proceeding southward he harassed the communications of the enemy along the shore, so as greatly to obstruct their operations against Gaeta, which was the main object of the expedition. On his return to Palermo, their Sicilian majesties invested him with most ample authority in Calabria, and created him viceroy of that province. He succeeded in distributing arms, ammunition, and money among the Calabrians; but soon found that there was no hope of rousing them to a formidable resistance against the French without the presence of an English force. Sir John Stuart, who had succeeded general Craig in the command of the troops in Sicily, was unwilling to endanger the safety of that island by undertaking an expedition to the main land, which on the most favourable supposition could scarcely be expected to reinstate the royal family, even in a part of their continental dominions. Yielding at length to their urgent solicitations, enforced by flattering accounts of the disposition of the Calabrians, he determined to employ a part of his army in a descent on their territory, hoping, that if success attended his first operations, he might be able at all events to destroy the stores and ammunition prepared there by the enemy for the invasion of Sicily. He disembarked on the first of July in the gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of lower Calabria. Encountering little opposition from the French, who had not yet collected their forces, he issued proclamations, inviting the Calabrians to join the standard of their lawful sovereign, and offering arms and ammunition for their defence; but very few obeyed the summons. Disappointed in his expectations, he was hesitating whether to re-embark his troops, when he received intelligence that general Regnier was encamped at Maida, ten miles distant, with an army nearly equal to his own, and was in daily expectation of reinforcements. Being determined to give battle, he advanced the next morning, July 4th, and found the French in a strong position below the village, having the river Lamato in front, and their flanks strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. Having received the expected detachments, their whole force amounted to 7000 men, while that of the British did not exceed 4800. Regnier, confident in his superiority of numbers, and affecting, in common with his troops, an unqualified contempt of the assailants, quitted his strong position, and descended to meet them on the plain. The English, surprised, but not dismayed, at the unexpected augmentation of his force, advanced with alacrity to the attack, which was commenced by their right. After some firing, both sides prepared for close combat; but the French, astonished at the firmness displayed by the English, gave way when the bayonets began to cross, betook themselves to flight, and in a short time were routed and dispersed with great slaughter. They made an effort with their right to retrieve the honour of the day, but they were bravely and steadily resisted; their cavalry, in attempting to turn the left flank of the English, were thrown into disorder by an unexpected fire from the 20th regiment, which came up at this critical juncture: the rout now became general, and the whole French army precipitately abandoned the field, with the loss of about 700 men killed and 1000 taken prisoners. Their



[Operations of Massena in Calabria.—Dispute between the French and Russians.]

total loss was estimated by sir John Stuart at not less than 4000 men. The English had only 45 men killed and 282 wounded; and this result is consonant with the military maxim, that in close engagements the slaughter is most considerable after the moment of defeat, and the more decisive the victory the smaller is the loss of the victors. This brilliant action, though it did not lead to the recovery of Naples, preserved Sicily from invasion. The French evacuated Upper and Lower Calabria, abandoning their cannon, stores, and ammunition; they were harassed in their retreat by the insurgent peasantry, on whom they ferociously retaliated by laying waste their villages with fire and sword. General Stuart, however, aware that his small force would be inadequate to the permanent defence of the country, retired with it to Sicily, leaving a garrison in the strong fort of Scylla, which had surrendered to one of his officers. The fall of Gaeta, which took place soon after the battle of Maida, set at liberty a force of 16,000 men, previously employed in besieging it, to act against the Calabrians, in conjunction with the powerful army under Massena, who was sent to subdue them, and who slowly effected his purpose, enforcing the despotic authority with which he was invested, by all the rigours of military law. He was ineffectually resisted by the irregular armed force called the *masse*, consisting of the most indigent and wretched of the Calabrian peasantry, led by desperadoes whom the Sicilian government had released from the galleys, to keep alive the insurrection, and render desperate the chance of accommodation with the enemy. In their indiscriminate excesses they plundered and abused their own countrymen, and sacrificed many victims to private resentment under the mask of public duty, notwithstanding the humane interposition of the British who remained at Scylla. From this mode of warfare no beneficial results could be expected. On his return to Messina, sir John Stuart found lieutenant-general Fox, who had recently arrived from Gibraltar, to take the command in chief of the British forces in Italy, and who entrusted to him the direction of a second expedition in Calabria, which he readily undertook; but on the junction of reinforcements under sir John Moore, his senior officer, he obtained leave to return to England. His gallant successor was despatched to reconnoitre the coast, and confer with sir Sidney Smith concerning future operations; but the result of his inquiries was unfavourable to any new expedition in Italy, and general Fox, steadily discountenancing the unwise projects of the court of Palermo, refused to risk the preservation of Sicily by embarking in so hopeless an enterprise.

During these transactions a dispute took place between the French and the Russians in the Adriatic. The territory of Cattaro in Dalmatia, with its fine harbour, to the southward of Ragusa, had been ceded by Austria to France in the treaty of Presburg, and was to be occupied within six weeks after the ratification. As the French functionaries did not arrive at the expiration of that time, a Russian agent persuaded the inhabitants, who were chiefly Greeks, that the Austrians would be justified in evacuating the place and leaving it to the first occupant. Encouraged by this assurance, and by the arrival of a Russian ship of the line from Corfu, they prepared to occupy the forts, in conjunction with a band of Montenegrins; but the Austrian

[Hanover given to Russia.—Measures against the British.—Opinion of Mr. Fox.]

garrison held out until the arrival of the commissary-general Ghislieri, who, instead of continuing the defence, resigned the place to the natives, and they transferred it to the Russians. The French on their arrival compensated themselves for their disappointment by taking possession of Ragusa, where the Russians and Montenegrins besieged them, but were compelled to retire on the arrival of general Molitor with a large army from Dalmatia. They were afterwards defeated by Marmont, but they retained possession of Cattaro and Castellanovo.

Meanwhile the negotiations continued between Great Britain and France; but the continental policy of the latter power was such as to extinguish every hope that might have been formed of a satisfactory issue. In occupying Hanover, the king of Prussia had shown a disposition to hold that electorate conditionally until the conclusion of a peace between England and France. This reservation did not please Bonaparte, who rejected with disdain the proposal of altering the arrangements made at Vienna, and dictated new terms, by which Prussia was to accept the sovereignty of Hanover, and he himself was to have the right of making peace or war. The treaty was signed on the 15th of February, and immediately carried into execution. On the 18th the Prussians evacuated Wesel; on the 21st the French troops were withdrawn from Hameln; and on the 24th Bernadotte took possession of Anspach and Bayreuth for the king of Bavaria, to whom those provinces were transferred by France. On the 28th of March a proclamation was issued by count Schulemburg, in the name of the king of Prussia, ordering the ports and rivers opening into the German ocean to be closed against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as when Hanover was occupied by French troops: and on the 1st of April a patent appeared under the authority of the same monarch, formally annexing the electorate of Hanover to his other dominions, on the pretence, that belonging to the emperor Napoleon by right of conquest, it had been transferred to Prussia in consideration of the cession of three of her provinces to France. The indignity offered to Great Britain by these proceedings against her commerce demanded prompt and efficient measures of retaliation. Accordingly, the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave were blockaded; a general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in British harbours, and the English mission at Berlin was recalled. The royal message, which announced these measures to parliament on the 21st of April, was answered by unanimous addresses of thanks from both houses; and on this occasion the strongest animadversions were directed against Prussia, from her abject subservience to the injustice and rapacity of the French ruler. In reference to her acceptance of Hanover from Napoleon, under an acknowledgment of his right of conquest, Mr. Fox observed, that no example could be found in all the histories of war, and no mention had ever been made by writers on the law of nations, of any power having a right to receive as a present a country occupied during a war by one of the belligerent powers, but not ceded by the other. He reprobated with equal severity the principle lately acted upon in Europe of transferring the subjects of one prince to another in the way of equivalents, and under the pretext of convenience and mutual accommodation. The wildest schemes, he observed, that were ever before broached, would not go so far to shake the

## [Policy of Bonaparte.—Confederation of the Rhine.]

foundations of all established governments as this new practice. This just and energetic censure, though delivered in general terms, applied with peculiar force to the Machiavelian policy of Bonaparte. It was consonant with his inordinate ambition, with his haughty contempt for mankind, and with his habits of life, that he should weaken the powers of the continent by undermining existing establishments, and by dissolving the social ties which bound men together; and that he should transfer whole communities and even nations from one sovereign to another, in as arbitrary a manner as he would distribute or change the appointments in his own armies. By the same principle he managed his senate, his council of state, and every other department of his government; and it was sarcastically observed by one of his own ministers, that his whole system both of rule and conquest was founded on the simple expedient of forming men into regiments.

His conduct toward Prussia became more imperious and arrogant in proportion to the concessions which she made to propitiate his good will. Of the three provinces, Anspach, Bayreuth, and Cleves, which he obtained from her in exchange for Hanover, he transferred the two former to the elector of Bavaria, on condition of receiving the duchy of Berg, which, together with that of Cleves, he conferred on his brother-in-law, Murat. In treating with the cabinet of St. James's, he made no scruple of offering to the king of Great Britain the complete restitution of his electoral dominions; and during the negotiations which were at the same time carried on between Talleyrand and the Russian minister D'Oubril, at Paris, he distinctly intimated that if the emperor Alexander were desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to his dominions, no opposition would be made to such a project on the part of France. Availing himself of the pretext afforded by the occupation of Cataro, he not only withheld Braunau from Austria, but maintained a large army in the free towns and states of Suabia and Franconia, for the purpose of overawing Prussia, while he carried into effect a scheme for subverting the ancient constitution of the German empire.

This scheme was developed by the conclusion of a treaty for establishing what was called the confederation of the Rhine. The members of this confederation were the emperor of the French republic, the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the archbishop of Ratisbon, the elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and several minor German princes. By the articles of the compact these princes, separating themselves from the Germanic empire, and renouncing all connexion with it, appointed a diet to meet at Frankfort to manage their public concerns and settle their differences; and chose Bonaparte for their protector. They established among themselves a federal alliance, by which, if one of them engaged in a continental war, all the others were bound to take part in it, and to contribute their contingent of troops in the following proportions; France two hundred thousand; Bavaria thirty thousand; Wirtemberg twelve thousand; Baden three thousand; Berg five thousand; Darmstadt four thousand; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, four thousand; making a total of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand men. It was settled that none of the members of the confederacy should be dependent on any foreign power or enter into any service but that of the confederated



[Preliminaries between France and Russia.—Francis resigns his title to the empire.]

states and their allies; neither was any member to alienate the whole or any part of his dominions except in their favour. Other German princes and states might be admitted into the confederacy whenever it should be found consistent with the general interest. A great number of petty princes and counts were deprived of their ancient rights of sovereignty; and these, without equivalent or indemnity, were transferred to the members of this federal union. The imperial city of Nuremberg was given to the king of Bavaria, and that of Frankfort on the Maine to the archbishop of Ratisbon, formerly elector and arch-chancellor of the empire, and now prince primate of the confederation of the Rhine.

Three days after the conclusion of this important treaty, preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris between France and Russia. Bonaparte then signified to the Austrian monarch that he must prepare to lay aside the title of Emperor of Germany, and accede to the new arrangements which were on the eve of being promulgated at Ratisbon. Conformably to this mandate, Francis resigned his office and title, and annexed his German provinces and states to the empire of Austria. On the 1st of August the confederates announced to the diet of Ratisbon their separation from the empire, and a note was presented in the name of the French ruler, declaring that he no longer acknowledged the existence of the Germanic constitution.

## CHAPTER LXXVI.

Confederation of the northern states of Germany, under the protection of Prussia, frustrated by Bonaparte.—Prussia prepares for war.—State of the negotiation between Great Britain and France.—How affected by the preliminaries between France and Russia.—Mission of Lord Lauderdale to Paris.—The emperor Alexander refuses to ratify the preliminaries.—Bonaparte quits Paris for the army.—Lord Lauderdale returns to England.—Temporising policy of Prussia.—Her tardy application to Russia for aid.—Measures toward a reconciliation with Great Britain.—Evasive policy respecting Hanover.—Situation of the Prussian army.—Movements of the French.—Battle of Auerstadt or Jena.—Defeat of the Prussians.—The French enter Berlin.—Retreat of Blücher.—Bonaparte gains over the Saxons.—Fall of the Prussian fortresses.—The elector of Hesse Cassel expelled from his dominions.—The French seize Hamburg.—Bonaparte's Berlin decree.—The king of Prussia retires to Königsberg.—Advance of the Russians.—Repulsed by the French.—Bonaparte at Warsaw.

IN acceding to so important a change in the empire, the king of Prussia had entertained the hope of forming a confederation of states in the north of Germany, of which he should be the protector. Bonaparte favoured that hope as long as it suited his views; but having secured the submission of Austria, he declared that from deference to England he could not allow the Hanse towns to be included in the northern confederacy, and that he was determined to take them under his own protection. He also declared that his sense of justice and his respect for the law of nations would not permit him to tolerate any compulsory measures for attaching independent princes to that league; and that as the wise sovereign who governed Saxony seemed unwilling to contract the new obligations which Prussia wished to impose on him, France could not see him enslaved or forced to act against the interests of his people. The elector of Hesse Cassel was invited to renounce his connexion with a power incapable of serving him, and to join the confederation of the Rhine; the remaining possessions of the prince of Orange, brother-in-law of the king of Prussia, were offered to him on that condition; and when he rejected these tempting proposals, a resolution was passed, by which he was cut off from access to part of his own states.

These and other humiliating insults excited a general feeling of resentment in Prussia; and the court, the army, and the nation called loudly for war. Complaints were every where heard of the extortions practised by the French armies in Germany, and of the intolerable burthens to which they subjected the inhabitants. Instances of atrocious cruelty were not wanting to aggravate these complaints; and particular indignation was manifested at the murder of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, who was arrested by order of the French government, hurried away to Braunau, tried by a court martial, and shot, for an alleged libel on Bonaparte. "It is for Prussia," exclaimed her patriots, "to avenge these outrages, and to make common cause with the people of Germany, impatient to shake off the galling yoke of their oppressors." Yielding to the impulse of popular feeling, the

[Negotiation between Britain and France.]

vacillating, or, as Bonaparte called it, the inconceivable cabinet of Berlin, adopted a decided change of policy; the army was placed on the war establishment; and the king of Prussia, though against his better judgment, prepared to enter into a contest, single-handed, with Napoleon and his allies.

The state of affairs between Great Britain and France was materially affected by the separate treaty concluded between M. Talleyrand and the Russian minister D'Oubril. The negotiations had originally been carried on through the medium of lord Yarmouth, who being one of the English residents *detained* at the commencement of hostilities, had obtained his liberation through the intercession of Mr. Fox, and on his return to England, had been entrusted with a confidential communication given verbally from the French minister. It contained three specific offers; the restoration of Hanover; the possession of Sicily on the principle of the *uti possidetis*; and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without recognising the claim of a joint negotiation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their close connexion and alliance. These proposals were deemed so favourable that the British cabinet lost no time in despatching lord Yarmouth to Paris, to announce their willingness to commence a negotiation on the basis contained in them. On his first interview with M. Talleyrand after his return, that minister receded from his proposal respecting Sicily, alluded to further demands, and represented the necessity of treating with some person duly authorized and empowered. This first deviation from the original overtures, was received by the British cabinet as ominous of the total failure of the negotiation. Lord Yarmouth was instructed to make the re-admission of Sicily the *sine qua non* of the production of his full powers, which, to avoid all appearance of cavil, were conveyed to him without delay. Meanwhile the Russian minister, D'Oubril, who had arrived at Paris, so far from acting in concert with the British cabinet, had been prevailed on by the French negotiators to acquiesce in the demands of Bonaparte. Having signed a preliminary treaty on the 20th of July, without communicating to lord Yarmouth some of the most material articles, he hastened back to St. Petersburg to communicate the results of his mission. By the same arts which had gained this diplomatic victory, the French ministers caused lord Yarmouth to produce his full powers before the basis of the negotiation had been again recognised, and before the impression produced on the British cabinet by the precipitate conduct of D'Oubril had been ascertained. It now became necessary to send from England another negotiator, lord Lauderdale, fully instructed in the sentiments of his majesty's government on all the various points of discussion that might arise. By the appointment of this nobleman, the personal friend and political adherent of Mr. Fox, whose health was now rapidly declining, the cabinet gave an efficient pledge of their determination to promote his views and to follow the course of his policy.

Lord Lauderdale, on his arrival in Paris, endeavoured to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis*; but the negotiators, Champagny and Clarke, constantly evaded the acknowledgment of having in the first instance proposed that principle. They



[Bonaparte quits Paris for the army.—Temporizing policy of Prussia.]

contrived, however, various pretexts for delay, until it became the policy of Great Britain, as well as of France, to await the decision of the court of St. Petersburg on the preliminaries arranged with D'Oubril. On the 3d of September official intelligence was brought to Paris, that the emperor Alexander had refused to ratify them. Talleyrand with great apparent frankness communicated this information to the English plenipotentiary, and assured him that France was now disposed to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have been disposed to admit. As it soon became obvious that these terms were required to be purchased by the abandonment of Russia, the British cabinet honourably determined not to entertain them. A series of unsatisfactory discussions ensued, which lasted until Bonaparte left Paris for the Rhine, accompanied by Talleyrand, and one of the plenipotentiaries, general Clarke. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was neither authorized to relinquish the claims of Joseph Bonaparte upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburg. The negotiation being at an end, lord Lauderdale demanded his passports, and returned to England.

Meanwhile, the court of Berlin had pursued a temporizing line of policy, which eventually tended to increase its embarrassments. Luchsesini, who had been long the Prussian minister at Paris, when he foresaw that war between France and Prussia was inevitable, had recourse to a diplomatic artifice, by which one of his despatches, full of complaints against the French government, fell into their hands. Imputing to his misrepresentations the disputes existing between the two governments, they demanded his recall. The court of Berlin, exulting in the success of a stratagem which had been adopted to give a false direction to the suspicions of the French, complied with the demand, and sent to Paris general Knobelsdorf, a man sincerely attached to peace, and blind to the political deception of which he was made the instrument. He arrived on the 7th of September, and delivered a letter from his Prussian majesty to Bonaparte, couched in the most amicable terms, which was answered by professions of friendship, perhaps equally sincere. On the 11th a note was addressed to Knobelsdorf by Talleyrand, complaining of the warlike preparations of Prussia, which were publicly declared at Berlin to be directed against France; in reply to which, assurances were given that those preparations arose from a misunderstanding, which would, doubtless, be speedily removed. While this show of negotiation was continued, Bonaparte, having summoned the confederates of the Rhine to furnish their contingents, repaired to the army, and it was not until a week after his departure from Paris that Prussia threw off the mask. A note was presented by Knobelsdorf on the 1st of October, demanding as a preliminary to negotiation, that the whole of the French troops should instantly repass the Rhine; that no obstacle should be raised by France to the formation of a northern confederacy, including all the German states not named in, the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine; and that the basis of negotiation should be the separation of the Wesel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the Three Abbeys by the Prussian troops. To these demands no answer was vouchsafed by Bonaparte; but Talleyrand dexterously

[She applies to Russia for assistance.—Situation of the Russian army.]

availed himself of them in demonstrating that if France had been willing to gratify the unjust ambition of Prussia at the expense of her weaker neighbours, the flames of war would not have been rekindled on the continent.

The only power from which the court of Berlin could expect to derive effectual aid was Russia; but although Frederick William had, in the month of August, imparted to the emperor Alexander the state of his relations with France, no intimation had been given of an approaching war, nor was any measure adopted for obtaining his assistance until the 18th of September, when count Krusemark was sent to St. Petersburg, charged with such a commission. He arrived on the 30th, and orders for marching were immediately sent to the Russian army in Poland. Those orders could not arrive until the 6th of October; nor could the army be expected to reach the scene of action before the middle of November, so that Prussia found herself obliged to contend, unsupported for a whole month, against her powerful adversary.

At the period of Count Krusemark's mission to St. Petersburg, a communication was made to Mr. Thornton, the British minister at Hamburg, announcing the disposition of his Prussian majesty to accommodate his differences with the king of Great Britain, and expressing a desire that some functionary might be authorized to open a negotiation. The English minister immediately sent lord Morpeth to the Prussian head-quarters; and he arrived there on the eve of a great battle which was expected to decide the fate of the campaign, a period particularly unfavourable to negotiation. The Prussian ministers would not give any specific pledge respecting Hanover, since, if victory declared for them, that electorate might still be theirs; and if their army were defeated, any engagements which might have been contracted with England would be likely to operate to their prejudice in treating for peace. This cold and cautious distrust was surely unnecessary towards a power which had evinced the sincerity of its friendship by immediately raising the blockade of the ports and rivers of Prussia.

The scene of the approaching conflict was in Upper Saxony. Early in October the head-quarters of the Prussians were at Naumburg, where their principal magazines were collected; and their forces extended along the country bordering on the Saale. The general staff was transferred to Weimar on the 10th; and the position of the army was nearly as follows:—The left, commanded by prince Hohenlohe, under whom were general Tauenzien and prince Lewis of Prussia, occupied Saalfeld, Schleitz, and Hof; and its advanced posts extended to Münchberg and Culmbach. The centre, commanded by the duke of Brunswick, general Mollendorf, and the king in person, was distributed in the neighbourhood of Erfurt, Weimar, Gotha, and Eisenach; and its vanguard, under the duke of Saxe-Weimar, was stationed at Meiningen. The right, commanded by general Ruchel, extended to Muhlhausen. The reserve, under prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, was on the march from Custrin, and a separate corps, which had been stationed at Gottingen, under general Blucher, was likewise advancing to join the main army. The elector of Hesse was suffered to remain neutral; but the Saxons served as auxiliaries, and were stationed

[Position and movements of the French army.]

in the left, under prince Hohenlohe. The whole force, amounting to 150,000 men, was entrusted to the command of the duke of Brunswick, who, at the advanced age of seventy-one, was to employ the military science which he had acquired in the school of the great Frederick in competition with the modern tactics so successfully pursued by Bonaparte and his marshals.

The French, who had for some time been concentrating their forces at Bamberg, advanced on the 8th, in three divisions. The right, consisting of the two corps d'armée, under Soult and Ney, with a division of Bavarians, joined at Bayreuth, and from thence marched against Hof. The centre, commanded by Murat, Bernadotte, and Davoust, marched to Cronack, and from thence to Saalburg and Schleitz. The left, under Lannes and Augereau, advanced from Schweinfurt upon Coburg, Graffenthal, and Saalfeld. By these movements, the left wing of the Prussians, which extended to a great distance from their centre, was exposed to the attack of the whole French army. Aware of their danger, the division stationed on the extremity of the line at Hof, fell back upon Schleitz, on the approach of Soult, who seized their magazines, and pressed forward to Plauen, in Upper Saxony, followed by Ney at the distance of half a day's march. The French centre passed the Saale at Saalburg, moved upon Schleitz, discomfited a body of 10,000 Prussians, stationed there under Tauenzien, and advanced on the 11th to Gera, within six hours march of Naumburg, where the principal magazines of the Prussians were deposited. The operations of the left wing of the French were no less successful. Lannes entered Coburg on the 8th, passed through Graffenthal, and on the 10th attacked at Saalfeld the advanced guard of prince Hohenlohe, commanded by prince Louis of Prussia, whom he completely defeated, taking thirty pieces of cannon, and about one thousand prisoners. Prince Louis fell in the action. By these movements, the French, after turning the left of their adversaries, became masters of their magazines, and placed themselves between the Prussian grand army, and the cities of Berlin and Dresden. On the 12th, Davoust took possession of Naumburg, and burnt the magazines. The Prussians, thus cut off from their resources, had no alternative but to fight or starve. The barren country of Weimar afforded no means for subsisting so large an army; the provisions and forage were completely exhausted; and when arrangements were made on the 13th for a general battle, the men had been without food, and the horses without corn, for twenty-four hours.

The French army extended from Naumburg to Kahla, along the Saale, its centre being at Jena. The Prussians, who had been directing their whole force towards one point, were assembled between Auerstadt, Weimar, and Jena. The two armies were separated by the heights of the Saale, which seemed to afford an impregnable position to the Prussians, and to present an insuperable barrier to the French. But the Prussian generals, satisfied with guarding the high road between Weimar and Jena, left the most important passes of the Saale unoccupied; and their adversaries taking advantage of this oversight were actively employed during the night in securing those points, and in transporting cannon to defend them.

At day break, the light troops belonging to the French centre,



[Battle of Jena.—Signal defeat of the Prussians.]

opened a brisk fire upon the Prussians, which drove them from their advanced positions, and enabled the French line to extend itself on the plain in order of battle. The Prussian troops of the left, amounting to about fifty thousand men, were despatched early in the morning, towards Naumburg, to take possession of the defiles of Koesen; but they found them occupied by Davoust, whom in eleven successive attacks they vainly attempted to dislodge. Their centre, consisting of eighty thousand men, was opposed to the French centre at Jena, but their right, amounting to twelve thousand men, under general Ruchel, had not effected its junction; and their rear guard, formerly their vanguard, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Weimar, was still at Meinungen, thirty miles distant from the field of battle. When the morning fog cleared away, the two armies beheld each other at the distance of less than cannon-shot. Some French battalions advanced to occupy a small village, and were supported by Lannes, while Soult made a movement toward a wood on his right, which was in possession of the Prussians; another corps of whom, being directed toward the French left, were encountered by Augereau. In less than an hour the action became general. The Prussian infantry fought with great courage and firmness; but their cavalry was too much exhausted and dispirited to maintain its ancient reputation. Both armies manœuvred with the same precision as on a field day; but the French disconcerted the Prussians by the rapidity of their evolutions; and their artillery was terribly destructive. Soult, having carried the wood, after a combat of two hours, pressed forward, and at the same instant the French reserve, both cavalry and infantry, advanced to the front line, and threw the Prussians into disorder. They rallied, and maintained the action for about an hour, when a second reserve, composed of the dragoons and cuirassiers, under Murat, made a tremendous charge, which decided the engagement. The Prussians endeavoured to form themselves into square battalions; but their ranks were broken: artillery, cavalry, and infantry, were thrown into confusion, and in their flight through Weimar were joined by the remains of their left wing, which had been discomfited by Davoust. This junction served only to augment the confusion, and the troops were compelled to seek safety by a precipitate flight. The king himself was forced to quit the high road, and at the head of a small body of cavalry, to escape across the country. According to the French accounts, the Prussians, in this decisive battle, lost more than twenty thousand in killed and wounded; from thirty to forty thousand prisoners, three hundred pieces of cannon, and sixty standards. Above twenty generals and lieutenant-generals were among the captives. The duke of Brunswick and lieutenant-general Schmettau were mortally wounded. The estimate in point of numbers may be exaggerated; but from the results, which immediately ensued, the victory was one of the most decisive which had ever been gained by the French arms.

On the day after the battle, general Mollendorf, and the prince of Orange, who had effected their retreat to Erfurt with 14,000 men, surrendered by capitulation, and gave up to the French a park of 120 pieces of artillery, with ammunition and valuable magazines. On the 17th, prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, who was hastening from Custringen with the Prussian reserve, was defeated at Halle by Bernadotte, who

## [Capitulation of prince Hohenlohe.—Retreat and surrender of Blücher.]

captured 5000 men and 34 pieces of cannon. The corps of Davoust entered Berlin on the 25th, and was next day followed by that of Augereau. On the preceding day, Bonaparte had arrived at Potsdam, where he stopped to view the apartments, and visit the tomb of the great Frederick. He ordered the sword and scarf of that monarch, together with the colours which he took in the seven years' war, to be sent as trophies to the hotel of the invalids at Paris. On the 27th, he made his public entry into Berlin, and next day gave audiences to the foreign ministers of powers in amity with France, as well as to the civil authorities of the city, and other public functionaries.

Meantime, the wreck of the Prussian army, collected at Magdeburg, under prince Hohenlohe, was making an unsuccessful attempt to gain the banks of the Oder. With a force of about 40,000 men, including the Prussian guards who had escaped from the battle of Auerstadt, he directed his march toward Stettin, and by making various détours to avoid the advanced forces of the enemy, at length gained Prenzlau, where, after an engagement against superior numbers, he found himself obliged to capitulate on the 28th, with the whole forces under his immediate command, amounting to about 17,000 men. On the following day, a body of 6000 men, belonging to his army, were forced to surrender. The troops forming his rear, under the command of general Blücher had reached Boitzenberg, and were preparing to march for Prenzlau on the morning of the 29th, when intelligence arrived of the surrender of the main body. Blücher changed his route in the direction of Strelitz, in the hope of falling in with the corps of 10,000 men, under the duke of Weimar, which had not been engaged in the battle of Auerstadt, and had since been attempting to cross the Elbe. This junction he fortunately effected, and found the duke's corps strengthened by a third, under the command of the duke of Brunswick Oels; but he now received the unwelcome news, that Soult had crossed the Elbe with his army, and was posted between him and that river. Having taken the command of the three corps, Blücher resolved on attempting the passage of the Elbe at Lauenburg, to reinforce the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony. The French corps under Bernadotte pressed upon his rear; that of Soult intercepted his communication with Lauenburg; while a third, under Murat, advancing on his right along the skirts of Swedish Pomerania, prevented him from seeking refuge with his army under the walls of Stralsund. Harassed on all sides, he threw himself into Lubeck; but his indefatigable enemy forced one of the gates of the city; a combat ensued in the streets and squares, in which the Prussians were defeated, many of their army cut to pieces, and 4000 made prisoners. The unfortunate and unoffending citizens of Lubeck suffered all the horrors incident to a place taken by storm, and were exposed for some hours, to the wanton cruelty and rapacity of the conquerors. Blücher effected his retreat, and reached the frontiers of Holstein with 10,000 men, the small remains of his army, where, not venturing to violate the Danish territory, and being unable to cope with an enemy so far superior in numbers, he was obliged to surrender. Thus terminated the vigorous and persevering exertions of this gallant veteran, to retrieve the fortunes of his master: and his was the last corps of Prussians which remained in arms on the German side of the Oder.

[Bonaparte gains over the Saxons.—French occupy Hamburg.]

The policy of the conqueror had already alienated their auxiliaries. Before the battle of Auerstadt, Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the Saxons in the Prussian army, with the view of exciting the distrust of their friends; and immediately after the victory he liberated 6000 prisoners on their parole not to serve against the French, whose sole object, he declared, was to preserve the independence of the Saxon nation against the ambitious designs of Prussia. He sent an amicable message to the elector, which induced that prince to relinquish his intention of flying from Dresden, to renounce his connexion with Prussia, and to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance with France. Saxony, however, was laid under heavy contributions for the support of the French army; and Leipzig, one of the most considerable marts in Germany, was occupied by a division under general Macon, who instituted a rigorous search for British merchandise.

Most of the fortified places in Prussia were yielded without a struggle; and those best supplied with the means of defence were commonly the first to surrender. Spandau and Stettin opened their gates almost as soon as they were invested; and Magdeburg, with a garrison of 22,000 men, capitulated to Ney, after a few bombs had been thrown into the city. Hameln, the chief fortress in Hanover, having a garrison of 9000 men, with provisions and ammunition for six months, surrendered to a force consisting of two Dutch regiments and a single regiment of French light infantry. These were part of a small army under Louis Bonaparte, which had penetrated into the electorate after reducing the Prussian provinces of Westphalia. Emden and East Friesland were occupied by another force under general Daendels.

The elector of Hesse Cassel found himself destined to participate in the humiliation of the Prussian monarch. He was expelled from his capital and dominions by an army under Mortier, on the pretext that he had revived his ancient treaties of subsidy with England, and had committed certain acts which were inconsistent with his avowed neutrality. The fortresses of Hanau and Marburg were ordered to be destroyed; the magazines and arsenals to be removed; and the Hessian troops to be disarmed and disbanded. The heavy contributions imposed on the people, excited them in some places to rise against their oppressors; but their resistance had no other result than to aggravate the hardships of a country under military occupation.

Having reduced Hesse, and taken formal possession of Hanover, Mortier occupied Hamburg, and issued an order for the sequestration of all English produce and manufactures found in the city. The merchants and bankers were required to exhibit statements of the quantity of such property, or of the funds arising from its sale, in their possession; compliance was extorted by the threat of domiciliary visits; and summary punishment by martial law was denounced against those who should make false returns. The English merchants remaining in Hamburg were put under arrest, and though afterwards released on their parole, remained under military inspection, and were liable to be sent to Verdun. Warned, however, by the fate of Leipzig, the greater number of them had already disposed of their property, and arranged their affairs; and the French, in ruining the trade of Hamburg, obtained less plunder than they expected.



[Berlin decree.—King of Prussia attempts to negotiate a peace.]

The greater portion of it consisted of grain, which was sent to head-quarters, where a scarcity began to be apprehended.

The spoliation of this free city was the prelude to a decree issued by Bonaparte at Berlin on the 20th of November, interdicting all commerce and correspondence between the countries under his control and the British islands, which he declared to be in a state of blockade. All subjects of Great Britain found in countries occupied by French troops were to be treated as prisoners of war; all English property to be seized as lawful prize; all commerce in English produce and manufactures was prohibited; and all vessels touching at England or any English colony were excluded from every harbour under the control of France. He declared that the regulations of this decree should be regarded as a fundamental law of the French empire, until England should recognise the law of war to be, by sea as by land, in no case applicable to private property or to individuals not bearing arms, and until she should confine the right of maritime blockade to fortified places, actually invested by a sufficient force. This violent decree, and the apprehension of retaliatory measures on the part of England, occasioned great dismay in the commercial cities of the continent; and deputations were sent to Bonaparte, not only from Hamburg, but from Nantes, Bourdeaux, and other commercial ports of France, praying for some relaxation of a law which threatened them with ruin. He was inexorable; and when informed that numerous bankruptcies were daily taking place, he replied, "So much the better; the more bankruptcies will there be among the enemy: England must be humbled, though we reduce commerce to its state in the fourth century, and exchange linen for cattle, and corn for cloth." But though ostensibly tenacious of a measure which he had rashly adopted, he soon saw the expediency of tolerating the infringement of it, and of permitting a precarious commerce in the ports of France and Holland to be purchased by the bribery of his officers; a subterfuge which his own caprice could revoke, and which was not inconsistent with the meanness and rapacity of his ambition.

After the disastrous battle of Auerstadt, the king of Prussia had retired to Königsberg; from whence he sent a plenipotentiary to the French head-quarters to negotiate a peace; but that result was rendered hopeless by the exorbitant demands of his haughty enemy, now in the full career of success. The terms on which even an armistice was offered, were so unreasonable, that Frederick William resolved to abide the desperate chance of war rather than submit to them. Meantime the French, with unremitting activity, were preparing to extend their operations beyond the Oder. The corps under the command of Davoust entered Posen on the 10th of November; and Jerome Bonaparte, at the head of an army of Wirtembergers and Bavarians, undertook the conquest of Silesia, where success promised to be easy, since there was no army to contend with, and the fortified places were ill provided with the means of defence. He however encountered greater resistance than he expected: Great Glogau, with a garrison of only 2500 men, held out till the 29th; and Breslau, though bombarded for more than three weeks, did not capitulate until the 7th of January, 1807.

General Beningsen, at the head of the advanced Russian army, had

[Movements of the French.—Defeat of the Russians.]

already entered Warsaw; but on receiving accurate information of the force opposed to him, he deemed it prudent to evacuate that city, and retreated beyond the Narew, where he effected a junction with the division under Buxhoevden. On the arrival of further reinforcements under Kamenskoi, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, the Russians again began to advance, and fixed their head-quarters at Pultusk. Meantime the French having established a chain of posts from Poland to the heart of Germany, and made other judicious dispositions, moved forward to bring their adversaries to a general engagement. Their right, consisting of the divisions of Lannes and Davoust, commanded by Bonaparte in person, crossed the Narew and gained a most favourable position for attacking the left flank of the Russians. The corps of Augereau traversed the Vistula at Zakrocym, and that of Soult at Polock. The left, under Ney, Bessieres, and Bernadotte, advanced from Thorn to Sierpsk, and by a rapid movement cut off the communication of the Prussians with their allies, who experienced a series of reverses, which occasioned the commander, Kamenskoi, to quit the army and retire to Ostrolenka. The command of the Russian army devolved on Benigsen and Buxhoevden, the former being stationed at Pultusk, and the latter at Golomyn. They were both attacked on the 26th, and driven from their positions, after a loss, according to the French accounts, of eighty pieces of cannon, all their ammunition, and 12,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The French troops then went into cantonments, and Bonaparte returned to Warsaw.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

Neutrality of Austria.—War between Russia and Turkey.—King of Sweden declares war against France.—Policy of Denmark.—Louis Bonaparte proclaimed king of Holland.—Conduct of the Spanish government.—The French threaten to invade Portugal.—Earl St. Vincent's mission to the Tagus.—Issue of the negotiations at Lisbon.—Discussions between Great Britain and the United States.—Conferences between British and American commissioners in London.—Treaty concluded, which the American president refuses to ratify.—Operations of the British navy.—Capture of Linois.—Cape of Good Hope taken by the British.—Expedition of sir Home Popham to the river Plate.—Buenos Ayres taken—recovered by the Spaniards.—Failure of Miranda's expedition to the Caracas.—Insurrection in Hayti; Christophe raised to the head of the government.—Affairs of India—death of the marquis Cornwallis—insurrection of the sepoys—lord Minto appointed governor-general.—Illness and death of Mr. Fox—consequent changes in the cabinet.

DURING this campaign the course pursued by Austria had been that of a prudent and cautious neutrality. When the war between Prussia and France became inevitable, she assembled a powerful army on the frontiers of Bohemia; but at the same time declared to the belligerent powers, that her sole intention was to maintain inviolate the integrity of her territories. When the Prussians were driven beyond the Oder, Bonaparte caused his minister at Vienna to demand the recall of this army to its former quarters; and such were the relations between Austria and Russia, that the demand was complied with. Disputes having arisen between the court of St. Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte respecting Wallachia and Moldavia, a Russian army under general Michelson had entered the latter province, and had taken possession of Bender, Chotzim, and Jassy. The grand seignor, reluctantly yielding to the popular voice, issued a formal declaration of war against Russia, and hostile preparations were vigorously made both by sea and land. Paswan Oglou, formerly pursued as a rebel, was invested with legitimate authority in the pachalik of Widin; and Mustapha Bairactar, the ayan of Rushuk, was commissioned to oppose the farther progress of their invaders. He was unable to prevent their irruption into Wallachia, and their occupation of Bucharest, its capital, from whence they sent detachments in all directions, threatening to join the revolted Servians under Czerni George, who, after repeated successes against the Turks, were besieging Belgrade. This was a crisis of danger to the Ottoman empire; Egypt being in a state of anarchy; Mecca and Medina in the hands of the Wehabites; Bagdad independent; the Servians nearly masters of their fruitful province; the janizaries discontented with the new European tactics, and the divan itself distracted by the opposite factions of France and England. To add to the alarms which prevailed at Constantinople, an English squadron of three sail of the line and four frigates, commanded by admiral Louis, passed the Dardanelles, and anchored before Constantinople. Italinski, the Russian minister at the Porte, embarked on board one of these ships, and Mr. Arbuthnot, the English ambas-



[War between Sweden and France.—Policy of Denmark.—Conduct of Spain.]

sador, took the same opportunity of quitting a capital where the French interests, under the management of Sebastiani, began to acquire the ascendancy.

In the other states of Europe the events which took place, though not wholly uninteresting, were but of secondary importance to the great conflict in Poland. The chivalric king of Sweden, who had hitherto displayed his hostility to France in angry manifestos, had at length an opportunity of actual combat with his powerful adversary. Through his envoy at Hamburg, proposals had been made to him by Bonaparte for a separate negotiation; but the overture, though coupled with expressions of personal esteem and consideration, was rejected with disdain. In consequence, toward the end of December, a small army under Mortier marched to the frontier of Pomerania to lay siege to Stralsund, and expel the Swedes from the isle of Rugen.

Denmark, persevering in that system of neutrality which was best adapted to her limited resources, and to the welfare of her people, derived some advantages from the recent changes in the north of Germany, and appropriated a great part of the trade which had hitherto been carried on under Prussian colours and through Prussian ports. On the dissolution of the Germanic constitution, the king of Denmark formally annexed Holstein to his dominions as an integral part of the Danish monarchy, and declared it to be for ever separated from the empire of Germany.

In the course of this year Bonaparte abolished the republican constitution of the United Provinces, and placed over them his brother Louis as lieutenant-governor, with the title of king. He also strengthened his connexion with Bavaria by procuring the union of a princess of that house with his step-son Eugene Beauharnois, whom he adopted as his successor in the kingdom of Italy. That his imperial state might be duly upheld by subordinate dignities, he created a number of duchies in the countries conquered by France, and chiefly in Italy, which he conferred on the civil and military officers who had distinguished themselves in his service. Berthier was created prince of Neufchatel; Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo; and Talleyrand, prince of Benevento. Many of the marshals and generals were raised to the rank of dukes. Bonaparte's sister, Paulina, the wife of the prince Borghese, received the principality of Guastalla; and his uncle, cardinal Fesch, was appointed coadjutor and successor of the archbishop of Ratisbon.

Spain continued to languish under the wretched administration of Godoy, prince of the Peace. When that minion of the court was informed of the negotiation between France and England, he manifested great chagrin on receiving no invitation to become a party in the affair; and his indignation was increased on learning the secret articles concluded between Talleyrand and the Russian minister D'Oubril, by which it appeared that Bonaparte had transferred the Balearic isles to the duke of Calabria, without even communicating his design to the court of Madrid. In the first ebullition of his anger, he issued proclamations, appealing to the patriotism of the Spaniards, and ordering a considerable augmentation of the army and militia, while he prepared for the renewal of amicable communications with Great Britain by opening a confidential intercourse with the court of Lisbon.

[Earl of St. Vincent's mission to Portugal.—Issue of the negotiation.]

These projects were frustrated by the disasters of Prussia. On learning the result of the battle of Auerstadt, Godoy hastily countermanded the warlike preparations, which he alleged to have been rendered necessary by a menaced invasion of Andalusia with an army of Moors at the instigation of England. Bonaparte, penetrating this shallow pretext, suppressed his resentment, and approving the conduct of his ally, demanded an auxiliary force of Spanish troops to co-operate in his northern campaign; and accordingly 16,000 men, under the command of the marquis of Romana, were placed at his disposal.

As the French had given various indications during the summer, of an intention to invade Portugal, the British government adopted prompt and efficacious measures for the protection of that country. Earl St. Vincent, then commanding the Channel fleet, was ordered to the Tagus with a squadron of six sail of the line; and within ten days after the menace had been held out to the British negotiators at Paris, he anchored before Lisbon. A large and well-appointed military force was collected and embarked at Plymouth, for the same destination; but as its sudden appearance in Portugal would have compromised that country, it was judged expedient that the earl of Rosslyn, to whom the command was entrusted, should proceed with his staff to the Tagus, and in conjunction with the admiral, enter into a negotiation with the court of Lisbon on the best means of averting the threatened danger. They were to offer the disposable resources of England, naval, military, and pecuniary, for the defence of the territory; and if the means for that object should be still deemed inadequate, lord St. Vincent was to engage that the whole of his fleet, with the army already embarked, should be employed in securing for the Portuguese government a safe retreat in Brazil. If, in the third place, the court of Lisbon, disposed neither to resist nor to fly, should determine passively to abide the consequences of invasion, then on the actual violation of the territory it would become necessary to prevent the fleet from falling into his hands.

The negotiations were commenced at Lisbon in the beginning of September, but since the issuing of the instructions a considerable change had taken place in the affairs of the north. The refusal of the Emperor Alexander to ratify D'Oubril's treaty, the hostile preparations of Prussia, and the equivocal neutrality of Austria, induced the French government to postpone the invasion of Portugal; the march of troops to Bayonne was countermanded; general Junot, the ambassador appointed to Lisbon, was sent to the army in Germany; a large force of Spanish auxiliaries had been ordered to the north; and Bonaparte with his ministers had quitted Paris to take the field against Prussia. On receiving intelligence of these events, the court of Lisbon deemed it adviseable no longer to request the protection of the British fleet, or to solicit a military force for the defence of Portugal, which, in existing circumstances, would be of no service, and might give umbrage to the Spanish government. The troops, therefore, which had been collected for that object, were disembarked at Plymouth; lord St. Vincent returned to his station off the Tagus, and lord Rosslyn sailed for England, charged with the most cordial assurances of the prince regent's gratitude to the British government, and with the strongest protestations of attachment to so faithful an ally

[Discussions between England and the United States.]

The amity subsisting between Great Britain and the United States was interrupted by that collision of interests, which so frequently occurs in the relations of a belligerent with a neutral power. The complaints of the Americans were principally directed to our practice of impressing British seamen found on board their merchant-vessels on the high seas; to our violation of their neutral rights by the seizure and condemnation of their vessels engaged in legitimate commerce; and to our infringement of their maritime jurisdiction on their own coasts. With respect to the first grievance, it was urged, that native Americans were impressed on pretence of their being Englishmen, and were forced to serve in the British navy; and that from the similarity of character and identity of language in both nations, these mistakes even with the fairest intentions could not always be avoided. The reply was, that Great Britain could not relinquish for a moment the right of impress, unless some unexceptionable plan could be devised for attaining the same end by means less violent, and less liable to abuse; that the difficulty of distinction was no argument against the right, though a good reason for caution and reserve in its exercise; and that America, in complaining of the evil, was bound to propose a practical remedy. The public mind in the United States was so inflamed with exaggerated reports, representing thousands of captured citizens, as compelled to serve in the British navy, that some of the popular leaders went so far as to deny the right of impress, and a bill on this principle was brought into congress; but it was rejected by the senate as tending to place the two countries in a state of hostility. A special mission was appointed to England for the adjustment of all existing differences, among which this was represented as foremost in importance. The second ground of complaint arose from a concession granted to the Americans during the late war, by which they were allowed to trade with the colonies of the enemy for articles intended for domestic consumption, which, if no demand existed in their own markets, might be re-exported to any port not invested by our blockading squadrons. Discussions had arisen respecting the extension of this indulgence; but they ceased at the peace of Amiens; and when war was renewed between Great Britain and France, it was generally understood in America, that in this intercourse with a belligerent, the mere act of landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country was sufficient to break the continuity of the voyage, and legalize the trade. Acting on this interpretation, the American merchants gradually extended their speculations, and pursued them without interruption until 1805, when the British Admiralty courts adopted a new ground of decision, which instantly exposed the whole of the neutral trade to seizure and confiscation. Proof of payment of duties in America, was pronounced to be no evidence of a *bona fide* importation, because, under the revenue laws established in that country, payment of duties is commutable for security by bonds; and the merchant who re-exports goods previously imported, is entitled to debentures payable on the same days with the bonds, and made out for the same sums, with a deduction of three and a half per cent. in favour of government. The British tribunals, consistently with the spirit of their former decisions, maintained that the neutral trade was not legalized by this operation; and the American merchants, seeing their



[Non-importation act.—Conferences at London.—Colonial intercourse.]

vessels captured and carried into our ports for adjudication, complained loudly of the harshness, violence, and injustice of our proceedings. Congress passed a non-importation act against British manufactures, to take effect at a fixed period; and in the mean time instructions were sent to the commissioners to demand from the British government some clear and precise rule for regulating their trade with the colonies of the enemy. To the third ground of complaint, in which the Americans demanded to have their maritime jurisdiction defined and respected, no reasonable objection could be entertained. Through an unfortunate accident an American seaman was killed within sight of New York, by a shot from the British armed vessel the *Leander*; and this calamity happening during the heat of an election, became a matter of notoriety. The people construed it into a violation of the respect due to their territory, and the executive felt it necessary to establish some regulations on a point already settled by the law of nations.

The conferences for the adjustment of these points of dispute were opened in London, by lords Holland and Auckland on the part of Great Britain, and by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney on that of America. A sincere disposition was manifested on both sides to establish a lasting friendship between the two countries on terms mutually advantageous; and this conciliatory spirit was especially evinced by the American commissioners, when after some deliberations respecting an efficient substitute for the practice of impressment, they consented, though in opposition to their instructions, to pass to the other subjects of negotiation, on receiving from lords Holland and Auckland, an official assurance that the right should be exercised with great caution, that care should be taken to preserve the citizens of the United States from molestation or injury, and immediate redress afforded on representation of any injury sustained. The other questions were brought to a more decisive and satisfactory issue. On the subject of intercourse with the colonies of the enemy and the trade thence arising, a clear and precise rule was established for defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage; and it was expressly stipulated that on the re-exportation of goods actually imported, there should remain after the drawback a duty to be paid of one per cent. *ad valorem*, on all articles of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Europe, and a duty of not less than two per cent. *ad valorem* on all articles of colonial produce. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guaranteed; and in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the American coast, an extension of that jurisdiction to the distance of five miles from shore, was conceded by both parties on certain conditions, and under certain limitations. The treaty included some commercial stipulations framed for the reciprocal advantage of the two countries, but the American president, Mr. Jefferson, thought proper to withhold from it his ratification.

The successes of the British navy were necessarily less splendid than those obtained in the preceding year. A squadron of five sail of the line belonging to the fleet which escaped from Brest, in December, 1805, was encountered by sir John Thomas Duckworth in the West Indian seas; and after a furious action, three of the ships remained prizes to the English; the other two were driven on shore

[Operations of the British navy.—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope.]

and burned. Another squadron of the same fleet under Villaumez, consisting of six sail of the line, which had been destined for the Cape of Good Hope, and had altered its course to the West Indies, took refuge in Martinique, and thence sailed to the northward, followed by admiral Cochrane, who, having only four ships, could not risk an engagement. Villaumez, to frustrate the vigilance of the various squadrons in search of him, found it necessary to disperse his ships in various directions; his own vessel, the *Foudroyant*, reached the Havanna in a shattered condition; three were destroyed on the American coast; another effected its escape into Brest; and the *Veteran* 74, commanded by Jerome Bonaparte, which had been the first to separate, was fortunate enough to reach the coast of Brittany, and was stranded in the small harbour of Concarneau. The captain and crew got on shore.

The French admiral Linois, returning home from a long cruise in the Indian seas, was intercepted by sir John Borlase Warren, and brought to England with the *Marengo* of 80 guns, and the *Belle Poule* of 40, the only ships remaining under his command.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board for the West Indies, were met on the day after their escape from Rochefort by a British squadron under commodore sir Samuel Hood, who after a running fight of several hours, captured four of them. The gallant commodore received a severe wound, which rendered necessary the amputation of his right arm.

The Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, capitulated on the 5th of January to a military and naval force, under the command of sir David Baird and sir Home Popham. The latter officer then undertook an expedition to the river Plate, and prevailed on his colleague to allow a body of troops under the command of general Beresford, to assist in the adventure. In the beginning of June he entered the river Plate, and on the 24th effected a landing at Quilmes, about twelve miles from the city of Buenos Ayres. His whole military force, which had received a trifling augmentation at St. Helena, did not exceed 1600 men, including marines. A body of Spaniards, posted on a height at a distance, fled at the first fire, leaving their artillery behind them; and no formidable resistance being afterwards offered, general Beresford entered the city on the 27th; the viceroy having fled to Cordova, with the small force under his command. This easy capture was ascribed to the absence of the regular troops, who were stationed at Montevideo and Maldonado, and whose attention was occupied by the demonstrations which sir Home Popham made with the line of battle ships of the squadron. Favourable terms were granted to the people of Buenos Ayres, and private property of every kind was respected: specie belonging to the government, of a very considerable amount, was sent to England. The news was received with the highest exultation; and the extravagant hopes to which it gave rise were rather encouraged than checked by a circular letter from sir Home Popham to the principal mercantile and manufacturing towns, expatiating on the advantages likely to accrue to the commerce of Great Britain from this conquest. The popular delusion revived the fable of El Dorado, and gave rise to speculations no less absurd in their objects than in their disproportionate extent;

[Expedition of Miranda.—Insurrection in Hayti.—Affairs of India.]

commodities were assorted for exportation which had never been heard of in the countries for which they were destined; axes were made for breaking rocks, and cutting from them veins of solid gold; and skates and coffin-furniture were packed for the use of a people whose rivers are never frozen, and who consign the dead in grave-clothes to their native earth. During this rage for commercial enterprise in England, the city of Buenos Ayres was recovered by the natives under the direction of Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service; the troops under general Beresford were forced to surrender, and, contrary to the terms of capitulation, were detained as prisoners of war and sent up the country. Sir Home Popham, who continued to blockade the river, till the arrival of troops from the Cape, made an unsuccessful attempt on Montevideo, and afterward took possession of Maldonado, where he awaited further reinforcements from England.

Such was the result of an unauthorized expedition, hazarded on the presumption that it might favour a project for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies which had been repeatedly submitted to the notice of Mr. Pitt by general Miranda. That officer, disappointed at length in his hope of direct assistance from England, applied to the United States, and was permitted to fit out an expedition at New York, consisting of an armed vessel of 18 guns, and two small schooners, having on board about 360 adventurers of different nations. With this small force he undertook to plant the standard of independence in his native country the Caracas, and after sustaining a reverse near Puerto Cabello, which compelled him to retire to Trinidad, at length effected a landing at Vela de Coro. The people of the country abandoned their habitations, and fled at his approach; and as his proclamations failed to rouse their patriotism, he abandoned the enterprise, re-embarked for Aruba, and thence returned to Trinidad.

During these transactions on the Spanish main, an insurrection broke out in Hayti, in which Dessalines, the emperor, was killed by the negroes, whom he had provoked by his cruelty and oppression. His successor, Christophe, assumed the humbler title of chief of the government, and in that capacity opened the commerce of his dominions to neutral nations by a proclamation distinguished for its liberal spirit and enlightened views.

In India, the expectations which had been founded on the administration of the marquis Cornwallis, were frustrated by the death of that nobleman at Gazypoor, in Benares, while on his progress to take the command of the army, for the purpose of chastising Scindia, who had recently manifested a disposition to recommence hostilities, and of reducing Holkar to submission. The functions of governor-general devolved on sir George Barlow, as second in council, who exerted himself in realizing the political views communicated to him by his predecessor. Peace was signed with Scindia on the 22d of November; and with Holkar on the 24th of December, 1805. The tranquillity thus established in India was interrupted in the following July by an insurrection of the sepoys or native troops in the pay of the company, who, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th, attacked the European barracks at Vellore, containing four companies of the 69th regiment, upon whom they poured a destructive fire through every door and window, and massacred 164 men, besides officers, before they were



[Illness and death of Mr. Fox.—Changes in the cabinet.]

quelled by a regiment of dragoons. Symptoms of disaffection appeared in other quarters, which it required the most prompt and vigorous measures to subdue. The origin of these discontents was a rumour which had been industriously propagated among the sepoy, that it was the wish of the British government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity, and which was said to have been strengthened by an attempt to change the sepoy turban into something resembling the helmet of the European infantry.

Some discussions arose at home between the company and the government, respecting the proposal for recalling sir George Barlow, and appointing the earl of Lauderdale to the government of India; but the court of directors, when his lordship declined to urge his pretensions, acquiesced in the appointment of lord Minto to that high office.

The period was now approaching at which the British nation was to be deprived of one of its brightest ornaments. Mr. Fox, who, on his accession to office, was labouring under indisposition, had been disabled during the summer from attending to public business: the rapid progress of his disease, a dropsy, baffled all the applications of medical skill, and he expired on the 13th of September, in the 57th year of his age. The public regret for his loss subdued for a time the conflicting prejudices of party, and a unanimous homage was paid to those great and amiable qualities which won the cordial affection of his friends, and the generous admiration of his adversaries. As a senator, he was distinguished alike for the comprehensiveness of his views, the liberality of his principles, the persuasive and convincing force of his eloquence; as a minister of state, he displayed in the management of public affairs the same noble simplicity which characterized his conduct in private life; and he had sense and spirit to prefer the direct course of English plain dealing to the specious professions, the cautious wiles, the timid, unworthy chicanery, the sinister reservations, and the over-reaching craft, which are but too commonly regarded as the perfection of modern diplomacy. Though the sincere advocate of peace, he uniformly deprecated the purchase of that blessing by the slightest sacrifice of national honour; his firm adherence to the principles of the constitution was no less conspicuous than his zeal for the cause of liberty; and he vindicated the rights of the people as the surest basis of the strength and prosperity of his country.

On the death of this lamented statesman some new arrangements became necessary among the members of administration. Lord Howick was appointed secretary for foreign affairs; Mr. Thomas Grenville succeeded him as first lord of the admiralty; Mr. Tierney became president of the board of control, to which the former gentleman had been appointed on the nomination of lord Minto to the government of India; lord Sidmouth was president of the council in the room of earl Fitzwilliam, who retired in ill health; and the vacant office of privy seal was assigned to lord Holland. These changes were rather unexpectedly followed by a dissolution of parliament; but this appeal to the people procured for ministers no great accession of strength in the house of commons.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Meeting of parliament.—King's speech.—Discussions on the negotiation with France.—Measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war.—Budget.—Lord H. Petty's plan of finance.—Abolition of the slave trade.—Bill for the relief of catholics introduced by lord Howick.—Motion relinquished.—Change of administration.—Explanation given by lords Grenville and Howick of the proceedings in the cabinet which occasioned their dismissal.—Mr. Bankes's motion respecting offices in reversion, and debate respecting the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster offered to Mr. Perceval for life.—Catholic question revived on the motion of Mr. Brand respecting the pledge required from the late ministers.—Result of the investigation into the conduct of the princess of Wales.—Military operations under the direction of the late ministry.—Expedition to the Dardanelles—to Egypt—to the river Plate.—Capture of Montevideo.—Operations against Buenos Ayres.—The British troops evacuate both banks of the river.—Disgrace of Whitlocke.—Progress of war on the continent.—Battle of Eylau.—Of Friedland.—Armistice.—Treaties of Tilsit, between France, Russia, and Prussia.—The Swedes evacuate Pomerania.—Losses sustained by Prussia.

THE new parliament assembled on the 15th of December, and was opened on the 19th by commission. The speech alluded to the recent negotiations with France, and stated that his majesty's endeavours for the restoration of general tranquillity had been disappointed by the ambition and injustice of the enemy, who had re-kindled a most calamitous war in Europe. In reference to Prussia, it was observed, that the resolution at length adopted by that power of resisting the system of aggrandizement which threatened Germany with subjugation, had not been previously concerted with his majesty, nor had any satisfaction been offered for the aggressions which had placed the two countries (Great Britain and Prussia) in a state of mutual hostility; yet his majesty had not hesitated to adopt the measures best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy; but unhappily the rapid course of events had raised insurmountable difficulties against the execution of that purpose. Great satisfaction was expressed, that under a complication of disasters, and in the most trying circumstances, the good faith of the allies remained unshaken. The conduct of the king of Sweden had been distinguished by the most honourable firmness; and the happy union subsisting between Great Britain and Russia had been cemented by reciprocal proofs of attachment and confidence. In the debates which ensued, Mr. Canning severely animadverted on the foreign policy of ministers; but the addresses passed without a division, and after unanimous votes of thanks to the brave men who conquered at Maida, parliament adjourned for the holidays.

On the 2d of January, lord Grenville called the attention of the peers to the papers laid before them respecting the late negotiation with France; and after an elaborate exposition of the course pursued by government, moved an address to his majesty, testifying regret that his pacific endeavours should have been frustrated, and assuring him of cordial support and assistance in any future measures, either for the restoration of peace or the prosecution of war. A similar mo-

[Discussion on the negotiations with France.—Observations of Mr. Canning.]

tion was made in the house of commons by lord Howick on the 5th, and after very animated debates, the consequent addresses were carried in both houses. On this occasion Mr. Canning expressed his regret that ministers had suffered a negotiation of which the unsuccessful termination was to be foreseen even in its earliest stage, to be protracted by the artifices of the enemy, for his advantage alone, and to the infinite detriment of this country. He rejoiced in the good understanding which he had maintained with Russia, but lamented that the existence of such a union had not been more openly manifested. Was it notorious, he asked, that England and Russia, acted in concert? was not the direct contrary more than suspected? Was any inducement held out for Prussia to apply to them for counsel and assistance? In the declaration published by the court of Berlin in October 1816, it was said, in reference to the period when Prussia was goaded by France into measures which led immediately to war, that two negotiations were at that time carried on at Paris, one with Russia, the other with the English ministry; in both which the intentions of France against Prussia were abundantly manifested. An alliance lost half its value when it was not avowed in the eyes of the world. "Separately in term, but substantially in concert," was a form of treaty which had all the disadvantages of combination, without any of the advantages for which combination was most to be prized. How could that concert be effectual which was known to none but the parties who concealed it, and to the enemy who stipulated for its concealment in order that he might deny it, and which presented to all other nations no other appearance than that of disunion of counsels, and diversity of objects? Mr. Canning then adverted to the question concerning the policy or impolicy of a rupture with Prussia for the sake of Hanover. Prussia had, in the first instance, accepted the transfer of that electorate from France, on the condition that the possession should not be considered as valid until a general peace should be concluded, or until the consent of the king of Great Britain should be obtained. Bonaparte acquiesced for a time; but no sooner was he relieved from anxiety respecting the Russian armies than he insisted that the occupation should be no longer provisional, but absolute. Prussia had then no choice but war, or compliance at the risk of war with England: she saw this risk, but could not avoid it. We fell into the snare; and the king's message of the 21st of April, 1806, placed us in a state of hostility against her. Bonaparte had apprehended the union of Prussia with the two great surviving powers of the confederacy. He wished to insulate her, and to have her at his mercy. In the space of three months he beheld her at war with England; and England and Russia separately negotiating for peace. He found means to continue this state of things as long as it suited his convenience. After he had concluded a treaty with the Russian minister, which, fortunately however for us, the emperor Alexander found it impossible to ratify, we were amused with discussions on the *uti possidetis*, until the arrangements for the overthrow of Prussia were matured; then the farce was ended, and Bonaparte hastened to the field of battle. Mr. Perceval, taking a similar view of all the circumstances connected with the negotiation, declared his firm conviction that no peace worthy of the acceptance



[Measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war.—Lord H. Petty's plan of finance.]

of this country could be made with France, so long as her force and her counsels were directed by two such men as Talleyrand and Bonaparte.

At no period, indeed, had the insidious policy of the enemy been more clearly apparent; and as the hope of pacification proved to be utterly delusive in existing circumstances, it became necessary to direct the energy and resources of the nation to a vigorous prosecution of the war. Provision was made for an augmentation of the sea and land forces; and when the estimates for these and other branches of the public service had been disposed of, the attention of parliament was called to the measures necessary for improving the revenues of the country. On the 29th of January the house of commons having resolved itself into a committee of finance, lord Henry Petty, after stating the aggregate supplies requisite for Great Britain and Ireland at nearly forty-six millions, and enumerating among the ways and means a loan of 12,200,000*l.*, proposed a new plan for meeting the exigencies of the country during the continuance of war, without the necessity of imposing new burthens on the people. Its alleged grounds were, the flourishing state of the permanent revenue; the great produce of the war-taxes; the high and accumulating amount of the sinking fund, and some inferior aids derivable from revenues set free by annuities originally granted for a term of years, and at this time expiring. It was adapted to meet a scale of expenditure nearly equal to that of 1806, on the assumption that during the war, the annual produce of the permanent and temporary revenues would continue equal to the produce of that year, and with an understanding that unforeseen charges or deficiencies of revenue should be separately and specially provided for. The war loans for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, were rated at twelve millions annually; for the year 1810 at fourteen millions; and for each of the ten following years at sixteen millions. Those several loans, amounting for the fourteen years to 210 millions, were to be made a charge on the war-taxes which were then estimated at twenty-one millions annually; this charge to be at the rate of ten per cent. on each loan: five per cent. for interest, and the remainder as a sinking fund, accumulating at compound interest, to pay off the principal. The several portions of war-taxes, successively liberated in periods of fourteen years from the date of the respective loans for which they were pledged, might, if the war continued, become applicable in a revolving series, and be again pledged for new loans. It was next observed that the charge for the interest and sinking fund of the proposed loans, being taken from the annual produce of the war-taxes, a deficiency equal to that charge would be created in the amount of the temporary revenue applicable to the war expenditure. To meet this deficiency, supplementary loans were proposed on the established system of a sinking fund of one per cent. on the nominal capital. The charge so created would be provided for, during the first three years, by the expiring annuities; and for the seven following years, the average annual sum to be raised, for it would amount to no more than 293,000*l.* Thus a provision was made on the scale of actual expenditure, for ten years of war, without any additional taxes, except to that inconsiderable amount. After an ample illustration of the beneficial results to be expected from the

[Abolition of the slave trade.—Catholic question.—Change of administration.]

plan, it was added, that the augmentation of the war-taxes, and particularly of the property-tax during the last session, was a measure adopted not merely with a view to provide for present necessities, but in order to lay the foundation of a system which should be adequate to the full exigencies of the crisis, and combine the two apparently irreconcilable objects, of relieving the public from all future pressure of taxation, and of exhibiting to the enemy resources by which we might defy his implacable hostility to whatever period it might be prolonged. Repeated discussions ensued, during which other financial arrangements were proposed by lord Castlereagh and sir James Pulteney; but the resolutions moved by lord Henry Petty, as containing the substance of his plan, were ultimately adopted.

The abolition of the slave-trade was one of the first measures effected in this session of parliament. On the 2d of January, a bill for this object was brought into the house of peers by lord Grenville, who, during its progress, introduced a proviso, allowing all vessels which should have cleared out from the ports of this country for Africa, previously to the first of May ensuing, to complete their cargoes, and trade with them to the West Indies and other parts of America, until the 1st of January, 1808, which should be the final period of the abolition. In the house of commons, the opponents of this humane law were so much diminished in numbers, that the question of going into a committee was decided by 283 votes against 16; and on the 25th, the bill, after some amendments, which were agreed to by the lords, received the royal assent. Thus did Great Britain set an example to the world, which neither the philanthropists of the French republic, nor those of the United States of America, had been sufficiently magnanimous to exhibit.

On the 5th of March, a bill was proposed in the house of commons by lord Howick, which, in parliamentary phrase, was styled "the Roman Catholics' Army and Navy Service Bill." Its object was to secure to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army and navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament, and for leaving to them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. It was vehemently opposed by Mr. Perceval, who denounced it as tending to the abolition of those tests, which had been devised for the protection of our established church; and he protested against the principle of innovation, which by this and other experiments, was daily gaining ground, and, if not checked, would be attended with most dangerous consequences. The second reading of the bill, though fixed for the ensuing week, was postponed until the 19th; but on the preceding day, lord Howick, without entering into any particular explanation, gave notice that he should make no motion for advancing it to that stage of its progress.

This relinquishment of the catholic bill was a prelude to the total change, which took place on the 25th of March, in his majesty's councils. The following were the new members of the cabinet; lord Eldon, chancellor; the earl of Westmoreland, privy seal; the duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury; earl Camden, president of the council; lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty; lord Chatham, master of the ordnance; lord Hawkesbury, secretary for the home department; Mr. Canning, secretary for foreign affairs; lord Castle-

[Explanation by lords Grenville and Howick of their measures for relief of catholics.]

reagh, secretary for the department of war and colonies; Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer. The subordinate officers were, Mr. Robert Dundas, president of the board of control; earl Bathurst, president of the board of trade; Mr. George Rose, treasurer of the navy; lord Charles Somerset and Mr. Long, joint pay-masters; Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Wellesley, joint secretaries of the treasury; sir William Grant, master of the rolls; sir Vicary Gibbs, attorney-general; Mr. Plumer, solicitor-general.

On the following day, an explanation was given by lord Grenville and lord Howick, in their respective places in parliament, of the measures adopted by them for granting relief to catholics and dissenters, which had principally occasioned these changes in administration. By a law passed in Ireland, in 1778, protestant dissenters in that country were enabled to hold employments of any kind, civil as well as military, without any restriction. By another law, passed in 1793, Irish catholics were admitted to any rank in the army, not above that of colonel. English dissenters, on the contrary, were eligible to no place, without taking a sacramental test within a certain time; and if the law of 1793 were not repealed, they might complain of partiality. A draft of a despatch to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland was submitted to his majesty, and met with his approbation. Ministers pointed out the difference between the law of 1793, and that which they meant to propose: his majesty, after some objections, consented that authority should be given to the lord-lieutenant, to communicate by his secretary to the heads of the catholics, that the army and navy would be opened to them. The secretary, Mr. Elliott, was unable to answer one question proposed to him, whether it was intended to allow the catholics to rise to all military offices, including the staff; and having written for instructions, was authorized to give a decided answer in the affirmative. The despatch, containing this authorization, had been laid before his majesty, who returned it without any observation or comment. Doubts, however, had been entertained, especially by some members of the cabinet, who had strongly testified their disapprobation; and his majesty being apprised that the measure was of far greater extent than he at first apprehended, expressed his objection to it, in decided terms, to lord Grenville. To obviate this objection, ministers endeavoured to make such modifications as might be practicable, without destroying the vital essence of the bill; but failing in this attempt, they determined to relinquish it altogether. At the same time, in vindication of their own character, they proposed to insert in the proceedings of the cabinet, a minute, reserving to lord Grenville and lord Howick, the liberty of delivering their opinions in favour of the catholic question, and that of submitting the question itself or any other subject connected with it, from time to time, according to circumstances, for his majesty's decision. They were called upon not only to withdraw the latter reservation, but to pledge themselves by a written obligation, never again to bring forward the measure they had abandoned, or to propose any thing connected with the catholic question. To this, the ministers found it impossible to assent, consistently with the duty which they conceived to be imposed upon them by their oaths. Lord Grenville and lord Grey having respectfully communicated their sentiments on this subject to the



[Opinions on their conduct.—Catholic question.—Responsibility of ministers.]

king, received on the next day an intimation, that his majesty must look out for other ministers.

The conduct of ministers, as explained by this statement, was regarded by some as purely consistent and magnanimous, and by others as indicating an unfortunate vacillation between the love of office and a high sense of honour. Why, it was asked, did they not at once resign on perceiving the king's insuperable objection to their proposed measures in favour of the catholics? and why, after consenting to desist from those measures, did they by stipulating for permission to revive them, provoke their own dismissal?

This event had been for some time anticipated; and the apprehension of a misunderstanding between the sovereign and his confidential servants had been strengthened by the rumour of various arrangements for the formation of a new cabinet. In a debate which took place on Mr. Bankes's motion, respecting the grant of offices in reversion, Mr. Plumer took occasion to mention a current report that the chancellorship of the dutchy of Lancaster had been offered to Mr. Spencer Perceval for life, as an inducement for that gentleman to accept a place in the government. A motion was in consequence made by Mr. H. Martin for an humble address to his majesty, deprecating the grant of any place in the dutchy of Lancaster, or elsewhere, for life which had hitherto been held during his majesty's pleasure. It was carried by a large majority; and the address was subsequently answered by an assurance that the place in question should be conferred only on the usual condition.

In relation to the important measure which occasioned the dismissal of the Whig administration, the other proceedings in parliament were but of secondary interest. A plan was proposed by Mr. Whitbread for ameliorating the condition of the poor; and a committee was appointed to deliberate on the means of carrying it into effect. The bill introduced by sir Samuel Romilly for making the freehold estates of persons dying indebted, assets for the payment of simple contract debts, was thrown out on the third reading. Some progress was made in the measures instituted by lord Grenville for improving the administration of justice in Scotland, by dividing the court of session into three chambers, of five judges each, and by extending the trial by jury to civil cases.

After the explanation given by lord Grenville and his colleague, an adjournment took place to the 8th of April, on which day the new ministers entered upon their functions in parliament. Their opponents assembled in great force, and the catholic question was again agitated in a debate, which ensued on a motion made by Mr. Brand, "that it was contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown to restrain themselves by any pledge express or implied, from offering to the king any advice that the course of circumstances might render necessary for the welfare and security of any part of his majesty's empire." On one side it was argued that such a pledge would have made the king absolute, and by removing the responsibility of ministers, would have endangered the privileges of the country; while on the other, it was maintained, that although there was, generally speaking, no act of the crown without responsibility, yet some exceptions might be taken to that proposition, especially in cases

[Report respecting the princess of Wales.—Expedition to the Dardanelles.]

where the king had no advisers. Such was the case when he removed his ministers, and unless the exception to responsibility were to be allowed in that case, the king's prerogative of choosing his own ministers must be nugatory. Mr. Canning particularly called the attention of the house to the stipulation claimed by the late ministers, that they should be allowed to recommend one policy while they pursued another; which would have the effect of making an unfair division of the popularity and the odium. The odium would be great, and fall entirely on the crown. The benefit that might accrue to the catholics would be small; but the whole of the popularity would fall to the share of ministers. He added that it was painful to see the king brought, as it were in person, to the bar of that house; but there was some consolation in reflecting that an appeal lay from thence to the tribunal of the country. After a long and vehement debate, not only on the pledge, but on the measure regarding which it had been demanded and refused, the original motion was superseded by an amendment, for which there appeared 258 votes, against 226, leaving a majority of 32 in favour of ministers. In the house of lords a similar motion by the marquis of Stafford, on the 13th, was negatived by 171 votes against 90. A resolution soon afterwards proposed in the commons by Mr. Lyttleton, expressing their regret at the late change in his majesty's councils, was rejected by a majority of 36. Parliament was prorogued on the 27th, by commission, and the speech from the throne announced his majesty's intention to recur to the sense of his people while recent events were yet fresh in their recollection. The usual proclamation was accordingly issued for dissolving parliament.

Previously to this event, the noblemen who had been appointed by the king to investigate the conduct of the princess of Wales, made their report, in which they declared, that the charges of criminality had not been substantiated, and that the minor imputations against the character of her royal highness ought to be dismissed from farther notice, as unworthy of credit.

It may be proper, in this place, to advert to some measures of foreign policy adopted by the late ministers. To favour the views of Russia, and to counteract the ascendancy of the French at Constantinople, they sent a fleet of seven sail of the line, with frigates and bomb-ships, under the command of sir Thomas Duckworth, with orders to force the passage of the Dardanelles; and if certain proposals were not accepted by the divan, to bombard the capital. The fleet, which had been stationed at Tenedos, proceeded to execute these orders on the 19th of February. A Turkish squadron, consisting of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, was at anchor within the inner castles of the strait. Sir Sidney Smith was directed to bear up with three ships of the line and destroy them, should any opposition be made. This division was followed by the other ships, which forbore to return the inefficient cannonade opened upon them from the outer castles. But in passing between Sestos and Abydos, they sustained a heavy fire, which they retaliated very severely, and sir Sidney Smith then executed his orders by driving on shore and burning the Turkish squadron, while a detachment of marines proceeded to Point Pesquiez, and spiked the thirty guns which its battery contained. On the following day, the fleet anchored near the isle of

## [Expeditions to Egypt and the river Plate]

Princes, about eight miles from Constantinople. The English minister, Mr. Arbuthnot, who was with the admiral, immediately sent, by a flag of truce, a letter to the Turkish government, containing proposals for an amicable negotiation. The correspondence which ensued was artfully protracted at the instance of the French ambassador Sebastiani, who, in the meantime, was urging the phlegmatic Turks to vigorous measures of defence. To obviate further delay, Mr. Arbuthnot despatched a note to the reis effendi, explaining the purport of his former communications, which was, to give to the Sublime Porte the option of declaring either in favour of the French or of the English; with an assurance, that even if it should prefer the former alternative, still the British admiral would spare the city on condition that the whole Turkish fleet, with sufficient naval stores, should be surrendered. Continuing their defensive exertions, and withdrawing their ships of war to safer stations, the Turks found means to evade a direct answer; and at length the reis effendi replied, that the proffered negotiation was considered merely as an artifice to gain time. Sir Thomas Duckworth indignantly observed, that those who could impute such a motive were themselves the just objects of suspicion, and declared that he would not be made a dupe. On the morning of the 24th, he received a letter from the reis effendi, announcing the disposition of the Porte to enter into a negotiation for a definitive treaty of peace, and requesting that an English plenipotentiary might be sent to meet one whom the sultan had appointed. A correspondence ensued concerning the place of conference; and by this and other temporizing expedients, the Turks were enabled to carry on their defensive labours without interruption, though the British admiral had moved his squadron four miles nearer the city. A chain of batteries extended along the whole line of coast; and in the canal there were twelve Turkish line-of-battle ships and nine frigates, filled with troops, and apparently ready for action. On the 1st of March, sir Thomas Duckworth found it necessary to repass the Dardanelles, as the delay of another week would have exposed the fleet to destruction. The ships sustained a severe fire from the inner castles, where the Turks had collected large mortars, and discharged from them ponderous globes of marble, one of which, weighing 800lb. severed the main-mast of the Windsor, man-of-war.

Meanwhile, an expedition had been fitted out in Sicily against Egypt. On the 5th of March, a force of 5000 men, under the command of major-general Mackenzie Fraser, sailed from Messina, and having effected a landing near Alexandria, speedily compelled that city to capitulate. Ulterior operations against Rosetta and Rhamanie were unsuccessful, and the troops were compelled to retreat to Alexandria, where they remained until September. General Fraser, unable, from want of reinforcements to cope with the formidable force which the enemy had collected, entered into a negotiation, and having obtained the restoration of the British prisoners, consented to evacuate Egypt.

Some hopes were entertained that these reverses in the Mediterranean would be compensated by successes in South America. In October, 1806, ministers had sent out a reinforcement to the river Plate, under the command of sir Samuel Auchmuty, and convoyed by sir



[Capture of Montevideo.—Operations against Buenos Ayres.] .

Charles Sterling, who was appointed to supersede sir Home Popham in the naval command on that station. Another armament consisting of 4200 men, commanded by brigadier-general Craufurd, with a competent naval force under admiral Murray, had been sent out against Chili, and the latter officer had the option of proceeding either by the Cape of Good Hope or by Cape Horn.

On arriving at Maldonado, sir Samuel Auchmuty determined to attack the strong fortress of Montevideo, the key of the river Plate. On the 18th of January, the troops, amounting to about 4000 men, were landed near the place, and repulsed a superior force which had been ordered out to attack them. A battery was erected, which, though exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy, effected a practicable breach on the 2d of February. In the evening a summons was sent to the governor to surrender; and as no answer was returned, orders were issued that the assault should be made next morning an hour before day-break. Meantime the enemy were on the alert, and had so barricaded the breach with hides that the head of the assailing column could not in the darkness distinguish it from the untouched wall, and the men remained under a galling fire for a quarter of an hour. Captain Renny of the 40th light infantry at length discovered the breach, and fell gloriously as he mounted it; the gallant soldiers then rushed to it and forced their way into the town. The 40th regiment, led by colonel Brown, also missed the breach, and did not find it until they had twice passed through the fire of the batteries. Another regiment, the 87th, was posted near the north gate, which was to be opened by the assailants within; but the ardour of the men was so great that they scaled the walls and entered the town as their companions were hastening to admit them. By sun-rise all was in the possession of the British except the citadel, which made a show of resistance, but soon surrendered.

When intelligence arrived in England of the re-capture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, orders were sent by a fast-sailing vessel to direct general Craufurd to proceed with the troops destined for Chili to the river Plate. Conformably to these orders, which overtook him at the Cape of Good Hope, in April, he sailed for his new destination, and arrived on the 14th of June at Montevideo. He there found general Whitelocke, who had arrived on the 9th of May from England, with a reinforcement of 1630 men, and to whom was entrusted the chief command of the British forces in South America, with orders to reduce the whole province of Buenos Ayres. He lost no time in preparing to recover the town, and having, after fatiguing marches, nearly surrounded it by the different divisions of his army, he ordered a general attack to be made on the 5th of July, each corps to enter by the streets opposite to it, and all with unloaded muskets. The service was executed with great intrepidity, but with a loss of 2500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. No mode of attack could have been so ill adapted against a town consisting of flat-roofed houses, disposed in regular streets, intersecting each other at right angles. Volleys of grape shot were poured on our columns in front and in flank as they advanced, and they were assailed also from the house-tops with hand-grenades and other destructive missiles. Sir Samuel Auchmuty succeeded in making himself master of the Plaza de Toros, where he

[British evacuate the river.—Battle of Eylau.—The French take Dantzic.]

took 82 pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of ammunition. General Craufurd with his brigade was cut off from all communication with the other columns, and was obliged to surrender; so also, was lieutenant-colonel Duff, with a detachment under his command. On the following morning, the British commander received a letter from general Liniers, offering to give up all his prisoners taken in the late affair, together with the 71st regiment and other troops captured with general Beresford, provided that the British should desist from hostilities, and should evacuate both banks of the river Plate. The latter condition was proposed merely in the way of bargain; and the cabildo or town council of Buenos Ayres were prepared to relinquish their claim on Montevideo, from a consciousness of their inability to reconquer that almost impregnable fortress. Liniers enforced his proposal by intimating that, in the exasperated state of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of his prisoners if hostile operations were continued. To the utter astonishment of the cabildo, all the proposed terms were acceded to, and a treaty was concluded, by which Whitelocke agreed, not only to evacuate Buenos Ayres, but to deliver up Montevideo, which was at that time well garrisoned, and was not in a state of siege. On his return to England, he was tried by court-martial, cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever. The failure of the expedition was ascribed principally to his mismanagement, and a share of the public reproach incurred by him was cast on Mr. Windham, to whose influence the appointment of Whitelocke was imputed. In adding this to the sum of their misfortunes, the late administration had a solitary acquisition to balance against it, in the island of Curaçoa, which surrendered on the 1st of January to a squadron under the command of captain Brisbane.

Meantime the war on the continent of Europe had continued with very little intermission through the winter. After several partial actions, a general engagement took place on the 8th of February, between the French and the Russians at Eylau, in which both parties claimed the victory; the Russians retired behind the Pregel, and the French, after remaining some days on the field of battle, fell back on the Vistula, without executing their meditated attack on Königsburg. Their attention was next directed to the siege of Dantzic, for which battering cannon was brought from the fortresses of Silesia, a distance of 100 leagues. The reduction of such of those fortresses as still held out was entrusted to the Bavarians and Wirtembergers under Jerome Bonaparte; while another army, 80,000 strong, consisting of French, German, Dutch, and Spanish troops, was posted in Pomerania, under the orders of marshal Brune. To relieve Dantzic, the Russians made a general attack on the lines of the French grand army which covered the operations of the division employed in the siege; but they were repulsed with loss, and on the 19th of May, the fortress capitulated. A pacific overture was then made by Bonaparte to the emperor Alexander, but it was rejected; and on the 5th and 6th of June the Russians again attacked the French lines, and were again repulsed. Bonaparte took upon himself the command of his whole army, and on the 10th offered battle at Heilsberg, to the Russians, who abandoned their intrenchments, leaving their magazines and their wounded at the dis-

[Battle of Friedland.—Armistice.—Treaty of Tilsit.]

posals of the enemy. On the 14th was fought the sanguinary and decisive battle of Friedland, which the French classed among their most splendid victories. One of its immediate consequences was the capture of Königsberg, containing large stores of grain, and 160,000 English muskets, which had been sent for the use of the Russians, and had not yet been landed. The Russians retreated toward the Niemen, crossed that river at Tilsit, burned the bridge, and continued their march to the eastward. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, who had been there during the last three weeks, retired to Memel, that town and its territory being all that remained in the possession of the latter sovereign. Bonaparte entered Tilsit on the 19th, on which day an armistice was proposed to the chiefs of the French army, by the Russian commander-in-chief. Its terms were speedily settled, and a similar arrangement was made between the French and the Prussians. Plenipotentiaries were appointed by the different parties to negotiate a peace, and it was agreed that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners. On the 25th of June an interview took place between the emperor Alexander and Bonaparte, on a raft, in the Niemen, where the French had prepared two tents for their reception. They landed from their boats at the same moment and embraced. This meeting was the signal of festivity to the soldiers of the three armies so lately engaged in hostilities, who now mingled in society with as little reserve, and as much apparent cordiality as if they had been subjects of the same sovereign. At a magnificent dinner given by Bonaparte's guards, to those of Alexander and Frederick William, the hosts exchanged uniforms with their guests, and the whole company paraded the streets of Tilsit in a motley costume, partly Russian, partly Prussian, and partly French. The joy of the Russians at the conclusion of a contest in which they had no immediate interest at stake might be cordial, but that of their unfortunate friends must have been absorbed in anxiety respecting the sacrifices about to be exacted from their prostrate country.

By the treaty of peace which was concluded between Russia and France on the 7th of July, the latter power engaged to restore, with some exceptions, the conquests made on Prussia in Germany and Silesia. The provinces in Poland, which Prussia had gained at the partition, or subsequently, were, with certain reservations, assigned to the elector, now king of Saxony, under the title of the duchy of Warsaw, and a military road through the Prussian territory was to connect them with Saxony. Dantzic was restored to its independence, and the navigation of the Vistula was declared free. The dukes of Saxe-Coburg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin, were to be restored to their estates; but the ports of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg were to be garrisoned by French troops during the war between France and England. France accepted the mediation of Russia, on condition that England also should accept it in one month after the ratification of the treaty. The emperor Alexander acknowledged Joseph Bonaparte as king of Naples, his brother Louis, as king of Holland, and Jerome as king of Westphalia. Hostilities were to cease between Russia and the Porte, at all points, when the intelligence of the treaty should arrive; and the Russian troops were to be withdrawn from Moldavia; but that country was not to be occupied by the Turks



[Treaty between France and Prussia.—Loss of the Prussians.]

until the signature of a treaty between Russia and the Porte, for effecting which the former power accepted the mediation of France.

On the 9th of July a similar treaty, with stipulations adapted to the relative condition of the parties was signed between France and Prussia. Frederick William renounced all his territorial possessions between the Rhine and the Elbe, and acknowledged the kingdom of Westphalia, as consisting of those territories and of others, then in the possession of France. He acceded to all the arrangements made in the treaty between the emperor Alexander and Bonaparte, and engaged that all the countries under his dominion, should be shut against the navigation and trade of the English, until the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and France.

The pacification of Tilsit necessarily decided the fate of Swedish Pomerania. Early in the spring the governor, baron von Essen, had compelled the French not only to raise the siege of Stralsund, but to evacuate the province. Encouraged by this success he distributed his army on an extensive line of positions from the banks of the Oder, to the confines of Mecklenburg Strelitz. On the 16th of April, he was attacked by Mortier, who compelled him to recross the river Peene with considerable loss. An armistice was afterwards concluded, on condition that ten days' notice should be given of the renewal of hostilities, and by another agreement on the 29th, this term was extended to one month. The king of Sweden arrived at Stralsund, early in May, and was there met by general Clinton, who was charged by the new administration of Great Britain, to assure him of cordial, prompt, and effectual succour. The king gave orders to improve the fortifications and to erect new works in the neighbouring isle of Rugen, declaring his intention to acknowledge only the first stipulation of the armistice. At the expiration of the time the Swedes were attacked in their lines by the French under marshal Brune, and driven under the walls of Stralsund. Finding it useless with his small force to resist an army of 70,000 men, the king placed the city at the disposal of the burghers, and on the night of the 19-20th of August, transported his troops and stores to Rugen.

Thus ended a contest in which the Prussian monarch lost an immense territory, with nearly half his revenues, and five millions of his subjects; while France augmented her preponderance in Germany, established a vassal kingdom on the Elbe, and procured the acquiescence, if not the avowed concert of Russia in that continental system, which was designed to ruin the commerce, and destroy the maritime supremacy of Great Britain. The successes which led to these results could not have been obtained without the German auxiliaries, and no exertion had been spared to render their aid efficient. The troops of the Rhenish confederation, and of other states in alliance with France, were disciplined according to the French tactics, and were commanded by men who recommended themselves to the favour of Bonaparte by their bravery, their skill, and their devotion to his service. This policy, by its tendency to elevate vassals into rivals, might have alarmed a less fortunate warrior; but it accorded with the proud confidence of a man whom past successes had encouraged to calculate on an uninterrupted career of victory.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

Lord Castlereagh's military plan.—Sir A. Wellesley's bill for suppressing disturbances in Ireland.—Expedition to Zealand.—Overtures to Denmark rejected.—Bombardment of Copenhagen.—Surrender of the Danish fleet and arsenals.—His majesty's declaration respecting the motives of the expedition.—Alienation of Russia.—Invectives of the French government.—Orders of council to retaliate on the anti-commercial decrees of Bonaparte.—Further disputes with the United States.—Designs of Bonaparte against Spain.—Treaty for the partition of Portugal.—Measures adopted at Lisbon to conciliate France.—Emigration of the court of Portugal to Rio de Janeiro.—Madeira occupied by the British.—Capture of Danish West India islands.—Affairs of India.—Revolt of Dundea Khaun.—Revolution at Constantinople.—Gloomy aspect of affairs in England.—Meeting of parliament.—Budget.—Financial plan of Mr. Perceval.—Modification of Mr. Windham's plan of limited service.—Alteration of the criminal law proposed by sir S. Romilly.—Bill for improving the administration of justice in Scotland.—Prorogation of parliament.—Determination of his majesty to support the cause of the Spanish nation.—Affairs of Spain.—Abdication of Charles IV. and accession of Ferdinand VII.—The French enter Madrid.—Bonaparte's letter to Ferdinand.—Proceedings at Bayonne.—Ferdinand resigns the crown of Spain to his father, who transfers it to Bonaparte.

IN a short session of the new parliament, which opened on the 22d of June, the first measure of importance was a new military plan introduced by lord Castlereagh, for increasing the regular army from the militia, and for supplying the deficiencies arising from such a transfer, by a supplementary militia. Two bills were accordingly passed, through the operation of which it was calculated that 38,000 men would be added to the gross military force of the country, and 28,000 to the regular army. This measure, his lordship observed, was rendered indispensable by the circumstances of the times, and by the conduct of the late administration; because, since the events of last winter and spring in Poland, the country was in a situation still more dangerous and alarming than before. A bill was introduced by sir Arthur Wellesley for suppressing insurrection in Ireland, and for preventing the disturbance of the peace in that country. It was founded on the act passed by the Irish parliament in 1796, empowering the lord-lieutenant to proclaim disturbed counties, and authorizing the magistrates to arrest persons found out of their dwellings between sunset and sunrise; but it contained a provision requiring that persons so arrested should be tried at the quarter-sessions by the magistrates and assistant barristers, with the addition of a king's counsel specially sent down for the purpose. This bill was passed, together with another to prevent improper persons from keeping arms, by obliging every individual to register all such implements in his possession, and by authorizing the magistrates to search for them. The expediency and even the necessity of these measures were admitted by Mr. Grattan. In the house of lords the bill for preventing the grant of offices in reversion was negatived; but an address was carried in the commons, on the motion of Mr. Banks, praying his majesty not to grant any office in reversion until six weeks after the commencement of the ensuing session. On the 14th of August parliament was prorogued.

[Expedition to Zealand.—Propositions to Denmark rejected.]

From recent events on the continent, ministers conceived strong apprehensions of a maritime confederacy against Great Britain, which they determined to counteract by the timely adoption of decisive measures. They sent out to Denmark a powerful armament, consisting of about 20,000 men, and a fleet of 27 sail of the line, with vessels of all other descriptions, to the number of nearly ninety pendants. Admiral Gambier proceeded to the Sound with the main body of the fleet, in which the army was embarked, and was there joined by some troops from the isle of Rugen, under lord Cathcart, who was appointed to the chief command of the land-forces. Commodore Keats, who was detached with a division of the fleet to the Great Belt, executed his instructions so ably as to cut off entirely the communication between Zealand, the adjacent isle of Funen, and the mainland of Holstein, Sleswig, and Jutland. No offensive operations were to be undertaken until the result of a negotiation should be known, which was commenced by a mission to the court of Denmark from the British government, at the time when this formidable expedition sailed. Mr. Jackson, formerly British envoy at Berlin, was charged with this mission, and leaving England on the 1st, arrived at Kiel, in Holstein, on the 6th of August. Upon the ground of Bonaparte's design to shut the ports of Holstein against the British flag, and forcibly to employ the Danish navy against Great Britain, he was instructed to represent the views and sentiments of government to the prince royal of Denmark, and to use every argument in his power to realize, on terms of friendly accommodation, the measure which was to be the main object of his proceedings. This measure was the delivery of the Danish fleet into the possession of the British admiral, under the most solemn stipulation that it should be restored at the conclusion of the war between this country and France. As that season of the year was approaching which would impede naval operations, and give time and opportunity for the French troops to possess themselves of the arsenal of Copenhagen, the demand was to be steadily urged; and if other arguments should fail, the prince royal was to be informed that the British government were determined to enforce it by means of the powerful armament in the Sound. Having applied for and obtained an audience, Mr. Jackson stated his proposals to the prince royal, who answered him with dignity, and rejected them in strong, but decorous terms, declaring that he should adhere to the line of policy which he had hitherto pursued. Mr. Jackson had then to execute the painful duty of announcing the determination of his court to employ coercive measures. On the next day he was informed that the prince had set out for Copenhagen, and that any proposals on the part of the British government might be sent after him. Mr. Jackson proceeded to that capital, and on his arrival was informed that his royal highness, after a short stay, had returned to Sleswig, whither he had directed all communications to be forwarded to him. It now became necessary to ascertain whether any authority had been left with the Danish minister for negotiating; but the answer was, that the overtures could only be taken *ad referendum*, and that no powers had been left to conclude an arrangement at all compatible with Mr. Jackson's instructions. He therefore took his leave,



## [Bombardment of Copenhagen.—Declaration of England]

and being furnished with the necessary passports, repaired the same evening on board the advanced frigate of the British squadron at anchor within a few miles of the port of Copenhagen.

The army landed on the morning of the 16th of August, and closely invested the city on the land side. The fleet, removing to an advanced anchorage, formed an impenetrable blockade by sea; at the same time a proclamation was issued by the commanders, notifying to the inhabitants of Zealand the motives of their undertaking, and the conduct that would be observed towards them, with an assurance, that at any time when the demand of his Britannic majesty should be acceded to, hostilities should cease.

On the evening of the 2d of September, the land batteries and the bomb vessels opened a tremendous fire upon the town, with such effect as to threaten a general conflagration. No proposals for capitulation being sent on the two ensuing days, the firing, which had been considerably slackened, was vigorously renewed on the evening of the 4th, and next morning the commandant of the garrison sent out a flag of truce. A capitulation having been settled on the 8th, the British army took possession of the citadel, dockyards, and batteries, under an engagement of restoring them, and of evacuating the island of Zealand, at the expiration of six weeks, or sooner if possible. The ships and vessels of war of every description, with the naval stores belonging to his Danish majesty, were placed at the disposal of the British admiral, through whose prompt and active measures they were all at sea within the time specified. Eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, with some smaller vessels, constituted the amount of the capture; and with the exception of one man-of-war, which grounded on the isle of Huen, and was destroyed, they were all brought safe to England in the latter end of October.

The Danes immediately commenced hostilities against this country, and fitted out privateers, which severely harassed our traders in the Baltic. Even when the capitulation was just concluded, they rejected the offer of Mr. Jackson to renew the negotiation; and a subsequent overture of the same kind met with a similar refusal. British property was confiscated throughout the Danish dominions, and all correspondence with England was prohibited under severe penalties.

In these circumstances, ministers thought proper no longer to delay a public exposition of the motives which dictated the expedition to Zealand. On the 25th of September, a declaration was published in the name of his majesty, stating that he had received "most positive information of the determination of the ruler of France, to occupy with a military force the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from all her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against the British commerce and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine, for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland." His majesty, it was added, forbore to act upon this intelligence as long as there could be a doubt of the urgency of the danger, or a hope of an effectual counteraction to it in the means or in the dispositions of Denmark; but on recollecting the avowed inability of that power to resist the influence which engaged her in a maritime confederacy against him

[Resentment of Russia.—Invectives of the French government.]

at the close of the former war, he could not but compare the degree of influence, which then induced her to violate a solemn contract, with that which France, with kingdoms prostrate at her feet, had now acquired. His demand for the temporary possession of that fleet, which was the principal inducement to France, for forcing Denmark into hostilities with Great Britain, was accompanied with the offer of every condition which could tend to reconcile it to the interests and to the feelings of the court of Denmark; and, lest apprehensions should arise, that the surrender might be resented as an act of connivance, he had prepared a force so formidable as to make concession justifiable, even in the estimation of France, by rendering resistance altogether unavailing. If Denmark was really prepared to resist the demands of France, and to maintain her independence, his majesty proffered his co-operation for her defence—naval, military, and pecuniary aid—the guarantee of her European territories, and the security and extension of her colonial possessions. After deploring the necessity of resorting to coercive measures, he expressed his readiness to enter into amicable arrangements with Denmark, notwithstanding her declaration of war, and to demonstrate to the world, that, having acted solely upon the sense of what was due to the security of his own dominions, he was not desirous, from any other motive, or for any object of advantage or aggrandizement, to carry measures of hostility beyond the limits of that exigency which produced them.

The emperor of Russia strongly resented the conduct of England towards Denmark. In a declaration issued at St. Petersburg on the 30th of October, he recalled his embassy from London; dismissed that of his Britannic majesty at St. Petersburg, annulled every existing convention between the two courts, proclaimed anew the principles of the armed neutrality, and engaged that there should be no re-establishment of concord between Russia and England until satisfaction should have been given for Denmark.

Deeply concerned at the alienation of Russia, the people of England were little solicitous to ascertain in what light the obnoxious measure which caused it would be viewed by the French government. They judged of the designs of Bonaparte in regard to Denmark by his conduct toward another neutral power, and by the unprincipled violence with which he extended his continental system. After the peace of Tilsit, he demanded of the court of Lisbon to shut the ports of Portugal against England, to detain all Englishmen residing in that kingdom, and to confiscate all English property. He denounced war in case of refusal; and without waiting for an answer, issued orders for detaining all Portuguese merchant-ships that were in the ports of France. By one of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, he obtained possession of the Cattaro, in August; and Russia, then in amity with England, employed her ships in transporting French troops from Otranto to the Seven Isles, whose independence had been recognised in a treaty between the court of St. Petersburg and the Porte. All the seaport towns of Italy, those of the ecclesiastical states not excepted, were occupied by French soldiers, under the pretext of preventing their commerce with England. Large detachments of troops were poured into Spain, and an army was ordered to assemble at Bayonne, for the purpose of invading Portugal. While these measures

[Orders of Council.—Milan Decree.]

were in progress, a manifesto was published at Paris on the 12th of November, in which the late events in the Baltic, and the general policy of England were discussed in the furious and the sentimental style of the French military bulletins. The affairs of this country were represented as under the direction of a committee of oligarchs, actuated by a spirit equally atrocious with that which animated the revolutionary committees under Marat. The four expeditions sent out within the last two years by England were considered as indicating in their results her moral and military decline. That against Constantinople ended in the expulsion of her commerce from the Levant and the flight of sir Thomas Duckworth and his squadron: the descent on Egypt was followed by the loss of four thousand chosen men, and by the surrender and evacuation of Alexandria; in the river Plate, ten thousand English troops failed in their attack upon an unfortified town; and in Denmark, an act, which covered the English government with indelible shame, was succeeded by a “disgraceful flight,” when the Danish government had refused to ratify the capitulation, and when the engagement to evacuate Copenhagen and Zealand no longer existed. Such were the comments made on our warfare in this manifesto, and the sequel was in the same strain. The prince regent of Portugal, influenced by the intrigues of England, was losing his throne, because he would not seize the English merchandise which was at Lisbon. The other nations of the continent had determined to break off all connexion with England, and scarcely had the emperor of Austria been informed of the events at Copenhagen, and of her refusal to accept the mediation of Russia, when he declared war against her. The blockade was complete, and her correspondence with every part of the continent was intercepted.

So far from being intimidated either by the threat of exclusion, or the measures adopted for carrying it into effect, the English ministry had already proceeded to acts of retaliation. In opposition to the Berlin decree, their predecessors had in January issued an order of council interdicting the trade of neutrals from port to port in the dominions of France and her allies. As this order did not answer the desired purpose, others were issued on the 11th of November subjecting all ports and places in Europe, from which the British flag was excluded, and all those in the colonies of his majesty's enemies, to the restrictions consequent on actual blockade; declaring all trade in the produce or manufactures of such countries or colonies to be unlawful, and authorizing the capture of all vessels engaged in that trade. Certain exceptions were made for the purpose of allowing neutrals to furnish themselves with colonial produce for their own consumption and supply, and for leaving open for a time, such trade with his majesty's enemies as might be carried on directly with his own ports or those of his allies. A provision was introduced for defeating the collusion practised under certificates of origin obtained from French agents resident in neutral ports. The sale to a neutral of any vessel belonging to his majesty's enemies was declared illegal in consequence of a declaration on the same principle previously promulgated by France. To these orders Bonaparte published a rejoinder at Milan, in which he decreed that all ships of whatever nation which should have submitted to a search, or to a voyage to England, or should have



[Disputes with the United States.—Designs of Bonaparte against Spain.]

paid any tax to the English government, were to be declared denationalized, and liable to seizure, either in the ports under the control of France, or at sea; and that every ship sailing from England or its colonies should be good and lawful prize.

The orders of council could not operate very favourably towards an adjustment of the differences between Great Britain and the United States, especially since an unfortunate occurrence had created another ground of dispute. On the 23d of June an English man-of-war, the *Leopard*, fell in with the Chesapeake American frigate off the capes of Virginia, and demanded some British deserters, whom she was known to have on board. Her captain refusing to admit the search, the *Leopard* fired a broadside, which killed and wounded several of his men; after which he struck his colours. In consequence of this transaction the president of the United States issued a proclamation, ordering the immediate departure of all British ships of war from the harbours and waters of the Union. In his message to congress on the 27th of October, relative to the pending negotiation with Great Britain, he stated that satisfaction had been demanded for the outrage. Meantime an investigation took place at Halifax, and one of the deserters taken on board the Chesapeake was condemned by a court-martial and executed; it being proved that he had entered the British navy as an Englishman. To prevent similar occurrences a proclamation was published in the London Gazette, for recalling and prohibiting British sailors from serving foreign states, and for restricting the right of search to merchant-vessels. On the 22d of December, in consequence of the conflicting regulations established by France and England respecting the trade of neutrals, an act was passed in the American congress, laying a strict embargo on all vessels belonging to the American States, and at the same time commanding all foreign ships to quit the harbours of the United States with or without cargoes as soon as the act should be notified to them.

The designs of Bonaparte against Spain became daily more manifest, and they were favoured in their full extent by the infatuation of its sovereign, Charles IV., the profligacy and baseness of the queen, and the machinations of her minion, the prince of the peace. A treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau on the 27th of October, for the partition of Portugal, by which it was agreed that the province of Entre Minho y Duero, with the city of Oporto, should be made over to the king of Etruria, with the title of king of Northern Lusitania. Alentejo and the Algarves were to be given to Godoy with the title of prince of the Algarves. The provinces of Beira, Tra los Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, were to remain in sequestration until a general peace. In exchange for Northern Lusitania, the kingdom of Etruria was to be ceded to Bonaparte. Before this treaty was announced in Spain, the king had arrested the heir apparent, Ferdinand, prince of the Asturias, on a charge of conspiracy to dethrone him, founded on a clandestine correspondence, in which Ferdinand, at the instigation of a French agent, offered to unite himself in marriage with one of the female relatives of Bonaparte. Godoy, finding that the arrest and imprisonment of the prince excited universal indignation among the Spaniards, caused him to send penitential letters to

[Court of Portugal emigrates to Rio de Janeiro.—Revolt at Constantinople.]

his sire, which procured him a pardon, at the intercession of the queen.

The court of Portugal vainly endeavoured to conciliate France by closing the ports against the English; Bonaparte peremptorily insisted on the fulfilment of the other conditions which he had imposed. Preparations were therefore made for securing a retreat to Brazil; all ships of war fit for sea were ordered to prepare for sailing, and notice was given to the English residents to sell their property and leave Portugal. When, however, intelligence arrived at Lisbon, that an army of French and Spaniards was marching on the frontier, the prince regent made a last effort to preserve his dominions, and on the 8th of November signed an order for detaining the few British subjects, and for confiscating the small portion of British property still remaining in his ports. A remonstrance was presented against this edict by the English ambassador, lord Strangford, who proceeded on the 17th to a squadron commanded by sir Sydney Smith, and a rigorous blockade was immediately established at the mouth of the Tagus. The invaders having passed the frontier, a renewal of intercourse took place, in consequence of which lord Strangford returned to Lisbon; and on the 29th the prince regent of Portugal with his family and court, and many faithful adherents, sailed from the Tagus in his fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line, and proceeded to Rio de Janeiro, escorted by an English squadron. The French army under Junot, already on the heights above Lisbon, took possession of that capital without resistance, disarmed the inhabitants, levied heavy contributions, and subjected them to military law.

The Portuguese government committed the valuable island of Madeira to the protection of the British, until the conclusion of a general peace.

The Danish islands in the West Indies, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, surrendered in December to a squadron commanded by sir Alexander Cochrane.

In British India great exertions were necessary to appease and subdue the mutinous spirit which had of late roused the sepoys to open insurrection; and the general tranquillity was interrupted by the audacious contumacy of a native chief named Dundea Khaun. For his neutrality during the war with Holkar and Scindia, this man had received a tract of land in addition to that which he held of the company as a zemindar. Having been cited before the magistrate of the district for arrears of tribute, he beheaded the hircarrah who brought the summons, and was in consequence besieged in his fort of Comona by a military force under major-general Dickens. On the 18th of November, an attempt was made to carry the place by storm, but the assailants were repulsed with the loss of 700 men in killed and wounded. On the ensuing night the khaun evacuated the fortress, and proceeded to another called Ghurnowrie, which he abandoned on the 10th of December, and effected his escape across the Jumna.

In Turkey, soon after the departure of the English from the Dardanelles, one of those occurrences took place which so frequently mark the precarious tenure on which the sovereigns of that country hold their sway. The new institution of the Nizami Jedid, a military force clothed and disciplined after the European manner, excited the impla-

[Gloomy aspect of affairs in England.—Meeting of Parliament.]

cable animosity of the janizaries, who, on the 29th of May, broke out into open revolt, and demanded a new sultan. The unfortunate Selim, foreseeing the result, proceeded to the palace, or rather prison of his nephew Mustapha, and taking him by the hand, warned him against those counsellors who should advise great changes in the government. Then, after wishing him a happier reign than his own had been, he took up a bowl of poisoned sherbet; but Mustapha, who was melted into tears, dashed it to the ground, vowing that the life of his uncle should be held sacred, and that he should ever regard him as a friend.

There are few periods in history at which the prospects of the people of England were more gloomy and discouraging than at the close of the year 1807. They had to contend against an enemy, who, by force or intrigue, had closed the continent against them; and their affairs were in the hands of men who had as yet the public confidence to gain, and who had commenced their administration by an act of hostility against a neutral state, which, if justifiable on the ground of extreme necessity, nevertheless provoked the hostility of powerful nations, who had been accustomed to venerate the magnanimity of England. Yet, with an enormous and accumulating debt, and a rapidly declining commerce, the national spirit remained unbroken; and had there arisen no statesman of transcendant abilities in the cabinet, no commander of distinguished prowess at sea or in the field, it would still have borne up against difficulty and danger, confiding its cause and interests to common sense in council, and to ordinary talents in action. It was under this spirit that the genius of Bonaparte was rebuked; its constancy excited his surprise, and amidst his most splendid triumphs extorted the unwilling tribute of his admiration. There remained, moreover, a hope that the dominion which he had acquired would not be permanent, and that the delusive notion which he had propagated would sooner or later be suddenly and for ever dispelled. In trampling out the last sparks of liberty among the smaller states of the continent, he excited the jealousy of the more powerful; and, in aiming at universal conquest, he overrated his own means, and mistook the character of the age in which he lived. While promoting his grand political system, he might palliate to himself the iniquity of the means employed, by the visionary hope of conferring some great and lasting benefit on mankind; but though he had defeated coalition after coalition, there were nations whom he could not subdue, and who would disdain to make him the arbiter of their destinies, or receive at his hands political advantages which they had power to achieve for themselves. His violent and presumptuous ambition was soon to be mortified by the resistance of a people who chose to support the despotism under which they were born, rather than be dragooned into the adoption of even a more liberal form of government.

Parliament met on the 31st of January, and long discussions took place on the late expedition to Denmark, and on the orders of council. Although the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit were not produced, ministers obtained a considerable majority in approval of the former measure; but the manly and generous feelings of the English people still prompted them to wish that the odium of coercing a neutral power had been left to France, and that the capture of the Danish



[Financial plan of Mr. Perceval.—Proposed alteration of the criminal law.]

fleet had been reserved as another triumph for our navy in defensive war. The orders of council were made valid by an act passed on the 25th of March, which was accompanied by a bill for regulating the commercial intercourse with America, until amicable arrangements should be concluded with that country.

The supplies voted in this session amounted to 48,653,170*l.* of which, the proportion to be furnished by Ireland, 5,713,560*l.* being deducted, there remained 42,939,604*l.* to be defrayed by Great Britain. The ways and means were, three millions upon malt and pensions; three millions and a half advanced by the bank; 726,870*l.* unappropriated surplus of the consolidated fund; war-taxes twenty millions; four millions on exchequer bills, to be issued in place of others funded to the same amount. These different items, with a loan of eight millions, made an aggregate of 39,576,870*l.* Adding to this three millions and a half, the estimated surplus of the consolidated fund for the current year, there would then be a surplus of ways and means above the supplies, of 137,000*l.* It remained to provide for the interest, charges, and sinking fund of the exchequer-bills funded, and of the loan, which amounted to 750,000*l.* To raise this, short annuities to the amount of 38,000*l.* had fallen in. There was a saving of 65,000*l.* upon the management of the public debt. An improved mode of collecting the stamp duties would yield 200,000*l.*, and a new arrangement respecting the assessed taxes would produce 125,000*l.*; making in the whole, 770,000*l.*, a small excess above the sum actually required. A new financial plan was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, to accelerate the reduction of the national debt. It was to enable proprietors of three per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, to exchange with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, such bank annuities, for a life annuity during the continuance of one or two lives. To prevent impositions, the power of transfer was to be limited to persons under thirty-five years of age, and the amount of the transfer, to sums not less than 100*l.*, the stock not to be transferrable when the funds were above 80. The effect would be to secure to the nation, the redemption of the funds so transferred, at the price at which they were when the transfer was made.

In their military arrangements, ministers adopted an important modification of Mr. Windham's plan of limited service. To prevent the evils which might arise from the periodical discharge of a multitude of soldiers, a clause was introduced into the mutiny bill, allowing the option of enlistment for life. To improve the internal defence of the country, an act was passed for raising by ballot a local militia, to the aggregate amount of 60,000 men, in the first instance, to increase in proportion as the volunteer force should diminish, and to supersede that force, if, in the event of peace, it should withdraw from service.

Among other proceedings during this session, may be noticed, a bill proposed by sir Samuel Romilly, for the repeal of so much of an act of Elizabeth, as related to taking away the benefit of clergy from offenders convicted of stealing privately from the person. A clause was introduced by the solicitor-general, to provide that private stealing, as distinguished from robbery, should be punished by transpor-

[Parliament prorogued.—Abdication of Charles IV.—French enter Madrid.]

tation for life, or for a term of years, at the discretion of the judge, at whose option, when the case might require it, the punishment might be commuted into imprisonment for any period not exceeding three years. A bill framed by the lord chancellor, for the better administration of justice in Scotland, was passed on the 25th of June. Its object was to divide the court of session into two chambers of seven or eight judges, to give those courts certain powers of making regulations with respect to proceedings, and to executions in pending appeals, and also of issuing commissions to ascertain in what cases it might be proper to establish a trial by jury. An act was passed for prohibiting, for a limited time, the distillation of spirits from corn or grain. It was strongly opposed in all its stages, as tending to prevent that accumulation of grain in the hands of the farmers, which, in this country, supersedes the expedient of magazines; and as checking that demand, which, by encouraging agriculturists to grow more than was necessary for the ordinary support of the people, ensured a supply in seasons of scarcity. It was defended as a temporary measure, on the score of necessity, in the existing state of things, when the supply of grain from the continent was cut off, and when no prospect was left of a sufficient resource in the last year's crop of this country.

Parliament was prorogued on the 4th of July, on which occasion the lords commissioners delivered a speech, expressing the lively interest with which his majesty received the loyal and determined spirit manifested by the Spanish nation, in resisting the violence and perfidy with which their dearest rights had been assailed. Thus nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, that nation was no longer to be considered as the enemy of Great Britain, but was recognised by his majesty, as a natural friend and ally. Conformably with this declaration, an order of council was issued on the same day, directing that hostilities against Spain should cease, that the blockade of all her ports not in possession of the enemy, should be raised, and that her ships and vessels should be treated by his majesty's naval forces as belonging to a friendly state. It will now be necessary to explain from whence arose this change in the relations of the two countries.

Great apprehensions were entertained in Spain, that the miserable king, after having permitted the French to occupy his principal fortresses, would be persuaded by the queen and her favourite to proceed to Seville and embark for America. The approach of Murat with a powerful army to the capital, increased these alarms. In the middle of March, an insurrection broke forth at Madrid and Aranjuez, which the king vainly endeavoured to appease, by dismissing the obnoxious minister from all his employments. On the 19th he abdicated the crown in favour of his son, the prince of the Asturias, who commenced his reign under the title of Ferdinand the Seventh. One of the first acts of the new sovereign, was to confiscate the property of Godoy, who having fled from the popular fury at Aranjuez, had been overtaken at Ocana. On the 23d the French army occupied Madrid, and next day Ferdinand made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the people. Murat immediately established a military government, and appointed general Grouchy governor of the

[Charles revokes his abdication.—Ferdinand leaves Madrid to meet Bonaparte.]

city, intimating at the same time that he must decline to acknowledge the new monarch, until the arrival of his master, which might be shortly expected. He sent general Moutheon secretly to the old king, who was easily prevailed on to give to this emissary a letter for Bonaparte, and a formal protest, declaring that his renunciation of the crown, was a deed to which he had been compelled, to prevent greater calamity, and to spare the blood of his subjects, and which must therefore be considered of no force. "Full of confidence," said this abject prince, "in the generosity and genius of the great man who has at all times declared himself my friend, I have taken my resolution to resign myself into his hands, and await what he shall resolve on the fate of myself, of the queen, and of the prince of the peace." Meantime the rumour of Bonaparte's coming was industriously circulated, and it was hinted to Ferdinand, that a delicate compliment might be paid, if the infante, Don Carlos, the young king's next brother, were to set out to meet this distinguished guest. The unsuspecting prince undertook this journey, accompanied by the duke del Infantado. The same proposal was soon afterwards made to Ferdinand himself, who was advised by his minister Cevallos, by no means to leave his capital until he had received certain intelligence, that the French ruler had actually passed the Pyrenees. It now became necessary to employ another agent; and general Savary was announced as envoy from France, to compliment the new sovereign, and to assure him that if he maintained the same sentiments with his father in regard to that power, he should be immediately recognised as king of Spain and the Indies. Yielding to the insinuations of Savary, the king, after announcing to the president of the council, that his mighty ally was already at Bayonne, with the joyful and salutary purpose of passing through Spain, declared that he should go to meet him at Burgos. He set out for that city on the 11th of April, attended by the envoy, who, on their arrival, persuaded him to proceed to Vitoria. There Ferdinand was informed that Bonaparte had reached Bourdeaux, on his way to Bayonne. To that place Don Carlos, who had been waiting at Tolosa, repaired, and was there some days before the arrival of Bonaparte. His suspicions were awakened after the first interview; and it is said that he wrote a letter strongly dissuading his brother from pursuing his journey into France, and that this letter was intercepted through the treachery of Pignatelli, whom the infante had consulted, as a Spaniard and a man of honour.

Savary, who had hastened to Bayonne to procure fresh instructions, was sent back to Vitoria with a letter addressed by Bonaparte to Ferdinand, under the style of highness. It is a composition in every respect worthy of the crafty head and callous heart of a tyrant, who could find consolation for his apostacy from the cause of liberty, in a sovereign contempt for mankind. One passage may exemplify the whole. Alluding to Godoy, a soldier of fortune like himself, he tells Ferdinand, "it is not the interest of Spain to injure a prince who has married a princess of the blood royal, and who for a long time directed the affairs of the kingdom. He no longer has any friends; your royal highness will possess friends no longer than you shall be fortunate. The people willingly revenge themselves for that homage which they pay us. How also can the process be drawn up against the prince of



[Ferdinand resigns the crown in favour of his father who transfers it to Bonaparte.]

the peace without involving in it the queen and the king your father? This process would give nourishment to hateful and factious passions, the issue of which would be fatal to your crown. *Your royal highness has no other right to it than that which you derive from your mother.* If this process degrade her, your royal highness destroys your own right." In conclusion, he declares that if the abdication of Charles IV. should prove to have been voluntary, he shall have no difficulty in acknowledging Ferdinand VII.; and adverting to popular commotions, announces that the assassination of soldiers belonging to his army shall be followed by the subjugation of Spain. This letter conveyed an insult which Ferdinand found himself no longer able to resent, surrounded as he was by French troops. It was in vain that Cevallos, with his other counsellors, and the loyal people of Vitoria, besought him not to advance; he suffered himself to be led away by the protestations of Savary, who assured him of a speedy return to Spain, with a full recognition of his title.

Shortly after he had taken up his residence at Bayonne, Bonaparte paid him a complimentary visit; embraced him at parting; entertained him at dinner next day as a friend, a guest, and an ally, but on his return to his dwelling, sent after him general Savary to require that he should renounce in his own name, and that of his family, the crown of Spain and the Indies, in favour of the Bonapartes.

On the following day, Cevallos, the minister of Ferdinand, being summoned to a conference with Champagny, the French secretary, declared that the king neither could nor would renounce his crown; he could not do a prejudice to the individuals of his own family, who were called to the succession by the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and still less could he consent to the establishment of a foreign dynasty, it being the right of the Spanish nation to elect another family, whenever the present should become extinct. The conference after some time was interrupted by Bonaparte, who called Cevallos a traitor for continuing to serve the son in the same situation which he had held under the father, and insisted that the renunciation should be made. Cevallos remaining inflexible, Ferdinand was required to appoint another negotiator, but in complying he made no change in his determination.

Bonaparte, who had not expected so much firmness in his victim, found it necessary to change his course of proceeding. If he could have procured the abdication of the son, he would have recognised as valid that of the father: he now determined to reverse that policy by causing the father to reclaim the crown from the son. Orders were consequently despatched to Murat to send the king, the queen, and Godoy to Bayonne: they arrived there on the 30th of April. Of the humiliating scenes which ensued, the detail would be wearisome; and the catastrophe of the drama may be easily anticipated. On the 5th of May Bonaparte had an hour's conference with Charles and the queen, at the conclusion of which, Ferdinand was called in by his father. They were all seated; but he was kept standing, and his father ordered him absolutely to renounce the crown, under pain of being treated with all his household as a usurper and a conspirator against the lives of his parents. Ferdinand obeyed the command by delivering a renunciation, couched in such terms as at once to imply

[Murat appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.]

compulsion, and to reserve the condition of his father's return to Spain. But Charles had already transferred the reclaimed sovereignty. By an edict dated the 4th of May, addressed to the supreme junta at Madrid, he nominated Murat lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and on the same day wrote to inform the supreme council of Castile and the council of Inquisition, that he had abdicated all claims upon the Spanish kingdoms in favour of his friend and ally the emperor of the French. Bonaparte afterwards extorted a farther renunciation from Ferdinand, surrendering his own rights and those of his brothers and his uncle Antonio, who had been sent from Madrid. Lands and pensions were allotted to the captives, and they were sent into the interior of France. Thus was consummated this vile usurpation, by which Bonaparte earned a crown for his brother Joseph, and forfeited the large tribute which he had for years derived from Spain and the Indies.

## CHAPTER LXXX.

Affairs of Spain.—Massacre at Madrid.—Proclamation of Bonaparte to the Spaniards.—Resistance of the Spanish nation.—Formation of juntas.—Alliance with England and Portugal.—Surrender of Dupont.—Siege of Zaragoza.—Flight of Joseph Bonaparte from Madrid.—Defeat of the patriots under Cuesta.—Expedition to Portugal under sir A. Wellesley.—Battle of Vimiera.—Convention of Cintra.—Sir John Moore commands the British in Portugal.—Release of Spanish troops from the Baltic.—Supreme central junta established at Madrid.—Meeting of Bonaparte and the emperor of Russia at Erfurt.—Bonaparte heads his army in Spain.—Reverses of the patriots.—Defeat of Castanos.—Surrender of Madrid.—Operations of the army under sir John Moore.—Advance to Salamanca.—Junction with sir D. Baird.—Retreat to Corunna.—Battle.—Victory of the British.—Death of sir John Moore.—Affairs of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.—Manifesto of the prince of Brazil.—Affairs of Europe.—Farther annexations to France.—Russia acquires Finland from Sweden.—Another revolution at Constantinople.

THE first news from Spain that greeted the usurper, informed him that his troops had perpetrated a sanguinary massacre at Madrid. On the 2d of May, a great ferment had been produced by Murat's preparations to send away the remaining members of the royal family; and though the queen of Etruria and her son were suffered to proceed, the people would not consent to the departure of Don Antonio. The Spanish troops were locked up in their barracks and could afford them no assistance, but they rushed to arms against their oppressors, and for some time sustained a brave, but desperate conflict. The French poured into the city from all sides, making repeated charges with their cavalry, and clearing the streets with volleys of grape-shot. Wherever they dispersed the people, they followed the fugitives into the houses and bayoneted them on the spot. A resolute stand was made at the arsenal by a handful of artillery-men and citizens, who maintained a destructive fire on their assailants, until they were overpowered by numbers. Through the personal interference of the council of Castile, and other public bodies, the tumult was at length appeased; but the work of carnage was not over. A military tribunal under Grouchy was appointed to try the prisoners, and three groups of forty each were successively shot in the Prado, besides untold numbers, who were put to death in various quarters of the city. On the 4th, the junta of government, with timid obsequiousness, appointed Murat their president, and Don Antonio was sent off to Bayonne, to join the rest of his family in captivity.

This insurrection, which testified so strongly the repugnance of the Spanish people to the new dynasty imposed upon them, produced no sensible change in the relentless policy of Bonaparte. In a proclamation, dated the 25th of May, he admonished them to prepare for the new government which he had designed for them; adding, with contemptuous arrogance, an oracular dictum, which applied rather to their late rulers than to themselves. "Your nation is old; my mission is to restore its youth." A junta of notables was assembled at Bayonne, amounting to about ninety persons; and on the 7th of July, a new con-



[Resistance of Spain.—Provincial juntas.—Measures of the junta of Seville.]

stitution was laid before them, on which occasion Joseph Bonaparte was installed as king. He made his public entry into Madrid on the 20th, and on the same day his brother and Josephine departed from Bayonne for Paris.

After the massacre in the capital and the forced resignation of the princes, a patriotic spirit of resistance spread rapidly throughout Spain. Actuated by this spirit, the people, in the first instance, indulged in arbitrary deeds of vengeance; but a more salutary direction was soon given to their energies by the establishment of central juntas, or assemblies in the provinces, to take measures for a general defence and to co-operate for the recovery of the country. The clergy exerted their influence to stimulate the national zeal; and many of the nobles who had witnessed the installation at Bayonne, successively abandoned the intruder, and espoused the cause of their patriotic countrymen. Among these was Don Joseph Palafox, who having escaped from Bayonne in the disguise of a peasant to Zaragoza, was created by the people of that city, captain-general of Arragon, in the place of Guillema, a traitor, whom they deposed. Though almost destitute of regular troops and treasure, and though the neighbouring provinces of Navarre and Catalonia, were possessed by the French, he declared war against them in a bold tone of defiance, to which the heart of every loyal Spaniard responded. His proclamation deserved to be adopted by the central juntas, as the challenge of a united people. He declared that Bonaparte, with the individuals of his family, and every French officer and general, were personally responsible for the safety of king Ferdinand, his brother, and uncle; that the transactions at Bayonne, and the acts of the existing government, were illegal, null, and void; that whatever might be done in France by the royal family, should be held equally void, as being extorted by force; and that all who took an active part in such proceedings should be deemed traitors to their country. If any violence should be attempted against the lives of the captive princes, he declared that the nation would use their elective right, in favour of the archduke Charles, as nephew of Charles III. in case the other heirs should not be able to concur.

The standard of independence was raised in Galicia, the Asturias, Arragon, Valencia, Granada, and Andalusia. The chief authority was by tacit consent assigned in the first instance to the junta of Seville. Their first measure was to establish in all towns within their jurisdiction, containing two thousand householders, corresponding juntas, who were to enlist all the inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and forty-five, and to embody them. They declared war against Bonaparte and France, in the name of Ferdinand VII. and of all the Spanish nation, and proclaimed a cessation of hostilities with England. The mode of warfare which they proposed to pursue was suited alike to the state of their military force, and to the peculiar nature of the country, its main objects being to avoid general actions, to harass the enemy incessantly in flank and rear, and to cut off his supplies.

The appeal to England was first made by deputies from the junta of Asturias, and it was answered by prompt and effectual succours, consisting of arms, ammunition, clothing, and treasure. The sus-

[Alliance with England and Portugal.—Surrender of Dupont.—Siege of Zaragoza.]

pension of hostilities had already been anticipated by our commanders at Gibraltar, and on the Cadiz station. General Castanos, at the head of a Spanish army, stationed at San Roque to menace Gibraltar, declared for Ferdinand, and opened a communication with the governor of that fortress, who supplied him with a loan of 50,000 dollars, raised in a few hours among the merchants. At Cadiz the people put to death Solano, the governor, who was in the French interest; and Don Tomas de Morla succeeded to the command. Admiral Purvis was invited to anchor with his fleet at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the escape of a French squadron of five sail of the line under Rosilly, then in that port: they surrendered to the Spaniards on the 4th of June. Portugal, though its capital was occupied by a hostile army, made common cause with Spain, and on the 14th of July a treaty of alliance between the two nations was signed at Oporto in the names of the prince regent and king Ferdinand.

The hostilities which burst forth in every quarter gave ample occupation to the large force which Bonaparte had poured into the peninsula. A detachment of 15,000 men under general Dupont was sent into Andalusia by Murat soon after his arrival in Madrid. It was ultimately destined to occupy Seville and Cadiz, and its first exploit was the seizure and pillage of Cordova. Here Dupont was informed that the fleet had surrendered; that the passes of the Sierra Morena were occupied by the peasantry; and that Castanos was advancing against him with the whole force of Andalusia. A desperate engagement took place at Baylen, which ended in the surrender of the French general and his army.

Zaragoza, though an unfortified town, was defended by its brave inhabitants against the attacks of a well-appointed army under Lefebvre. These attacks were continued, almost without intermission, from the 15th of June until the 4th of August, when the enemy, having obtained possession of one half of the city, sent a summons to Palafox, containing the single word, "Capitulation." His reply, on behalf of his heroic countrymen was, "*Guerra al cuchillo*," "war at the knife's point;" and an obstinate conflict was carried on from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room. At a council of war held on the 8th, it was determined that in those quarters of the city where the Arragonese still held their ground, they should continue to defend themselves with their wonted firmness; and that if the enemy at last prevailed, they should retire over the Ebro, burn the bridge, and defend themselves in the suburbs till they perished. The determination, when made public, was received with the loudest acclamations. The tide of success was now turned, and the citizens, gaining ground upon the French, inch by inch, recovered all but an eighth part of the city. News arrived from other parts of Spain, tending to discourage the assailants: it announced the surrender of Dupont; the failure of an expedition under marshal Moncey in Valencia, and the approach of six thousand men from that province for the relief of Zaragoza. On the night of the 13th they opened a furious cannonade from their batteries, and set fire to some of the buildings which they occupied; on the following morning they were seen to the great surprise of the patriots, retreating over the plain in the direction of Pamplona.

[Joseph Bonaparte leaves Madrid.—Defeat of Cuesta.—Battle of Vimiera.]

Joseph Bonaparte, after a residence of ten days in Madrid, decamped on the 29th of July, taking with him the regalia and crown-jewels, and some other plunder from the palaces and treasury. The French troops evacuated the capital after destroying all the artillery and ammunition which they could not remove.

The arms of the patriots sustained a reverse in Leon, where general Cuesta, contrary to the judgment of his second in command, general Blake, risked a battle at Medina del Rio Seco against a French division under Lesolles, and was defeated. Blake, who had displayed great talents in the engagement, effected a masterly retreat. The French, on entering Medina, massacred six hundred persons in the streets and houses; violated and murdered the nuns, and when they had pillaged every thing that they could find, carried off infants and made their parents redeem them. The troops which thus signalized themselves were destined to reinforce Junot in Portugal; but the course of events in other quarters required them to act upon the defensive.

Meantime the British government had determined to send a military force to co-operate with the patriots. An expedition consisting of about ten thousand men, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, sailed from Cork on the 12th of July for the coast of Spain. That general preceded it in a frigate, and arriving at Corunna on the 20th, consulted with the junta of Galicia concerning the immediate employment of his army. They stated that they were in no need of men, but wanted arms, ammunition, and money: the latter want was supplied by the arrival of 200,000*l.* from England on that very day. They recommended that his operations should be directed against Junot, and advised him to land in the north of Portugal, that he might avail himself of the troops in that quarter. He accordingly proceeded to Oporto, where he held a consultation with the bishop and the general officers; and after communicating with sir Charles Cotton, commanding the fleet off the Tagus, he determined to land the troops in Mondego Bay. He was there joined by a division from Cadiz under general Spencer. Directing his march on Lisbon, he defeated a French corps under Laborde at Roleia, and advancing towards Vimiera, was joined by another reinforcement of 5,000 men under general Anstruther, who had recently landed at Peniche. Junot was meantime assembling his army near Torres Vedras, being determined to risk an engagement before his antagonist should receive farther reinforcements. Battle was given on the 21st of August, when the French, commencing the attack on various points with their usual impetuosity, met with a resistance to which they had been long unaccustomed. The flower of their troops made a charge against general Ferguson's division, who received them with a tremendous volley which brought them to the bayonet, and in one moment their front rank fell like a line of grass from the mower's scythe. They gave way, and abandoned six pieces of cannon in their flight. Having failed in their other attacks, they commenced a retreat, after sustaining a loss of 3,000 men, and 13 pieces of cannon. In this decisive victory not more than half the British army was engaged. Sir Harry Burrard, who had arrived in the morning to take the command, forbore to interfere in the dispositions already made; but when sir Arthur Wellesley proposed to pursue the retreating enemy, he determined to wait for rein-



[Sir John Moore commander in Portugal.—Supreme central junta.]

forcements. On the following morning sir Hew Dalrymple arrived from Gibraltar to supersede sir Harry Burrard; and a few hours afterwards general Kellerman appeared with a flag of truce from Junot to propose a cessation of hostilities, during which a convention might be concluded for the evacuation of Portugal by the French. The terms of the armistice were soon settled, and on the 30th a definitive convention was signed. Its conditions were, that the French troops in Portugal, with their arms and equipments, should, at the expense of the British government, be disembarked in France, and in no case be considered prisoners of war; that all individuals of their army should have liberty to dispose of their private property without future prejudice to the purchasers: and that the Spanish troops detained on shipboard in the Tagus should be set free, the British commander engaging to obtain the liberation of all French subjects in Spain, who, not having been taken in battle, were imprisoned. Sir Charles Cotton concluded a separate convention with admiral Sinavin, by which the Russian ships in the Tagus were surrendered, with their stores, to be held as a deposit by England until six months after pacification with Russia.

This lamentable convention, at a time when the destruction or absolute surrender of Junot's army with its plunder, might have accelerated the deliverance of the peninsula, was regarded with universal disgust and indignation in England, and became the subject of investigation before a board of military inquiry, the proceedings of which were terminated by a declaration of his majesty, disapproving those articles in which stipulations were made directly affecting the interests or feelings of the Spanish and Portuguese nations.

The command of the British army in Portugal devolved on sir John Moore, who had recently arrived with a reinforcement of 12,000 men. That officer had been entrusted early in the year with an expedition for the assistance of the king of Sweden, against whom war had been declared by Russia, Prussia, and Denmark; but through the capricious and violent conduct of that monarch, he had been constrained to bring back his troops without landing them. After the deliverance of Portugal, his instructions were to march into Spain towards Burgos, and to combine his operations with those of the commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies.

The patriots in Galicia received a timely reinforcement of ten thousand of their countrymen, who had been stationed by Bonaparte in Denmark, and were liberated by a well-concerted plan between their general, the marquis de la Romana, and admiral Keats. They disembarked at Corunna, on the 30th of September.

The resistance of the Spaniards to their invaders, had hitherto been ill concerted and desultory; but on the deliverance of the capital, and the renewal of communications with the provinces, measures were adopted for rendering it more regular, consistent, and effective. A supreme central junta of government, formed by deputies from the provincial juntas was established at Aranjuez, on the 25th of September, under the presidency of count Florida Blanca. One of its first acts was to appoint a new council of war, consisting of five members, at the head of whom was general Castanos. The forces of the patriots were arranged under three divisions, so as to constitute, when

[Meeting of Bonaparte and Alexander at Erfurt.—Defeat of Castanos in Spain.]

the dispositions should be completed, one grand army. The eastern wing under Palafox, was computed at 20,000 men; the centre under Castanos, the generalissimo, at 65,000, and the north-western wing, under Blake, at 55,000. There was also a small army in Estremadura, and another in Catalonia. The main French army, at this period, occupied a position with its right towards the ocean, its left on Arragon, and its front on the Ebro.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte found it necessary to secure the tranquillity of the north, that he might direct his whole attention to the conquest of Spain. A meeting took place between him and the emperor of Russia, at Erfurt, on the 27th of September, where it was settled that the French troops should evacuate the Prussian territory, as soon as the contributions, which were now to be reduced to one third of their original amount, should be paid. The emperor Alexander was persuaded to regard the insurrection in Spain as a natural consequence of the treaty of Tilsit, and to coincide in the policy of Bonaparte, both for peace and for war. They wrote letters to the king of Great Britain offering to treat either on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, or on any other basis consistent with justice. A diplomatic correspondence ensued, in which the British government professed their readiness to negotiate in concurrence with their allies, among whom were comprehended the people of Spain. This stipulation was rejected as inadmissible and insulting, and the correspondence was terminated by a note from Mr. Canning, declaring that his majesty was determined not to abandon the cause of the Spanish nation, and of the legitimate monarchy of Spain; and that he rejected the pretension of France to exclude from the negotiation the central and supreme government, acting in the name of his catholic majesty, as one which he could not admit without acquiescing in a usurpation unparalleled in the history of the world.

On the 25th of October, Bonaparte informed the legislative body that he should speedily put himself at the head of his army, to crown, with God's help, the king of Spain in Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon. In a few days afterwards, he set out privately from Rambouillet, arrived at Bayonne on the 3d of November, and on the 5th, joined his brother Joseph at Vitoria, bringing with him a reinforcement of 12,000 men.

The campaign had already been opened; and in a series of actions, the French had succeeded in cutting off the communication between the armies of Blake and Castanos. The former, after retiring from post to post, made a brave resistance at Espinosa, but was at length compelled to retreat, and took refuge with the remains of his force in the Asturias. On the 16th of November, the van of Soult's army entered St. Andero. The defeat of Castanos at Tudela on the 23d, decided the fate of the campaign, and left open to the French army the road to Madrid. In the mountains of Castile, the strong pass called the Puerto de Guadarama, guarded by 13,000 men, under general San Juan, was forced by a division of the French army under general Victor.

The people of Madrid evinced a resolution to defend themselves, which was feebly seconded by their leaders. The French encountered an obstinate resistance in obtaining possession of the Retiro, and were

[Operations of the British army under sir John Moore.]

several times beaten back in attempting to seize the gates of the city. On the 4th of December, a deputation of the junta waited on Bonaparte, who told them that if Madrid was not surrendered by six on the following morning, it would be taken by assault, and all its armed inhabitants put to the sword. In consequence of his threat, the Spanish troops remaining in the city were sent away during the night, and the French entered on the following morning. Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards, informing them that it had cost him only a few marches to defeat their armies, and that he should soon drive the English from the peninsula. He threatened, that if they refused to submit, he would treat their country as a conquered province, and place his brother on another throne. "I shall then," said he, "place the crown of Spain on my own head, and cause it to be respected by the guilty, for God has given me strength and inclination to surmount all obstacles."

It were to be wished that the Spaniards had earlier availed themselves of the co-operation of their allies; or that, following the advice of the junta of Seville, they had avoided general engagements. When sir John Moore prepared to advance from Portugal, it was found necessary to divide the army. The artillery and cavalry, with four regiments of infantry, under general Hope, marched by Elvas, on the Madrid road; two brigades, under general Paget, went by Elvas and Alcantara. The rest of the army moved through Almeida; two brigades, under general Beresford, by way of Coimbra; three under general Fraser, by way of Abrantes. They were to unite at Salamanca, and to be joined by general Hope, either there or at Valladolid. A reinforcement of 10,000 men, under sir David Baird, expected at Corunna, was directed to form a junction with the commander wherever he should appoint. On the 13th of November sir John Moore arrived with his advanced guard at Salamanca. He was there informed of the defeat of the Estremaduran army at Burgos, and shortly afterwards of the entrance of the French into Valladolid, distant from him only twenty leagues. He had with him only three brigades of infantry, and not a single gun. His first thought was to fall back upon Ciudad Rodrigo; but on learning that the French had retired to Palencia, and that none of their infantry had advanced beyond Burgos, he sent orders for the two divisions of his army, under generals Baird and Hope, that were approaching from different points, to join him with all speed. Sir David Baird had reached Corunna on the 13th of October, but his troops were kept on ship-board until an order for their landing could be received from the central junta. The country before him had been drained by its own troops, and his commissaries were not only inexperienced, but ignorant of the Spanish language. Dividing his force into small detachments, which followed each other at considerable distances, he reached Astorga on the 19th of November, and was there informed of the dispersion of Blake's army. Anticipating the defeat of Castanos, he consulted his officers, and apprized sir John Moore of their unanimous opinion that he ought not to advance until the junction of all the detachments on the march, which could not be expected before the 4th of December. After the defeat of Castanos, at Tudela, sir John Moore determined to retreat upon Portugal, and accordingly sent orders to sir David Baird to fall back



[His correspondence with Mr. Frere.—Junction with general Baird.]

upon Corunna, and sail from thence to the Tagus, directing him also to write to England for transports to be sent to Lisbon. While waiting for the junction of general Hope, he received on the 5th of December a despatch from Castelfranco and Morla, in the name of the central junta, informing him that 25,000 men of the army of Castanos were falling back on Madrid, that 10,000 were marching thither from Somosierra, and that 40,000 would join them. They hoped that the British would be able either to unite with these forces, or fall upon the rear of the enemy. This despatch was written on the 2d, when the men who signed it were preparing to surrender Madrid to the enemy. Despatches soon afterwards arrived from the British ambassador, Mr. Frere, who was then at Talavera de la Reyna, whither the central junta had retired from Aranjuez. They were brought by colonel Charmilly, a French emigrant in the English service, who had quitted Madrid on the night of the 1st, when the inhabitants were working at the trenches by torch-light. He had seen the duke del Infantado, who spoke of a new junta, mentioned the vigorous preparations for defence, and expressed a most earnest wish that the British would make a diversion for the relief of Madrid. Mr. Frere entrusted to Charmilly a letter to sir John Moore, urging him to suspend his retreat, as that measure would be highly injurious both to Spain and to England. He gave him a second letter, to be delivered in case the British general persisted in his determination. The purport of this letter was to request that the bearer might be examined before a council of war.

Sir John Moore wrote to sir David Baird, ordering him to suspend his retreat and return to Astorga. It was not known in Salamanca that he had changed his intention, and as the officers loudly expressed their dislike of returning to Portugal, Charmilly deemed it necessary to present his second letter. The general tore it to pieces, and ordered the colonel to depart from the town; but when his resentment had subsided, he explained himself to Mr. Frere, informing him that all in his power should be done for the Spanish cause; but that he could not make a direct movement on Madrid until joined by sir David Baird, especially as the passes of Guadarrama and Somosierra were in the hands of the French. Tidings arrived on the 10th that Madrid had surrendered, that Zaragoza was besieged, and that Toledo was in the hands of the enemy. Sir John Moore determined to move to Toro, and unite his army there; and he ordered general Baird to push on his troops, by brigades, to Benevente, from whence a junction might be effected, either by a forward or a flank movement. The junction took place at Majorga on the 20th, when the united British forces amounted to 23,000 infantry and about 2300 cavalry, besides some small detachments left to keep open the communications. On the following day the head-quarters were removed to Sahagun, and a co-operation was concerted with Romana, who was collecting the wreck of Blake's army at Leon.

Soult was posted beyond the Carrion, with 18,000 men; Junot, with 27,000 from Lisbon, was advancing from Vitoria upon Burgos; Le-fevre was counter-ordered from the road to Badajoz, and directed toward Salamanca; and Bonaparte with his cavalry was hastening on from Madrid.

Arrangements were made to attack Soult before he should be rein-

[Disastrous retreat of the British army.—Arrival at Corunna.]

forced, and the orders for that purpose were received by the British troops with high exultation. On the 23d, at the hour appointed, they were all under arms; the right column had begun its march, and the rest were ardently expecting the word of command to advance. At this juncture, intelligence was received from Romana, that the French were advancing from Madrid, either to Valladolid or Salamanca; and news arrived from other quarters, that considerable reinforcements had reached the Carrion from Palencia. Orders were immediately issued for the troops to return to quarters, and by day-break next morning, to be again under arms. Every countenance instantly changed, and the high confidence and resolution, which are the best presage of victory, gave place to mortification and chagrin. Sir David Baird was ordered to march through Valencia de don Juan, to Astorga, whither the main army and the reserve followed by the cavalry, retired by the route of Benevente. At the latter place, an action took place with the advanced cavalry of the French, who were driven back across the Esla, with a loss of seventy men taken prisoners, among whom was general Lefebvre, commander of the imperial guard. From Astorga, the retreat was to be continued to Corunna, through 250 miles of mountainous country, rendered almost impassable by snow and rain. Two brigades under general Crawford, were detached by Orense to Vigo, at which place transports were expected. General Fraser, with his division, was ordered to proceed to Lugo; he was followed by generals Hope and Baird, who were instructed to make forced marches to the coast. It would be a fruitless attempt to detail all the calamities of this retreat; the troops, stung by disappointment, and rendered desperate by cold, hunger, and fatigue, became disorderly, and in some instances, committed excesses which could scarcely be expected from an enemy. The loss was enormous: even at Astorga, ammunition wagons were burnt, and an entire depot of entrenching tools abandoned: on one part of the road the reserve met a convoy of arms, ammunition, and clothing, brought from England for Romana's army: of these supplies, a part was distributed to the soldiers as they passed, and the rest were destroyed. Nearly one hundred baggage-wagons belonging to the army were abandoned, and as the military chest could not be transported over the mountain Cebrero, the dollars were thrown down precipices, in hope that the snow might conceal them from the enemy.

Sir John Moore offered battle to Soult at Lugo, and in some partial actions, checked the pursuit of the French, who were unwilling to engage generally, without a superiority of force. The British army gained twelve hours' march, and reached Corunna with little molestation, on the 12th of January, having lost one-fourth of its numbers. The transports which had been ordered from Vigo, were detained by contrary winds, and it became necessary for the British army to make head against the enemy. The situation was so disadvantageous, that some officers suggested the proposal of terms to Soult, on condition that he should permit the troops to embark unmolested. Sir John Moore rejected the advice, and declared his resolution to accept no terms which should be in the least dishonourable to the army, or to the country. On the 14th, the enemy, who had arrived in considerable force, opened a cannonade, which was returned with such effect

[Battle of Corunna and embarkation of the British.]

that they drew off their guns. In the evening of that day, the transports from Vigo hove in sight. Preparations for embarking were immediately commenced, and were completed on the 16th, when orders were issued, that if the French did not move, the embarkation of the reserve should commence at four in the afternoon. At mid-day, while the general was proceeding to visit the out-posts, he received information from sir John Hope, that the enemy were getting under arms. They descended from the heights in four columns, two of which directed their march on the right wing of the British, which was very disadvantageously posted. Sir John Moore hastened to this part of the field, where the 4th regiment on the right flank was menaced by a body of the enemy, who were hastening up the valley to turn it. Half of this regiment falling back, so as to form an obtuse angle with the other half, commenced a heavy flanking fire, and this manœuvre was highly applauded by the commander. He proceeded to direct the movements of the other regiments in this division, and was in the act of ordering up the guards to support the 42d Highlanders, when he was struck from his horse by a cannon-ball, which carried away his left shoulder, and part of the collar bone, leaving the arm hanging by the flesh. He was enveloped in a blanket, and borne away by six soldiers of the 42d. Sir David Baird, whose arm was shattered by a grape-shot, had already quitted the field. The troops continued to fight bravely under sir John Hope, on whom the command devolved, and at night-fall, remained masters of the field. This victory was obtained under great disadvantages; the French force exceeded 20,000 men, well appointed and provided with cannon, some of which had fallen into their hands in the pursuit. The British scarcely amounted to 15,000, exhausted by harassing marches, and grieved by the loss of their military chest, their stores, their baggage, their horses, their sick, their wounded, their wives and children. Their artillery was already embarked. If British courage could achieve victory in such adverse circumstances, what must have been its triumphs in a conflict on equal terms! General Moore lived to hear that the battle was won, and in his last moments, after an affecting reminiscence of his mother, expressed a hope that his country would do him justice. His body was removed at midnight, to the citadel of Corunna, wrapped in a military cloak and blankets, and buried in a grave dug on the ramparts. The embarkation was continued during the night; and next morning little remained, except the rear guard under general Beresford, and the reserve under general Hill. The French pushed on their light troops to some heights commanding the harbour, and began to fire on the shipping. Several of the masters of the transports cut their cables; and four of the vessels ran aground. The men on board were removed to other ships, and the stranded vessels burnt. During the night of the 17th, and the following morning, the sick and wounded who could bear removal, were embarked, and the rear guard followed without interruption. Corunna capitulated soon after the departure of the army, and the French seized all the most important places in the north of Spain.

Though the mother country was enthralled by the usurper, the colonies and maritime provinces were beyond the reach of his power; but it was still necessary to preserve them from his intrigues. The



[Affairs of the Spanish colonies.—Manifesto of the prince of Brazil.]

British cruisers exercised great vigilance in intercepting all vessels bearing despatches to those possessions. Lord Collingwood, on sending out advices of the Spanish revolution to admiral Cochrane on the Leeward Island station, apprised him that the corvette *La Rapide* had sailed from Bayonne for Cayenne, and requested that he would intercept her; she was taken, and carried into Barbadoes, but her papers were thrown overboard. Some suspicions being excited, a search took place, and duplicates were discovered. The *Carolina*, with 4000 stand of arms for Buenos Ayres, was taken soon after her departure from St. Sebastian's, and carried into Gijon, where the arms were landed for the use of the patriots. The brig *La Mouche*, bound to the Havanna on a similar service, was also taken. The Spanish prisoners in the West Indies were liberated, and sent to the main in the *Acasta* frigate. A brig, with despatches from Joseph Bonaparte, reached La Guayra before her. The English officer, captain Beaver, immediately landed and presented himself to the governor, at the time when the French agent was endeavouring to accomplish the object of his mission. The news brought by the *Acasta* confirmed the authenticity of a manifesto from Seville, which had previously arrived; Ferdinand the Seventh was proclaimed amidst the shouts of the inhabitants; the imperial brig was seized, and the colours of Spain and England were hoisted on all the forts, under a general salute. In Cuba, the people displayed the same loyalty, and declared themselves ready to die in the cause of their country. In Mexico, a junta was assembled, and the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand was taken by the viceroy and all persons in authority. Fourteen millions of dollars were voted by the city of Mexico for the service of the mother country, and the people enrolled themselves for the defence of that American empire which their ancestors had won. At Vera Cruz, where the governor showed a disposition to favour the intruder, a patriotic junta was formed to counteract his machinations; a French vessel, which arrived in the harbour, was seized, and her papers, consisting of proclamations and orders from Joseph Bonaparte, were publicly burnt. At Buenos Ayres, a French agent was received by the governor Liniers, who informed the people that the emperor of the French had been compelled to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish monarchy; that a cortes was assembled at Bayonne, where its fate would be decided; that Bonaparte, applauding the constancy of the people of Buenos Ayres, had offered them succours, and that he, in reply, had expressed his readiness to receive arms, ammunition, and Spanish troops. He exhorted them to imitate the example of their ancestors during the war of the succession, by awaiting the fate of the mother country, and obeying that power which occupied the sovereignty. This temporizing policy, which favoured the interests of the usurper, was counteracted by the popular spirit, which strongly inclined to the establishment of an independent government.

In Brazil, the prince regent of Portugal, soon after his arrival, issued a manifesto, detailing the aggressions of France, and the immense sacrifices which he had made for the sake of preserving the strictest neutrality. He concluded by authorizing his subjects to wage war by sea and land against the French, and by avowing his determination not to sheathe the sword unless in concert with his

[Further annexations to France.—Finland ceded to Russia.]

Britannic majesty, and never to agree to the cession of Portugal. When intelligence arrived of the imprisonment of the royal family, the princess of Brazil, as daughter of Charles IV., in conjunction with her cousin the infante Don Pedro, addressed a memorial to the prince regent, requesting him to maintain the rights of their royal house for the king of Spain, and for themselves, his nearest relatives, who had escaped. Through his aid they hoped that a perfect alliance might be established with the Spanish Americans against the common enemy, and that the quarrels would be appeased which were incessantly arising between the subjects of the two kingdoms. This memorial, the prince's answer, and a manifesto on their parts, were circulated in the Spanish provinces of South America. The policy of this measure was at best doubtful, at a time when the inhabitants of those colonies were disposed to regard with more than usual jealousy any interposition from the court of Portugal.

Intent on the great struggle in Spain, the people of England were comparatively indifferent to the changes which occurred during this year in the rest of Europe. Though of little interest in themselves, they require to be noticed, from their connexion with the chain of events which is yet to be unfolded. In January, Bonaparte annexed to France the military posts of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, on the Rhine, and Flushing. In May, he appropriated the dominions of the pope, together with Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. On the intrusion of Joseph into the Spanish throne, he transferred the crown of Naples to Murat, his brother-in-law. To render his domestic policy still more subservient to his schemes of foreign subjugation, he issued a decree, subjecting all schools and seminaries of education in France to the control of an imperial university, of which himself was the head; and he virtually prohibited, by means of his inquisitorial police, all the productions of ancient and modern literature which are favourable to civil liberty. By thus enslaving the minds of the rising generation, he sought to perpetuate the military despotism which he had reared on the insecure and shattered foundations of the French republic.

In the north of Europe, the interests of Great Britain suffered greatly through the rash and obstinate conduct of the king of Sweden. After he had lost the assistance of his ally, the hostilities in which he persevered against his powerful neighbour terminated in a convention, by which Finland, the granary of his kingdom, was given up to Russia. In consequence of the disastrous state of affairs in Sweden, the king of France with his queen, and the dutchess of Angoulême, took refuge in England.

While Russia was extending her dominion in the north, she strengthened her armies on the side of Turkey, and her hopes of conquest in that quarter were strengthened by another revolution at Constantinople. Mustapha Bairacter, through whose influence the late change in the government had been effected, undertook to enforce the obnoxious innovations in the military system. Introducing an armed force into the capital, he deposed all the new ministers, put to death the aga of the Janizaries, and caused the dethroned Selim to be proclaimed. His soldiers forced an entrance into the seraglio in search of the deposed monarch; they found him dead, and weltering in his blood. The

[Revolution at Constantinople.]

reigning sultan Mustapha, to whom the murder was attributed, became in his turn a prisoner; and his nephew Mahomed, a youth of fifteen, was proclaimed in his stead. Bairactar, who was appointed vizier, instituted many salutary improvements in the various branches of administration, but his career was soon interrupted. On the 15th of November the Janizaries rose in great force and stormed the seraglio; when Bairactar, seeing that all was lost, caused the deposed Mustapha to be strangled, and threw his body out to the insurgents. He himself disappeared, and the common report was, that eluding the vengeance of his enemies, he blew himself up in his own palace. After six days of pillage and massacre, the Janizaries, obtaining a promise that their demands should be acceded to, renewed their allegiance to the young sultan Mahomed. Such was the state of Europe at the close of the year 1808. The only quarter in which a ray of hope for deliverance remained, was the peninsula, where the unparalleled aggressions of France had roused nations to contend against her armies, and had identified the cause of the sovereign with that of the people. It was glorious for Great Britain to contend in such a cause; and it was fortunate that the contest was to be maintained in a field so favourable for the co-operation of her maritime and military force.



## CHAPTER LXXXI.

Peace between Great Britain and Turkey.—Military preparations of Austria.—Meeting of parliament.—Mr. Wardle's charge against the commander-in-chief.—Enquiry concerning East India appointments.—Charges against lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval.—Mr. Curwen's reform bill.—Budget.—Bill for augmenting the militia.—Capture of Cayenne—and Martinique.—Attack on the French fleet in Basque Roads.—Campaign in the peninsula.—Defeat of Cuesta at Medellin.—Sir Arthur Wellesley expels Soult from Portugal.—Joins Cuesta and defeats the French at Talavera.—The British withdraw into Portugal.—Resignation of Cuesta.—Guerilla warfare.—French convoy destroyed near Rosas.

A NEGOTIATION, which had been carried on for some months at Constantinople by Mr. Adair, terminated on the 5th of January in a treaty of peace between Great Britain and Turkey, by which their relations were established on the same footing as before the war. In effecting this arrangement the English minister had experienced the good offices of the Austrian internuncio, who assured the Porte, that though his government was apparently hostile to England, their interests were in fact the same. To show that no dread of Bonaparte ought to deter the Ottoman power from following its true interests, he announced that Austria, with armies more numerous and formidable than she had ever yet brought into the field, was about to join the league of Spain and England against France. This declaration which was founded in truth, had its due weight in bringing the negotiation to a happy issue.

The military preparations of Austria had excited the angry jealousy of Bonaparte before he invaded Spain; and they were pursued with such activity while he was personally directing the war in that country, that after the retreat of the British, when he returned from Astorga to Valladolid, he wrote to the confederation of the Rhine to furnish their contingents, and on the 22d of January hastened to Paris, followed by the imperial guard. Unwilling to embroil himself with Austria until he had conquered Spain, he called for the interference of the Russian ambassador Romanzoff, who proposed a triple compact between Russia, Austria, and France, by which each of those powers should in turn guarantee another against the interference of a third. The proposal was ineffectual, the remonstrances to the Austrian ministers were answered by counter remonstrances; and the demand for contingents from the states of the Rhenish confederation, was alleged as a justifiable pretext for placing the troops of the emperor on the war-establishment.

At this crisis, when his majesty's ministers might have found it desirable to direct their whole attention to measures of foreign policy, they were called upon to take their usual share in the deliberations of parliament, and to divide their time between discussions on what had been done, and consultations on what was to be done. The session commenced on the 19th of January by a speech from the throne, relating principally to the late overtures from France and Russia, and

[Charge against the duke of York.—Inquiry concerning East India appointments.]

to the affairs of Spain and Portugal. In consideration of the immense interest at stake, his majesty expressed a hope that effectual measures would be taken, with as little delay as possible, for the augmentation of the regular army. But the adoption of such measures, and indeed the ordinary business of legislation was interrupted by a discussion, which for a considerable time engrossed the attention of parliament and of the country. On the 27th of January, Mr. Wardle, a colonel of militia, called the attention of the house of commons to a system of abuse, which he asserted to have long prevailed in the military department. He alleged that a female, named Clarke, who had formerly lived under the protection of the duke of York, had carried on a traffic in commissions, of which the profits had been participated; and he concluded by moving for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of the commander-in-chief with regard to promotions, exchanges, &c. The investigation took place in a committee of the whole house, and it was not until the 15th of March, that a division ensued on Mr. Wardle's motion, for inculcating the duke, which was negatived by 364 against 123. On the 17th a resolution was voted, on the motion of Mr. Perceval, that the house having examined the evidence before them, and having found that personal corruption and connivance at corruption had been imputed to the duke of York, were of opinion that the imputation was wholly unfounded. His innocence being thus declared, the commander-in-chief resigned his office, and was succeeded by general sir David Dundas.

This memorable investigation had the salutary effect of reviving and extending those inquiries into public abuses, for which, and for the enactment of specific remedies, parliament stood pledged to the country. On the 27th of March, a bill was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer for preventing the sale and brokerage of offices, and passed through the usual stages. A select committee was appointed by the house of commons to inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices in regard to the appointment of writers or cadets in the service of the East India company. In the course of the inquiry, it appeared, from the evidence of a Mr. Reding, of lord Clancarty, and lord Castlereagh, that the latter, being at that time president of the board of control, had placed a writership at lord Clancarty's disposal, which writership lord Clancarty was to give to Reding as the price of a seat in parliament; Reding, who was a dealer in contraband promotions, meaning to sell this appointment for 3000 guineas. In reference to these facts, lord Archibald Hamilton, on the 25th of April, moved that lord Castlereagh had been guilty of a violation of his official duty as president of the board of control, and of an attack on the purity and constitution of the house. Lord Castlereagh's defence was, that when this transaction happened he had no notion that such a person existed as a trafficking broker for places under government. Reding had represented to him that a member, who intended to vacate his seat, had a nephew whom he intended to send out to India as a writer, and would favour the election of any of his friends. He had no suspicion of the improper motives from which Reding was acting. The only conversation which lord Clancarty had with Reding, was for the purpose of learning who was the person

[Charges against lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval.—Reform bill.—Budget.]

disposed to retire from parliament, and being unable to obtain that information he broke off the business. A debate ensued, and the motion was lost by a majority of forty-nine. On the 5th of May, Mr. Madocks brought forward charges against the chancellor of the exchequer and lord Castlereagh, for corrupt and criminal practices to procure the return of members to parliament. The course which he originally adopted being disapproved by the house, he renewed his motion in the following week, and after animadverting on the borough-mongering system, proceeded to exemplify its operation. He affirmed that Mr. Quintin Dick purchased a seat for Cashel, in Ireland, through the agency of the hon. Henry Wellesley, who acted on the behalf of the treasury; that on the question brought forward by colonel Wardle, when Mr. Dick had determined to vote according to his conscience, lord Castlereagh did intimate to that gentleman the necessity either of his voting with government, or of resigning his seat, and that Mr. Dick, rather than vote against his conscience, did vacate his seat. Mr. Madocks charged Mr. Perceval as being privy to the transaction, and as having connived at it; and this charge he engaged to prove by witnesses at the bar of the house, if permitted to call them. Mr. Perceval, in his defence, represented the practice of thus accusing public men as merely introductory to the great question of reform; he declined putting in the plea, which he conscientiously could adduce, until the house should have come to a determination on the propriety of entertaining the charge or not; and he would then come before them prepared to meet the charge, and vindicate his own honour. Mr. Madocks's motion was negatived. While this business excited the public attention, a measure was before the house, which was designed to correct and purify the representative system. On the 4th of May, Mr. Curwen moved for leave to bring in a bill for better securing the independence and purity of parliament by preventing the procuring or obtaining of seats by corrupt practices, and likewise for the more effectual prevention of bribery. The bill, after undergoing very considerable modifications, was passed.

The supplies voted for the year, exclusive of the proportion for Ireland, were 47,588,024*l.*; and among the ways and means were war-taxes nineteen millions, and a loan of eleven millions for Great Britain. Three millions were also borrowed for Ireland, and 600,000*l.* for the prince of Brazil. For payment of the interest and sinking fund upon this latter sum, and for the liquidation of the principal, the revenues of the island of Madeira had been assigned, together with a consignment of such produce of Brazil as belonged to the prince, to his agents in this country. The whole loan had been contracted for at 4*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*, a lower rate of interest than had been obtained on any former biddings. In mentioning a vote of credit which had been taken for three millions, Mr. Perceval, disclaiming any detailed explanation of the manner in which this sum was to be applied, observed, that Austria, on going to war with France, had drawn bills on this country without having had any communication with his majesty's government. When these bills arrived, it was the intention of ministers to advise his majesty to recommend to parliament to enable him to pay them; but before any appropriation could be made for their payment, it



[Bill augmenting militia.—Attack on the French fleet.—State of the war in Spain.]

would be absolutely necessary to procure the consent and sanction of parliament.

Early in the session, the proposed augmentation of the military force was taken into consideration. A bill was passed for enlistment into the militia, which was followed by another for replacing the number of men rendered defective by the bill of last session allowing militia soldiers to volunteer into the line. The amount of the regular army was stated at 210,000 infantry, and 27,000 cavalry; the infantry was disposed in 126 first battalions, averaging 902 men each, and 56 second battalions, of which the average was about 400 men each; the object of the proposed measures was to complete these second battalions.

After an unusually busy session, alike remarkable for long and animated debates on questions of great interest, and for the extraordinary number of public and private acts which were passed, the parliament was prorogued on the 21st of June.

In resuming the transactions of the war, it may be proper, before we enter on the affairs of the peninsula, to notice some operations of the British arms in other quarters. The French colony of Cayenne surrendered on the 12th of January to a combined force of English and Portuguese, the former commanded by captain Yeo. On the 24th of February the reduction of Martinique was accomplished by an expedition under general Prevost and admiral sir A. Cochrane. In April an attack was made on a French fleet of nine sail of the line lying at anchor in the Basque Roads, by lord Cochrane, acting under the orders of lord Gambier; he destroyed four of them, and might have been more successful if the state of the wind and tide had enabled the admiral more effectually to further his operations.

On the return of Bonaparte to Paris, his brother Joseph re-entered Madrid, to assume the nominal sovereignty of a kingdom in which the French were masters of no more territory than their armies could cover. They had overrun but not subdued the provinces of Navarre, Arragon, Biscay, the Asturias, the Castiles, Leon, and Galicia. In Catalonia, where every town resisted them, a force was rallying round Reding at Tarragona. The duke del Infantado was refitting the army of the centre, for which 4000 stand of arms had been procured by Mr. Frere from Gibraltar. This army the French resolved to destroy before it should become formidable. The first division, including the advanced guard, and consisting of 10,000 infantry, and 1600 cavalry under Venegas, was attacked by Victor on the 13th of January, who at first experienced a severe repulse, but captured 3000 prisoners. Infantado sent reinforcements, which deterred the enemy from renewing the attack, and afterwards commenced his retreat into Valencia. To disencumber his march, he adopted the dangerous expedient of sending his artillery by a different route, and a considerable part of it fell into the hands of the enemy.

In Estremadura, where some of the French had been called off to march against sir John Moore, the army of the patriots under Cuesta was gradually reinforced, and enabled to act on the offensive. Toward the close of January it was posted between Truxillo and Xaraicejo, having its vanguard on the left branch of the Alamonte. The French had pushed their advanced parties nearly to the same place: but they

[Zaragoza again besieged.—Operations in Galicia and Catalonia.]

were repulsed and driven beyond Miravete. On the 28th of January, the patriots, having won the bridge of Almaraz, moved their advanced guard to Naval-moral, and the French fled towards Talavera.

Zaragoza, again besieged, made an heroic defence, which occupied two French armies; while the invaders were thus engaged on one side, they were harassed on the other by a force of Portuguese and Spaniards stationed at Ciudad Rodrigo, under the command of sir Robert Wilson, who frequently extended his excursions as far as Salamanca.

On the retreat of sir John Moore, Romana separating from the English at Astorga, made his way over the mountains to Ponferrada, and on the 10th of January reached Orense, where he collected about 2000 men. Blake, who had accompanied him thither, set out with only two aids de camp for Seville, through Portugal. Romana, toward the end of the month was compelled to evacuate Orense, and falling back to Monterrey, established his head-quarters at Oimbra, a little village on the Tamega. The people of Galicia co-operated with him in that species of hostility which is most fatal to an invading enemy, attacking out-posts and detachments, and intercepting convoys. This warfare, through the retaliation which it provoked, gradually assumed a degree of ferocity which had been long unknown in Europe.

After the disastrous retreat to Corunna, the British government directed their attention to the south of Spain; but they deemed it improper to hazard an army in that quarter, unless a corps of it were admitted into Cadiz. At the instance of Mr. Frere, general Sherbrooke, with four thousand men, sailed for that port; and sir John Cradock, who commanded the fourteen thousand British stationed at Lisbon, was ordered to prepare for the same destination. A discussion took place between the British ambassador and the supreme junta, the result of which was, that the expedition under general Sherbrooke sailed for Lisbon. General Beresford, returning to Portugal early in the spring, and being invested by the regency with the rank of field-marshal, occupied himself in organizing and disciplining a native army to act in conjunction with the British.

On the fall of Zaragoza, which took place on the 14th of February, the French force under St. Cyr, which had co-operated in the siege, marched into Catalonia against the patriot army under Reding. That general, defending himself with great skill and bravery, was compelled to take refuge in Tarragona, where he died of his wounds. He was succeeded in the command by Blake, who fulfilled this charge with great ability at a time when the most important places in the province were in the possession of an enemy superior to his own, in numbers and discipline, and deriving stores and reinforcements from France more easily than he could draw them from the exhausted provinces of Spain. Under all these disadvantages the Catalans for some months severely harassed their invaders, chiefly by means of an irregular force, called the Miquelets, whose habits of life rendered them particularly efficient in predatory and excursive warfare.

The attention of the French was principally directed to the patriots in Estremadura, and La Mancha. General Cuesta, having formed a junction with Albuquerque, determined to march against Victor, and he encountered that general, at the head of 20,000 foot and 3,000

[Defeat of Cuesta.—Soult enters Portugal.—Wellesley returns to Portugal.]

horse, in front of Medellin, on the Guadiana. A battle ensued on the 28th of March, in which the Spaniards were defeated with great loss. On the preceding day, Sebastiani defeated the army of La Mancha, before Ciudad Real. After these successes, the French pushed a corps to the neighbourhood of Badajoz, which was routed by Albuquerque, with a loss of 700 killed, and 200 taken prisoners. The invaders, thus checked in their progress, retreated, instead of advancing into Andalusia; and Cuesta was then enabled, without molestation, to take up a position, not many leagues from the field of battle, having his advanced guard at Almendralejo. Here he collected his scattered troops, and received reinforcements, which soon rendered him as formidable as before the action.

In concert with the operations of Victor, in Estremadura, the army under Soult, in Galicia, was ordered to invade Portugal. Having entered that kingdom at Braga, the French marshal took possession of Oporto on the 29th of March, after a resistance of two days. His departure from Galicia, was the signal for the renewal of exertions by the patriots, whom Ney, who had been entrusted with the government of the province, found it impossible to overawe. They laid siege to Vigo, containing a garrison of 1300 men, whom they compelled to surrender as prisoners of war, and to deliver up their military chest and baggage. Don Pablo Murillo, who directed the siege, attacked and routed a detachment sent from Tuy; and another reinforcement was drawn back from Pontevedra, by a division of the army under Romana. This general, on receiving 3000 volunteers from Castile, resolved to march into the Asturias, and on his route into that principality, he detached a force under Mendizabal, to attack the French garrison at Villa Franca. The service was gallantly performed, and the result of its success was, that the French, evacuating the Bierzo, fell back from the neighbouring part of Asturias upon Lugo, there to make a stand, supported by the main force, which was divided between Santiago, Corunna, and Ferrol. To preserve the communication of the French, between Galicia and Portugal, Soult had found it necessary to reduce the fortress of Chaves, and to leave there a garrison of 1300 men. This fortress was re-captured by the Portuguese general Silveira, who followed up his success by harassing the rear of the French, until they reached Oporto, when he took post at the bridge of Amarante, a strong and important position, which the enemy with great difficulty regained.

Such was the state of affairs when sir Arthur Wellesley, having been again appointed to the chief command of the British in the peninsula, sailed with reinforcements for Portugal. Arriving at Lisbon on the 22d of April, his first determination was, to expel Soult from the kingdom; wherefore, after leaving a sufficient force at Abrantes, to secure the capital from Victor, he placed himself at the head of the army at Coimbra, from whence, detaching Beresford, with a body of Portuguese, and British, to the upper Douro, he advanced against Oporto. Soult, after evacuating that city, made some dispositions for disputing the passage of the Douro with his antagonist; but he was compelled to a precipitate retreat into Galicia, with the loss of his cannon and baggage, and about one fourth of his army. He was pursued by general Beresford as far as Orense.



[Soult and Ney retire into Castile.—Defeat of Blake.—Operations in Estremadura.]

Scarcely had this success been achieved, when sir Arthur Wellesley received intelligence that Victor had broken up from the Guadiana, and made himself master of Alcantara. He immediately marched to the southward: but Victor, whose only object was to effect a diversion in favour of Soult, retreated as soon as he heard that the British and Portuguese had recrossed the Douro, and retiring by the way he advanced, concentrated his army between the Tagus and the Guadiana, in the vicinity of Caceres.

While Soult, with his fugitive army, was entering Galicia, Ney was returning from the Asturias, whither he had marched in pursuit of Romana, while Kellermann entered that province on the side of Biscay, and Bonnet on that of Leon. Romana, confined by illness at Oviedo, was nearly surprised, and had scarcely time to reach Gijon with his staff, where he embarked, and put to sea. The Asturian troops, under Ballasteros and Worster, compelled Bonnet and Kellermann to evacuate the province, and Ney then found it necessary to march to his former station. It was concerted that he should retake Vigo, and then join Soult at Orense, for the purpose of destroying Romana's army. Taking with him 8000 infantry and 2500 horse, he marched upon Santiago, and on the 7th of June encountered a Spanish force at St. Payo, on the small river Sotomayor, about three leagues from Vigo. The Spaniards, commanded by Carrara, Murillo, and the conde de Noronha, repeatedly attacked the French, and drove them back upon Santiago with severe loss. They derived considerable assistance from captain Mackinley and other naval officers at Vigo. After this reverse, the French general prepared to retreat into Castile; he evacuated Corunna and Ferrol, having demolished the land defences, destroyed the magazines, spiked the guns, and disarmed the people. While Ney retired into Leon, through Lugo, Villa Franca, and Astorga, Soult marched to Zamora; and thus Galicia was evacuated by the French.

In Arragon, the arms of the patriots sustained a lamentable reverse. After a fruitless attempt to recover Zaragoza, general Blake was attacked near Belchite by Suchet, on the 19th of June, when the whole Spanish army, though opposed by only one-third of their numbers, suddenly took flight, and left their commander, attended by only six or seven officers. The regiment of Valencia rallied about a league from the field, but it was cut down and dispersed by the pursuing cavalry. Nine pieces of cannon, with great quantities of stores and ammunition, and 3000 prisoners, fell into the hands of the French. Mortified by this disaster, Blake quitted Arragon, and proceeded to direct the operations of the patriots in Catalonia.

Great hopes were founded on the co-operation of the main British army with the Spaniards in Estremadura against the French. The head-quarters of Victor, on returning from his movement in favour of Soult, were at Truxillo: Cuesta was on his left flank, having his head-quarters at Fuente del Maestro, and his advance at Calmonte, on the Guadiana, a league from Merida. Sir Arthur Wellesley formed a plan for cutting off the enemy's retreat by a movement through Castello Branco and Placentia to the bridge of Almarez; but he was obliged to relinquish it through the obstinacy and incapacity of Cuesta, whose army was distributed with so little judgment as to offer

[Junction of the British and Spaniards.—Battle of Talavera.]

an easy victory to the enemy. Victor, apprehensive of danger from the British, broke up in the beginning of June, and retreated across the Tagus at Almaraz. It was then arranged that sir Arthur Wellesley should advance with his army to Placentia. On its concentration there, it amounted to 20,000 men. The force in La Mancha at this time consisted of 16,000 foot and 1300 horse. Cuesta had with him about 38,000 men, well armed, but ill-disciplined; and with this force the British army effected a junction on the 20th of July at Oropesa. They marched up the Tagus towards Olalla, the head-quarters of the enemy, whose force, consisting of the united corps of Victor and Sebastiani, strengthened by a body of troops brought from Madrid by Joseph Bonaparte, was estimated at 47,000 men. On the 26th, Cuesta's advance guard was attacked near Torijos, and obliged to fall back on the left bank of the Alberche. The French, retaining their post at Olalla, indicated an intention to give battle, and the allies in consequence occupied a position near Talavera de la Reyna. This position extended rather more than two miles: the British, who were on the left, occupied a tract of open ground, commanded by a height, on which was stationed a division of infantry under major-general Hill. The right wing, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of Talavera down to the Tagus. In the centre between the allied armies was a commanding spot of ground, on which were posted a division of infantry under brigadier-general Campbell, and general Cotton's brigade of dragoons, with some Spanish cavalry in the rear.

In the afternoon of the 27th, the enemy crossed the Alberche and cannonaded the left of the British position, while their cavalry attacked the Spanish infantry, and attempted to win the town of Talavera: they were bravely resisted, and finally repulsed. At nine in the evening the action ceased, but Victor ordered a night attack to be made on the height occupied by general Hill, which he considered the key of the English position. Of this height the enemy gained a momentary possession, but the gallant general recovered it at the point of the bayonet. The attempt was renewed at midnight, and again failed. The armies rested on the field, but a desultory engagement was continued during the night. Whole battalions of the enemy ventured into the English line; some crying that they were Spaniards, and some that they were German deserters; the trick was soon discovered, and they met with a reception which caused them to repent their temerity. At day-break on the 28th, the French again attacked general Hill's position, and were repulsed; failing also in their other attempts, they rested about eleven, and, it is said, cooked their dinners on the field. Some refreshments were then served out to the British troops. At noon Victor ordered a general attack along the whole line, and directed his own three divisions against general Hill's position. They were driven back, and their retrograde movement exposed Sebastiani's right, which suffered severely. Their general at length rallied them, and some columns under Vilatte advanced to their support. General Anson's brigade, consisting of the 1st German light dragoons and the 23d dragoons, with general Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry, were ordered to charge them. In this charge the British suffered dreadfully, and the 23d were almost annihilated; but though they failed in breaking the enemy, they frustrated his plans, and

[British army reinforced.—Retires into Portugal.—Resignation of Cuesta.]

deterred him from any farther attempt against the hill. The attack upon the centre, which commenced at the same time, was gallantly resisted by general Campbell, supported by the Spaniards, who turned the flank of the assailants, while the English took their cannon. General Sherbrooke repelled the force opposed to him by a charge of bayonets from the whole division; but the brigade of guards advancing too far, exposed themselves to the fire of the hostile batteries and retiring columns. At this moment, when the fate of the battle appeared worse than doubtful, sir Arthur Wellesley secured the victory, by moving from the heights a battalion of the 48th, which, with the assistance of Cotton's brigade of cavalry, enabled the guards to retreat under cover. At the close of day the enemy were repulsed at all points, and effectually defeated.

On the morning after this victory, a light brigade, three thousand strong, and a troop of horse-artillery, arrived from Lisbon, but though the British army, after this reinforcement, found itself nearly as strong as before the battle, it was foiled in its hopes of farther success by the complicated misconduct of the supreme junta and of the Spanish general. The same want of provisions and means of transport, which had impeded its former operations still retarded its advance, at a time when a movement concerted with Venegas might have recovered the capital. On the 2d of August, intelligence was received that Soult, Ney, and Mortier, having united their forces, were advancing through Estremadura on the rear of the British, and that two hostile columns had already entered Placentia. General Cuesta then proposed to the British commander, that half of the army should march to the rear, to oppose the enemy, while the other half should remain at Talavera. Sir Arthur Wellesley replied, that he was ready either to stay or go with the whole British army, but that he could not separate it. General Cuesta then desired him to choose whether to go or stay. Sir Arthur preferred the former alternative, and left Cuesta at Talavera, under an engagement, that if compelled to quit that post, he should bring with him the wounded. On the 3d of August, the British army marched to Oropesa, and finding that a strong hostile force was interposed between that place and Almaraz, crossed the Tagus next day over the bridge of Arzobispo, and continued its route through Deleytosa to Badajoz. Cuesta, leaving half the sick and wounded at Talavera, proceeded likewise to Oropesa, and on the night of the 5th retired across the Tagus at Arzobispo. He shortly afterwards resigned the command. At this juncture, which may be considered as the close of the campaign, the marquis of Wellesley arrived at Cadiz to supersede Mr. Frere, as ambassador to the Spanish government. His great talents were exercised in enforcing the necessity of a more efficient administration, a wiser application of the public resources, and a reform of the whole military system.

The subsequent operations of the patriots during this year may be briefly noticed. Venegas, at the head of the army of La Mancha, being defeated near Toledo by Sebastiani, was superseded in the command by the marquis of Areizaga, who having collected about fifty thousand men, advanced upon Madrid, and on the 19th November was beaten at Ocana. The French soon afterwards reduced Cordova and Seville, and thus laid open the road to Cadiz. In old Castile,



[The French harassed by the Guerrillas.—Convoy intercepted by admiral Martin.]

the duke del Parque, at the head of thirty thousand men, after repulsing the French at Alba de Tormes, retreated to the mountains of Faenza, on the borders of Galicia. In Catalonia, Blake was unable to make head against the French army under Augereau, to whom Gerona, after a long and heroic defence, capitulated on the 10th of December. Thus at the close of 1809, the principal fortresses of Spain had fallen into the hands of the enemy, her numerous armies had been dispersed, while the forces of her ally were constrained to act on the defensive.

In maintaining the fortresses however, the French found themselves exposed to an incessant and destructive warfare against their convoys, detachments, and outposts. In Catalonia they were so harassed by this *guerrilla* system that they had found it extremely difficult to victual their garrison in Barcelona. About the middle of October they made an attempt to introduce supplies by sea. Lord Collingwood, having obtained intelligence of their design, sailed from Minorca, and took his station off Cape St. Sebastian, on the coast of Catalonia. On the 23d the hostile squadron, consisting of three ships of the line, two frigates, two armed store-ships, and a convoy of sixteen sail, came in sight. Rear-admiral Martin was ordered to give chase: he fell in with the ships of war off the entrance of the Rhone, but as the wind blew directly on shore, they eluded him. On the following day he drove two of them, one of eighty and the other of seventy-four guns, on shore off Frontignan, where they were burnt by their own crews: the other ship of the line and one frigate ran on shore at the entrance of the port of Cette. The second frigate hauled her wind during the night and escaped to Marseilles. Two brigs, two bombards, and a ketch, were burnt by the Pomona, while admiral Martin was in chase. The other vessels made for the bay of Rosas, and took shelter under the batteries. Here they were attacked on the 30th by the boats of the squadron under the orders of captain Hallo ell; and though bravely defended, and protected by a constant fire from the forts, the whole were captured, or destroyed. This success was of considerable importance, as it demonstrated the effective aid which might be derived from the British navy in the defence of the peninsula.

## CHAPTER LXXXII.

Austria declares war against France.—Bonaparte enters Germany.—Advances to Vienna.—Movements of the archduke Charles.—Battle of Aspern.—Insurrection in the north of Germany.—Operations in Italy.—Insurrection in the Tyrol.—Hostilities renewed on the Danube.—Battle of Wagram.—Armistice.—Daring march of the duke of Brunswick Oels through Saxony.—Expedition to Walcheren.—Treaty of peace between Austria and France.—Fate of the Tyrolese.—Imprisonment of the pope, and annexation of Rome to the French empire.—Divorce between Bonaparte and Josephine.—Revolution in Sweden.—War between Russia and Turkey.—Discussions with America.—Recall of Mr. Erskine.—Partial change of administration.—Jubilee.—Restoration of the Ionian republic.

THE emperor of Austria declared war against France on the 8th of April, and shortly afterwards issued a manifesto, detailing the provocations which he had received, the sacrifices which he had made, and the motives of self-defence, which, combined with a due regard to the welfare of other powers, guided his conduct in this appeal to arms. At the commencement of hostilities, the Austrian forces were computed at nearly 400,000 men. They were divided into nine corps, of which the first six were under the immediate orders of the archduke Charles, and were respectively commanded by Bellegarde, Collovrath, the prince of Hohenzollern, baron Rosenberg, the archduke Louis, and general Hiller. The seventh corps, under the archduke Ferdinand, was sent into Poland; and the eighth and ninth, commanded by Chastellar and Giulay, were stationed in Italy, under the archduke John. There were also two corps of reserve, one of 20,000 men, commanded by prince John of Lichtenstein, the other of 10,000, under the orders of general Kienmayer, and troops to the number of 25,000, acting in small parties in the Tyrol, in Croatia, and on the confines of Bohemia. In addition to these, there was a kind of militia, called the landwehr, in the Austrian kingdoms and provinces.

The French had a corps under Davoust, at Ratisbon; another under Massena, at Ulm; and a third, under Oudinot, at Augsburg: the head-quarters were at Strasburg. Of their auxiliaries there were three divisions of Bavarians, the first under Lefebvre, at Munich; the second under De Roy, at Landshut; and the third under Wrede, at Straubing. A division of Wirtembergers was posted at Hydenheim; the Saxon troops were encamped near Dresden, and the Polish corps was posted near Warsaw, under the orders of prince Poniatowski.

The main Austrian army passed the Inn on the 9th of April, and on the 10th crossed the Iser at Munich, having driven the French before them through Landshut. Other corps, advancing from Bohemia, expelled the French garrison left by Davoust in Ratisbon, and secured that important passage of the Danube. The archduke Charles extended his line from the Iser, at Landshut, to the Danube, at Neustadt, a distance of twenty-eight English miles. There was a body of reserve at Eckmuhl, near Abensberg.

Intelligence having reached Paris by telegraph, late in the evening of the 12th of April, that the Austrians had passed the Inn, Bona-

[Bonaparte advances to Vienna.—Battles of Eckmühl and Essling.]

parte quitted that capital early on the following morning, and arrived on the 16th at Dillingen, where he promised the old elector of Bavaria, that he would restore him to his capital in fifteen days. On the 17th, he established his head-quarters at Donauwerth, and soon afterwards, the different corps of the French began to unite in conformity with his plan of operations, which was to manœuvre on the extended line of the Austrians, and interpose between the forces of the archduke Charles, and the corps commanded by his brothers. On the 20th, he defeated the archduke Louis and general Hiller, at Abensberg; and on the 22d, the archduke Charles, at Eckmühl, capturing, according to his own account, 40,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon. The archduke Charles, anxious to form a junction with general Bellegarde, crossed the Danube at Ratisbon, leaving a garrison in that town, which was speedily overpowered by the French. He despatched a strong reinforcement under general Hiller, to the Inn, expecting to rejoin him and the other corps for the protection of the capital; but this precaution was anticipated by the rapid movements of the enemy. Bonaparte appeared before Vienna on the 10th of May, and having dislodged the Austrians from the neighbouring islands of the Danube, took possession of the city; but not until the regular troops had retired by the bridge of Tabor, to which they set fire. The emperor Francis went to Znaim in Moravia.

The archduke Charles having reinforced his army to the number of 75,000 men, moved down the left bank of the Danube, and on the 16th of May, fixed his head-quarters at Ebersdorf. His outposts extended on the right as far as Krews, while lower down the river, some of his battalions occupied Presburg. Bonaparte, resolving to attack him, moved his army down the south bank of the Danube to the distance of six miles from Vienna, and crossed the river at the isle of Lobau, and a neighbouring islet. Extending his troops on the right bank, he fixed his right wing at Essling, and his left at Aspern. The archduke Charles having retreated as the enemy advanced, halted on a favourable position, and prepared for a general attack of the French. On the 21st and 22d of May, was fought the obstinate and sanguinary battle of Aspern, as the Austrians named it, or of Essling, as it was called by the French, each distinguishing it by the point on which they were successful. The victory was claimed by the Austrians, who, however, suffered so severely, that the French were enabled to effect their retreat in good order, from the left bank of the Danube to the isle of Lobau, where they threw up strong fortifications, and awaited the numerous reinforcements, which were rapidly advancing. The archduke Charles recruited his army by new levies, as well as by troops drawn from the garrisons in Moravia and Bohemia, while he strengthened his former position by new works and entrenchments. Both parties were occupied for six weeks in preparations for the renewal of hostilities.

Meanwhile a formidable expedition was undertaken in England, for the purpose of creating a diversion in favour of Austria. Its expected destination was the north of Germany, where the people were impatient to free themselves from the execrable tyranny of the French. Colonel Schill, a Prussian officer, who had distinguished himself in the campaign of 1806, reared the standard of independence, and was



[Insurrection in the north of Germany and in the Tyrol.—Operations in Italy.]

soon joined by considerable numbers, at whose head he traversed Saxony, Hesse, and Hanover, reached Lunenburg, and there hoisted the colours of Great Britain. So great was the alarm which he excited, that Bonaparte ordered 60,000 troops to march against him from different quarters; and Jerome proclaiming him an outlaw, set a price upon his head. Being closely pursued by a superior force, he took refuge in Stralsund, where he died fighting; and several of his adherents, after capitulating, were put to death. Another opportunity offered itself to Great Britain, in the same quarter; and that was also lost. The duke of Brunswick Oels had made a convention with Austria, to raise a small corps at his own expense, as a prince of the empire, and to co-operate with her as an acknowledged ally. Unforeseen obstacles prevented him from taking the field, until the day when Vienna capitulated, and he had scarcely commenced operations, when Schill was cut off. Frustrated in his views by the weakness and incapacity of the Austrian general Am Ende, he united himself with general Kienmayer, and obtained various successes over the French in Franconia. They compelled Jerome Bonaparte to retreat from Schleitz, towards Erfurt, and made themselves masters of the provinces of the Upper Mayn and the middle Elbe.

After the great battle on the Danube, the archduke John was recalled from Italy, where he had commenced the campaign successfully, by occupying Padua and Vicenza. He was closely pursued by Eugene Beauharnois, who defeated him at Raab, and took from him 3000 prisoners. He then retired through Comorn, upon Presburg, and Beauharnois with his Italian army, hastened to join Bonaparte. To favour the operations of the Austrians in Italy, it was thought proper that the British army in Sicily should undertake an expedition against Naples. Sir John Stuart, with 15,000 English troops, appeared off the coast of Calabria, on the 13th of June, when the enemy abandoned a line of posts on the shore, which were seized and dismantled by a detachment under lieutenant-colonel Smith. On the 24th, the advanced division of the fleet anchored off Cape Miseno; in the following week the garrisons of Ischia and Procida surrendered, and this success occasioned the capture of 40 gun boats, on their passage from Gaeta to Naples. That capital being now in a formidable state of defence, the commander did not risk a descent, but returned with the fleet and army to Sicily. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the castle of Scylla, which was afterwards abandoned and blown up by the enemy. The result of this diversion was, the sudden recall of troops, which had been detached to the army of Upper Italy, and into the Roman states.

There was a country much nearer the great scene of conflict, where the presence of a British army, at this crisis, might have been of the highest importance. On the 10th of April, the day when the archduke Charles entered Bavaria, there was a general insurrection of the Tyrolese, headed by their heroic countryman, Andrew Hofer. A preconcerted signal was given, by means of saw-dust thrown into the Inn, on the appearance of which, the alarm-bells were rung, and the people along the banks of that river and in the remoter valleys, formed themselves into corps, and fell upon the French and Bavarians, of whom 27,000 are said to have been either killed or taken. Indignant at the

[Hostilities renewed on the Danube.—Battle of Wagram.]

success of the Tyrolese, who were aided by the Austrians under the marquis of Chastellar, Bonaparte denounced this general as an insurgent, liable, if taken, to be tried by a military commission, and shot within twenty-four hours. The emperor Francis proclaimed generals Durosnel and Foulers, taken at Aspern, to be hostages for Chastellar's safety, upon which, Bonaparte seized prince Metternich, count Perget, and count Hardick, and sent them to France, to be answerable for the fate of those captive generals. After his successes at Eckmuhl and Ratisbon, he sent Lefebvre, and the Bavarian generals Wrede, Deroy, and Siegben, into the Tyrol, with 24,000 men: some smaller detachments, poured in from other quarters, were attacked and beaten as they arrived. Lefebvre relieved the strong fortress of Kuffstein, which the patriots had blockaded; and his army, for some time, bore down all opposition. He invited the Tyrolese to confide in the clemency of his master, declaring, that all communes which did not submit in eight days, should be treated with military rigour. He executed these threats with murderous and diabolical atrocity, subjecting his victims of either sex and of every age, to fire, sword, torture, and mutilation. His infamous cruelties, instead of appalling, enraged the Tyrolese, and they made such a determined retaliation, that when he was recalled to the Danube, after the battle of Aspern, he fled rather than retreated with the relics of his army. The Tyrol then became an asylum for all the Austrian prisoners who could effect their escape; and the brave mountaineers, thus reinforced, carried on an excursive warfare in the neighbouring districts of Bavaria.

In the beginning of July the great armies opposed to each other on the Danube prepared for another tremendous conflict. The archduke Charles imagining that it would take place on the same ground as the former, had thrown up lines, of which the left was protected by Entzendorf, and the right by Aspern; they were covered by redoubts, surrounded by palisades, and defended by 150 pieces of cannon. He was confirmed in this opinion by the stratagems and demonstrations of the enemy until the evening of the 4th, when perceiving that his left wing was in danger of being surrounded, he sent orders to the archduke John to join at Marchegg with his corps for its support. These orders were delivered on the morning of the 5th, under the expectation that the battle would commence on the 6th; but the general was a day too late in his calculation. On the night of the 4th the French sent over detachments in boats to occupy the attention of the enemy, and to secure positions for the passage of the army by the means which they had prepared. One bridge eighty toises long, of a single piece, was fixed in five minutes; a bridge of boats was completed in an hour and a half, and one of rafts in two hours. A dark and rainy night favoured the sudden and secret movements of the troops; and at daybreak the archduke Charles was astonished to find that Bonaparte had arranged his whole army in order of battle at the extremity of his left wing. By six o'clock all his fortifications between Essling and Entzendorf were taken, and almost the whole of the garrisons killed or wounded. The archduke then endeavoured to flank the right of the French, while they on the other hand attempted to break the Austrian centre near Wagram. In the evening they had nearly gained that village, when a column of Saxons and

[Armistice.—Duke of Brunswick marches through Saxony.]

another of French, mistaking each other, were thrown into confusion, which enabled the Austrians to recover the post. On the following day Bonaparte perceiving that the archduke had weakened his centre to extend his extremities, apprehended some stratagem, and for a while delayed to make those easy dispositions by which the plans of his rival might be disconcerted. On hearing that the Austrians were outflanking his left, and making their main attack upon the line between Aspern and Wagram, he ordered Macdonald to form two divisions in columns of attack. Lauriston preceded them with 100 pieces of artillery to within half gunshot of the Austrian centre, and then opened a tremendous fire, which silenced their guns and broke their ranks. Macdonald immediately charged, and the Austrians fell back. Their right wing, alarmed at this disaster, also retrograded, and was rapidly pursued by Massena. Their left was outflanked by Davoust, and from that moment the expected junction of the archduke John became unavailing. At four in the afternoon, when he arrived at Ober Siebenbrunn, the battle was decided. He took some prisoners in the enemy's rear, and retreated by the Marchfeld. In this battle the French, according to their own account took 20,000 prisoners, while their own loss was estimated at 1500 hundred killed and 4000 wounded. As early as ten in the morning the Austrians began to retreat; by twelve they were in disorder, and before sunset they were out of sight. The French pursued their successes until the 12th, when the emperor of Austria sent prince John of Lichtenstein to Bonaparte with proposals for an armistice, which were accepted. The Austrians agreed to evacuate several strong places, and consented to a line of demarcation, which secured great advantages to the French. They also agreed to withdraw their troops from the Tyrol and the Vorarlberg. Hostilities were to cease for a month, and to be renewed only after fifteen days' notice.

When the news of the armistice reached Saxony a report prevailed, that the English had landed in considerable force between the Elbe and the Weser. The gallant duke of Brunswick, for whom no alternative was now left but that of sinking into dependence on the Austrian court, or of seeking refuge in England, determined to fight his way to the sea. He commenced his march at the head of his small bank, at Schleitz, on the 21st of August, and though deserted by many of his officers, proceeded through a hostile country, defeating or outmanœuvring the forces sent against him, and reached the mouth of the Weser, where he and his brave followers embarked on board an English squadron, sent by lord George Stewart from Heligoland for their reception. This daring enterprise of the duke was regarded with wonder and admiration by his countrymen, who cited it as an example of what might have been done in the north of Germany, if the people could have raised the standard of independence under the protection of a British army.

The expedition which had been prepared in England, was on the point of sailing, when intelligence arrived of the armistice between the French and the Austrians. The land force amounted to nearly 40,000 men; and the naval force consisted of 35 sail of the line, 23 frigates, and 179 smaller vessels. The military command was assigned to the earl of Chatham, and the naval operations were entrusted



## [Expedition to Walcheren.—Capture of Flushing.]

to sir Richard Strachan. The former appointment excited considerable surprise, for lord Chatham's habits of indolence were such, that during the administration of his brother Mr. Pitt, it had been found necessary to remove him from the admiralty. The service on which the armament under his command was destined excited no less astonishment. Its objects were, the capture and destruction of the enemy's ships, either building at Antwerp and Flushing, or afloat in the Scheldt; the destruction of the arsenal and dock-yards at Terneuse and Flushing; the reduction of the island of Walcheren, and the obstruction, if possible, of the Scheldt, so as to render it no longer navigable for ships of war. The armament sailed on the 28th of July, and on the 1st of August lord Chatham, having established his headquarters at Middleburg, invested Flushing. A furious cannonade and bombardment commenced against the town on the 13th, from which, unhappily, the inhabitants and not the garrison, were the greatest sufferers. On the 15th, the French commander, Monnet, requested a suspension of arms, and shortly afterwards signed a capitulation, according to which the garrison, amounting to 5800 men, laid down their arms, and were removed to England as prisoners of war. The islands of Schouwen and Duiveland surrendered on the same day, and great hopes were entertained that the ulterior object of the expedition would be prosecuted. Lord Chatham still remained at Middleburg, and his indecision occasioned great perplexity among the military and naval officers in the division which had proceeded to Batz in South Beveland. On the 17th, sir Richard Keats wrote to the earl of Rosslyn, commanding in that district, that he was ready to co-operate with his lordship for the reduction of Antwerp. Lord Rosslyn replied that he had received no instructions whatever on the subject of ulterior operations, but that he had some reason to expect the commander-in-chief at Ter-goes on the next day, and would not fail to apprise sir Richard of his arrival. It was not until the 21st that lord Chatham left Middleburg, and proceeded to Ter-goes, a distance of about fourteen miles. He had a conference with sir John Hope at Schen on the 22d, but returned to Ter-goes in the evening. Next day he proceeded thirteen miles on his way to Batz; on the 24th he performed the remaining six miles, and established his headquarters at that place, eight days after the surrender of Flushing. Difficulties now presented themselves which might have embarrassed a more able and active commander. Bernadotte arrived to take the command at Antwerp, where such means of defence were prepared as would have proved insuperable to a hostile army. Dispositions were made for laying under water the country between that place and Bergen-op-Zoom as well as the low grounds about Lillo and Liefkenshoek, and for sinking vessels in a narrow part of the Scheldt, on both banks of which strong batteries were erected. It was now discovered that the river above Antwerp was navigable for large ships, so that the hostile fleet might be removed as soon as danger was apprehended. It was too late even to attempt the reduction of Lillo and Liefkenshoek: the supplies of South Beveland and the other islands in possession of our troops were exhausted; there remained scarcely a week's provision for the army, and only a month's provision for the navy. An epidemic fever was raging among the soldiers, of whom 3000 were

[Fever among the troops.—Treaty between France and Austria.]

already on the sick list. In these circumstances the commander, on the 27th of August, assembled a council of war, at which it was determined that the siege of Antwerp was impracticable, and that no advantage could result from any minor operations. Arrangements were made on the following day for the evacuation of South Beveland; about 17,000 men were destined to keep possession of Walcheren, and the rest of the troops were to be sent home as early as possible. On the 14th of September lord Chatham, having transferred the command to sir Eyre Coote, sailed for England, leaving 8000 men on the sick list. The fever, generated by the prevalence of marsh miasmata during the autumnal season, produced all the horrors and havoc of a pestilence; and its ravages were aggravated, through the want of accommodations, and especially of bedding, in an army intended for active operations, and therefore unencumbered with heavy baggage. This appalling calamity demanded the immediate evacuation of this ill-fated conquest; but the English ministry were deterred from immediately adopting that salutary measure by their alliance with Austria. While the emperor Francis was negotiating a peace with Bonaparte, he solicited Great Britain to continue her operations in Holland, as the quarter in which a diversion might be most efficaciously made in his favour. This request might have been dictated by Bonaparte himself, who could desire no other destination for the troops which might have so seasonably reinforced the British armies in Spain. Ministers hesitated whether to retain or abandon Walcheren; but they continued to strengthen its fortifications. Labourers were constantly employed in repairing the ramparts of Flushing; bricks and lime were sent out in large quantities from England; and about the end of October a hundred artificers arrived to go on with the works. The reasonable opinion, however, at length prevailed, and on the 13th of November orders were sent to general Don, who had succeeded sir Eyre Coote, to evacuate Flushing, and take effective measures for destroying the basin, and the naval defences of the island. Yet even in these orders a lingering hope was expressed that their execution might, through the course of events, be rendered unnecessary, and a similar feeling of indecision prevailed at Walcheren. On the 26th, when the work of destruction was begun on the parapet of the sea lines, six or seven hundred labourers continued the works between Ter Veer and Arnemuiden. In the basin of Flushing the piers of the flood-gates were blown up; the strong pilework on the east side was destroyed; that on the west was left, because its destruction would have endangered a part of the town. The arsenals and magazines in the dockyards were burnt, but the land fortifications were left in a much better state than when they were taken. The demolition and embarkation occupied a month, and on the 23d of December the island of Walcheren was completely evacuated by the British army.

The definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed at Vienna, on the 15th of October. The emperor Francis ceded to Bonaparte, Salzburg and Berchtoldsgaden, with part of Upper Austria along the Danube and Aller, to be allotted among the sovereigns of the Rhenish confederacy as he might think expedient; he also ceded to him those parts of the Austrian territory which touched

[Fate of the Tyrolese.—Death of Hofer.]

upon the Adriatic: to the king of Saxony, as duke of Warsaw, he ceded the whole of Western Galicia, with a district round Cracow, and the circle of Zamose in Eastern Galicia. To the emperor of Russia he ceded as much territory in the easternmost part of Galicia, as should contain 400,000 souls, the city of Brodi being included. He recognised all the alterations which had taken place or might subsequently take place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; he acceded to the prohibitory system against British commerce; engaged to break off all intercourse with Great Britain, and to place himself in the same situation with respect to her in which he stood before the war. Bonaparte engaged to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, who had taken part in the insurrection, so that they should not be persecuted in person or property; and the emperor of Austria engaged to pardon all persons in those parts of Galicia, which were to be restored to him. These were more favourable conditions than might have been expected for Austria; but it was said that the emperor procured them by consenting to give his daughter Maria Louisa in marriage to Bonaparte, who undertook to obtain a divorce from his wife Josephine. This act of humiliation could scarcely have been apprehended from the head of the house of Hapsburg, even after his abandonment of the Tyrolese.

At the time when the treaty was signed those brave patriots were pursuing their successes on all sides, and animating by their example the inhabitants of the adjoining countries. The king of Wirtemberg, alarmed at the insurrections spreading around him, removed the public chests from Stutgard to Strasburg; and the court of Bavaria, apprehensive of a surprise, hastily retired from Munich. Hofer, after defeating his enemies at Lofer, Lustenstein, and Abtenay, drove them from Hallein, and pushed forward his van into Styria, intending, on the renewal of hostilities to attack the French in their rear. The peace of Vienna frustrated all his hopes, and turned against him an immense superiority of numbers. Lefebvre again advanced to Innspruck, and two armies entered the Tyrol by different routes from Italy. Hofer, perceiving all farther resistance hopeless, apprized his countrymen that the emperor, for whom he had taken up arms, was at peace with France; and exhorting them to submit to their fate, resigned the command. He demanded from the hostile generals a cessation of hostilities, that the Tyrolese might return to their homes. At this time a wanton act of mischief committed by the Bavarians in burning the large village of Zirl, rekindled the fury of the people. They obtained another victory over their invaders; but they were soon afterwards surrounded, and made their last effort of despair at Brixen, where wives fought by the side of their husbands, daughters by their fathers, and sisters by their brothers: they were no longer able to act collectively, and were hunted down by the remorseless Lefebvre, who slaughtered all that had distinguished themselves in the war. Hofer lived in concealment, intending, according to circumstances, either to take up arms in the spring, or to retire into the Austrian dominions. He was betrayed by a priest named How Donay, who, for a bribe of 600 louis d'ors, guided the French to his hiding-place. Not daring to provoke the indignation of the Tyrolese, by sacrificing him in the country which he had so bravely defended, they conveyed him to



[Pope removed to Avignon.—Divorce of Josephine.—Revolution in Sweden.]

Mantua, where he was tried by a military tribunal, on the 24th February, 1810, and sentenced to be shot. He met his fate with firmness, rejoicing that he had done his duty; and his heroic death might excite some admiration even in his persecutors, who affected to detest the principles of freedom which they had been compelled to abjure.

The pacification at Vienna was followed by some changes in Italy, which the emperor Francis agreed in the treaty to recognise. On the 10th of June, the pope had excommunicated and anathematized Bonaparte, for having annexed the papal territories to his dominions. His holiness was in consequence removed to Avignon as a prisoner, stripped of his external dignity, excluded from communication with his cardinals, and deprived of the means of issuing bulls, or assembling a council. Bonaparte declared Rome the second city in the empire, and issued various decrees for improving the government of the ecclesiastical states, in which he abolished the inquisition, abrogated the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy, and annulled the right of asylum or sanctuary. His quarrel with the pope occasioned no delay in the act of policy which he was meditating; on the contrary, it relieved him from the necessity of requesting a sanction for that act, which he was well aware must have been refused. On the 15th of December he assembled the different members of his family, and the officers of state, to whom he set forth the necessity of dissolving his union with Josephine, and of providing by another marriage an heir to the throne. Josephine expressed her acquiescence, and the act of divorce was confirmed by the senate, who continued to her the imperial title, with an annual income of two millions of francs from the revenue of the state. Bonaparte either felt or affected the profoundest grief in putting away a wife who had adorned fifteen years of his career; he might feel some compunction in thus deliberately violating the religion which he professed; and fatalist as he was, he might forebode a change of fortune; but little did he suspect at this crisis that he had finished the last of his victorious campaigns.

It may now be expedient to notice some political events not immediately connected with the great contest which engaged the attention of all Europe. In Sweden, the zealous hostility of the king to the continental confederacy formed by Bonaparte, hurried him into acts so inimical to the welfare of his subjects, as to excite doubts respecting the soundness of his mind. The discontents which pervaded the kingdom were aggravated by physical evils: a pestilential disorder raged among the people; the last crop had failed; the fisheries proved unproductive, and apprehensions were entertained of a famine, against which no resource existed since the loss of Finland and Pomerania. In the beginning of March, an insurrection broke out among the troops on the frontier of Norway; and an extensive conspiracy was formed among the nobles of the capital, at the head of whom was the king's uncle, the duke of Sudermania. To gain time for maturing their plot, they persuaded the king that the mutiny had been suppressed; but on discovering that he had been deceived, he determined to march in person at the head of his guards against the insurgents. On the morning of the 13th, as he was descending the grand stair-case of his palace, a party of the conspirators, among whom was general Adlercreutz, advanced to meet him, as if in compliment. When they

[Deposition of the king.—War between Russia and Turkey.]

had all taken their preconcerted stations, Adlercreutz told him, that as all other means had failed to make him adopt measures consistent with the exigencies of the times, recourse must be had to restraint. "What do you mean?" said Gustavus, coolly; "am I arrested?" They all answered "Yes." He then drew his sword, and attempted to run Adlercreutz through the body; but the conspirators closed in, and overpowered him. He was sent as a prisoner to the palace of Drottningholm, on an island about a Swedish mile to the westward of Stockholm. On the same day, the duke of Sudermania assumed the administration of the kingdom, as the nearest and only branch of the royal family who was of proper age, and issued a proclamation, declaring the incapacity of the deposed monarch. The diet having assembled in May, elected him king, under the title of Charles XIII.; an act of abdication, signed by Gustavus, was produced; and it was declared, that having forfeited the crown, he and his issue born and not born were for ever excluded from the throne and government of Sweden. A new constitution was framed, by which the ancient rights of the different states of the kingdom were restored. The new king, being without children, and far advanced in years, adopted as his heir Christian Augustus, prince of Augustenberg. In the foreign relations of Sweden, one of the first consequences of this revolution was a treaty of peace with Russia, concluded on the 17th of September, by which Finland, with its neighbouring islands, and part of West Bothnia, as far as the river Tornea, were ceded to that power in perpetuity. The king of Sweden avowing his desire to renew the most intimate relations with the allies of Russia, promised to adhere to the continental system, and engaged to close the ports of his kingdom against Great Britain; reserving, however, the importation of salt and colonial produce, which habit had rendered necessary to the Swedes. The treaty with Denmark was signed on the 10th of December, but the negotiations with France were protracted until the ensuing year. The delay was of little consequence, as Sweden had already conceded, in her treaty with Russia, all that France could require. Toward the end of December, Gustavus, with his family, was liberated from confinement, and, assuming the title of count Gottorp, took up his residence in Switzerland.

In the policy of the court of St. Petersburg, French influence was more than ever predominant. Alexander, for whose quarrel England engaged in war with Turkey, made war himself against that power, for consenting to a peace with England. The congress, which had been assembled at Yassi, was suspended, and the Russian troops, retaining possession of Wallachia and Moldavia, invaded Bulgaria under the command of prince Bagration; they obtained several advantages, and laid siege to Silistria, but after two sanguinary engagements with a force commanded by the grand vizier, they found it necessary, in the latter end of October, to recross the Danube. Both parties were too exhausted for any operations of importance during the winter.

The disputes between Great Britain and America were continued, notwithstanding the steps taken on both sides towards an amicable adjustment. On the election of Mr. Madison to succeed Mr. Jefferson as president, the embargo act was found to have produced such ruin and distress, that its repeal was deemed necessary, and a law was

[Negotiations between Great Britain and the United States.—Recall of Mr. Erskine.]

substituted, called the non-intercourse bill, which restricted the former prohibitions to the two belligerents and their dependencies. The government of Great Britain evinced their readiness to accommodate all differences, as far as could be done without conceding her rights, by modifying the orders in council so as to permit neutral vessels to trade with any part of Europe, except France, Holland, and those territories in Italy which were under the control of France. They instructed their envoy, Mr. David Erskine, to make this proposal under certain preliminary conditions: first, that the American government should withdraw the proclamation of July, 1807, by which our ships of war were interdicted from the American harbours, while those of France were allowed a free resort there; second, that America must give up the pretension of carrying on any trade with the enemy's colonies, from which she was excluded during peace; and third, that Great Britain must be allowed to capture all American vessels which should be found trading with the enemy in defiance of the American interdict. These instructions were peremptory, and left him no other discretion than that of complying with the wishes of the American government, if such wishes should be expressed, by anticipating the operation of the treaty, and engaging that his majesty would withdraw the orders of council on receiving an official note, in which the American government should formally engage to adopt the three conditions. In his correspondence he waived these preliminaries, and announced that Great Britain would send an envoy extraordinary with full powers to conclude a treaty. The American secretary, judging that all was substantially conceded, informed him, that such envoy would be received by the president, with a disposition correspondent to that of his Britannic majesty, and that in case the orders of council were withdrawn, a proclamation should be issued for opening the trade with Great Britain. On the next day, April 19th, Mr. Erskine declared himself authorized to assert, that the orders of council, as they respected America, would be withdrawn on the 10th of June following, and received in return an official declaration that the president would on the same day issue a proclamation for renewing the trade. The American government immediately published the whole correspondence. On the receipt of Mr. Erskine's despatches, ministers declared that his conduct was not only unauthorized by his instructions, but in direct contradiction to them. He was in consequence recalled, and Mr. Jackson was appointed to succeed him. Care was taken that the Americans should sustain no injury from the confidence which they placed in the unratified arrangement; and the orders of council were suspended in favour of all American ships which should have sailed for Holland between the 19th of April, and the 20th of July, by which time intelligence that the act of Mr. Erskine had been disavowed might reach the United States. The Americans declared, that in consequence of this disavowal, their prohibitory laws were again in force; and the discussions which ensued between their secretary and Mr. Jackson took so unfavourable a turn, that the latter, in consequence of a notification that no further communications would be received from him, retired from Washington to New York.

The close of this disastrous year was marked by a partial change in the English ministry. A political misunderstanding having arisen



[Partial change of administration.—Jubilee.—Ionian republic restored.]

between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, which unhappily terminated in a duel, they both resigned their offices, and a further vacancy soon after ensued in the cabinet on the retirement of the duke of Portland. Lord Liverpool, the only remaining secretary of state, performed the business of the other two departments, and conjointly with Mr. Perceval was instructed to communicate with earl Grey and Lord Grenville, for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration. Their overtures being rejected, the marquis of Wellesley was recalled from Cadiz, to succeed Mr. Canning as secretary for foreign affairs; lord Liverpool relinquished his post as home secretary to Mr. Ryder, and undertook the war department; lord Palmerstone became secretary at war; and Mr. Perceval united the office of first lord of the treasury with that of chancellor of the exchequer. By these changes it was calculated that government gained rather than lost, since the members who retired could not coalesce with the opposition, and the accession of the marquis of Wellesley raised them considerably in the public estimation.

Grieved, though not utterly dispirited by the gloomy aspect of affairs abroad, and sick of official dissensions and cabals, the people of Great Britain heartily concurred in a public testimony of affection to their venerable monarch, who on the 25th of October commenced the fiftieth year of his reign. The day was celebrated as a jubilee, with thanksgivings, feasts, illuminations, and the liberation of captives imprisoned for debt. These loyal demonstrations were mingled with a deep sympathy for the king, now labouring under the infirmities of age, and afflicted with almost total blindness, yet engaged in war against a power which had shaken every throne in Europe but his own. The general wish was, that a more efficient administration might aid his majesty in sustaining the burthen and cares of government.

In the Mediterranean an expedition, consisting of a squadron from lord Collingwood's fleet, with a detachment from the army in Sicily under brigadier-general Oswald, took the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo. After this capture, the republic of the Ionian islands was restored.

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Meeting of parliament.—Inquiry into the Walcheren expedition.—Resignation of the earl of Chatham.—Exclusion of strangers during the inquiry.—Imprisonment of Gale Jones and sir F. Burdett.—Budget.—Catholic question.—Measures for procuring a general abolition of the slave trade.—Affair of captain Warwick Lake.—Instance of official delinquency.—Motion of earl Grey on the state of the nation.—Successes in the West Indies and the Adriatic.—Disturbances at Madras.—Conquest of the Spice Islands.—Of the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius.—Marriage of Bonaparte with an Austrian princess.—Holland united to France.—Other annexations.—Death of the prince royal of Sweden, and election of Bernadotte as heir to the crown.—Successes of the Russians against the Turks.—Progress of the French in the south of Spain.—Siege of Cadiz.—Attempt to rescue Ferdinand.—Events in the east of Spain—in the south.—Campaign on the Portuguese frontier.—Fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.—Lord Wellington's retreat.—Battle of Busaco.—Position of the allies at Torres Vedras, and of the French at Santarem.—Proceedings of the Cortes at Cadiz.—New regency appointed.—Guerrillas.—Affairs of the Spanish colonies.—Differences still subsisting between Great Britain and the United States.

AT the meeting of parliament on the 22d of January, the principal topic of the speech delivered by his majesty's commissioners, was the late expedition to the Scheldt. In the first week of the session, lord Porchester moved for an inquiry into the policy and conduct of that expedition, by a committee of the whole house, and the motion was carried against ministers, by a majority of 195 to 186. An address to the king was afterwards voted, for copies of instructions to the commanders, and for other papers; and a secret committee was appointed to examine such confidential communications on the subject as were of a nature improper to be made public. When these documents were laid before parliament, there was found among them a copy of the earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings, dated the 15th of October, 1809, but presented to the king on the 14th of February, 1810. The tenor of the narrative was to impute blame to the naval part of the expedition, and it excited strong animadversions from the members in opposition. In a subsequent examination before the committee, lord Chatham was asked if this was the only memorial on the expedition which he had presented to the king; but he declined any answer to the question. On the following day, (Feb. 23,) an address was voted to his majesty, on the motion of Mr. Whitbread, requesting that there might be laid before the house, copies of all papers concerning the expedition submitted to him at any time by the earl of Chatham. In the answer to the address, it was intimated, that his majesty had received the report on the 15th of January, and had kept it until the 10th of February, when, in consequence of the earl's wish to make some alterations, it had been returned to him. The report, as altered, was again tendered on the 14th, when his majesty directed it to be delivered to his secretary of state: he had kept no copy of it, nor had any other paper relative to the expedition been submitted to him by the earl of Chatham. Being again examined, the earl could not take upon himself to recollect the passage

[Resignation of lord Chatham.—Exclusion of strangers.—Budget.]

requiring alteration, or to state its substance. On the 2d of March, Mr. Whitbread moved two resolutions; the first, stating the facts of the case, and the second, censuring the earl's conduct, as an abuse of his privilege of access to the sovereign, which afforded an example most pernicious in its tendency to his majesty's service, and to the general service of the state. The previous question being moved, was rejected by 221 against 188. The first resolution being then carried Mr. Whitbread assented to an amendment of the second, proposed by Mr. Canning. The next measure would have been an address, praying his majesty to remove lord Chatham from his councils; but this the earl prevented, by resigning his office of master-general of the ordnance. On the 26th, the resolutions moved by lord Porchester, condemning the policy and conduct of the expedition, were negatived, after four nights' debate; and the amendments moved by general Crawford, approving the grounds on which ministers undertook the expedition, and their motives for delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, were carried.

In the course of these debates, the public attention was diverted from the main question by a series of occurrences wholly unexpected. On the day preceding the inquiry, Mr. Yorke gave notice that he should move the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers. When that measure had been carried into effect, Mr. Sheridan moved that a committee of privileges should be appointed to consider the standing order: his motion was negatived, and in the debate on this question, Mr. Windham made some strictures on the practice of reporting debates in the newspapers. His conduct and that of Mr. Yorke, became the subject of much conversation among the people. On the 21st of February, John Gale Jones, the manager of a debating society, was committed to Newgate for having published a placard, which the house of commons pronounced to be a gross breach of its privileges. On the 12th of March, sir Francis Burdett made a motion for the discharge of Jones, which was negatived. He printed the argument used by him on this occasion, in Cobbett's weekly Register, and introduced it by a letter to his constituents, denying the power of the house of commons to imprison the people of England. He was committed to the Tower on the 9th of April, by virtue of a warrant issued by the speaker, and was confined there until the rising of parliament.

The supplies voted for the year were 52,185,000*l.* of which the Irish proportion was 6,106,000*l.* leaving for Great Britain 46,079,000*l.* Among the ways and means were the war-taxes, estimated at nineteen millions and a half, and a loan of eight millions at 4*l.* 4*s.* 3¼*d.* per cent., terms even more favourable than those of the preceding year. The annual charge to be provided for was 970,833*l.* It was proposed to meet this charge from the surplus of the consolidated fund, which, owing to the additions and regulations made in the stamp duties, in 1808, was unexpectedly great. The foreign subsidies were 400,000*l.* for Sicily, and 980,000*l.* for Portugal; and a vote of credit was passed for three millions. Mr. Perceval expressed his satisfaction in the growing prosperity of the finances. He observed that the official value of the imports was nearly five millions more than in the most prosperous year of peace; that the exports of our manufactures



[Catholic petitions rejected.—Slave trade.—Affair of captain Lake.]

exceeded in amount those of 1802, by eight millions; and that though there was a diminution of nearly four millions in the exports of foreign goods, yet the average was highly favourable to the country. He added, that the orders of council had already reduced the receipts of the customs in France from two and a half millions to half a million, being a diminution of four-fifths of their whole amount.

The petitions from the catholics, presented by Mr. Grattan to the commons, and by the earl of Donoughmore to the lords, gave rise to a protracted discussion; but were rejected in both houses by considerable majorities. Several measures of reform, proposed by members in opposition, experienced a similar fate. A bill, introduced by Mr. Bankes for rendering perpetual the act preventing the grant of offices in reversion, was rejected by the lords. Mr. Brand's motion for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in parliament, and into the means of rendering it complete, was negatived by a great majority. Various alterations were proposed by sir Samuel Romilly in the criminal code; and it was unanimously resolved, that the subject of his motion respecting penitentiary houses should be taken into consideration in the next session.

On the subject of the slave-trade, addresses were voted in both houses, on the motion of lord Holland and Mr. Brougham, beseeching his majesty to persevere in his endeavours to induce foreign nations to co-operate in the abolition of that detestable traffic. Mr. Brougham, with great ability and eloquence, exposed the practices of certain persons even in this country, who carried on that traffic in a clandestine and fraudulent manner; and a resolution proposed by him was unanimously adopted, for taking into consideration early in the next session such measures as might tend to prevent those daring violations of the law.

Among the miscellaneous affairs brought before parliament, there was one which strongly excited the public indignation. From a communication made to Mr. Bragge Bathurst, and by him imparted to the house of commons, it appeared that captain Warwick Lake, when commander of the *Recruit*, had thought fit to punish a seaman, named Jeffries, accused of theft, by placing him on the uninhabited island of Sombrero. An inquiry was instituted by the lords of the admiralty; and captain Lake, being tried by a court martial, was sentenced to be dismissed from his majesty's service. By accounts received from America, it was found that Jeffries, after remaining nine days on the island, had been rescued from a lingering death by a vessel belonging to the United States.

A flagrant instance of public delinquency was disclosed in the twelfth report of the commissioners of military inquiry, from which it appeared that Joseph Hunt, esq. M. P. and late treasurer of the board of ordnance, had been guilty of a violation of the act of the 46th of his majesty, for regulating the office of treasurer of the ordnance, and of misapplying certain sums of public money, whilst he held that office. On the motion of Mr. Calcraft, it was unanimously resolved, that for those offences Mr. Hunt should be expelled from the house of commons. The defaulter, on the plea of ill health, had emigrated to Lisbon.

Towards the close of the session an elaborate speech on the state

[Successes of the British in the East and West Indies.]

of the nation was made in the house of lords by earl Grey, who proposed a series of resolutions in the form of an address to his majesty, tending to recommend a system of policy essentially different from that of the existing administration. After a reply from the earl of Liverpool, the address was rejected by 134 votes against 72. On the 21st of June, parliament was prorogued.

The British arms were crowned with new triumphs over the colonies and insular possessions of the enemy. In the West Indies Guadaloupe surrendered on the 5th of February, to a combined force under sir George Beckwith and admiral sir Alexander Cochrane; and this conquest was followed by the reduction of the isles of St. Martin and St. Eustatius. In the Mediterranean, a force under brigadier-general Oswald, aided by the *Magnificent*, ship of war, commanded by captain Eyre, attacked the Ionian island of Santa Maura, carried the fortress by storm, and made prisoners the French garrison, consisting of 700 men.

In India preparations were made for reducing all the establishments of the French to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; but they were for some time retarded by disturbances of an alarming nature at Madras, occasioned by certain reforms introduced into the military system. Of the progress and termination of those disturbances a detail cannot here be attempted; they were in a great measure suppressed on the arrival of lord Minto, as governor-general, who adopted timely precautions for the complete restoration of tranquillity. On the 17th of February, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with its dependent islands, surrendered to a squadron from Madras under captain Tucker; and Banda Neiva, the chief of the Spice Islands, was taken in August by captain Cole, by an exploit of uncommon gallantry and hardihood. Before the close of the year, the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, which had so long enabled the enemy to annoy our trade, were subdued by a combined force from Madras and the Cape of Good Hope; but the splendour of the conquest was somewhat dimmed by the previous loss of four frigates, the *Sirius*, *Magicienne*, *Nereide*, and *Iphigenia*. The French had not long to boast of this accidental advantage, for the expedition terminated in their total exclusion from the Indian seas.

In Europe, the late rivalry between France and Austria was strangely terminated by a marriage between Bonaparte and the archduchess Maria Louisa, a daughter of the emperor Francis. It took place in the month of March, and was celebrated at Paris with much pomp and festivity. This alliance was regarded in a moral view, as adulterous; in a political view, as most unwise. It could not fail to excite the suspicions of Russia, the apprehensions of the German confederacy, and the jealousy of Bavaria, while it tended to mortify the vain-glorious spirit of the great nation itself. So secure, however, did Bonaparte deem himself in the attachment of his soldiers, that he pursued without relaxation his former schemes of foreign and domestic policy. Their revolutionary ardour, which had won his early victories, might be chilled by the presence of another queen from the house of Austria; but he made them feel that they must either maintain and extend his conquests, or be conquered themselves. Soon after his marriage, he provoked his brother Louis to resume his station as a private citizen, and united Holland to France. He appro-

[Holland, &c. united to France.—Bernadotte crown-prince of Sweden.]

priated the Hanse-towns, and placed Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, among the number of cities, whose mayors were to be present at the oath of fealty, on the coronation of the French emperors. The Valais was united to France, and called the department of the Simplon. He annexed Hanover to the kingdom of Westphalia, governed by his brother Jerome. Part of the Tyrol, which had formerly been given to the king of Bavaria, was transferred to the kingdom of Italy, and called the department of the Upper Adige. The Roman states were divided into two departments of the same kingdom, and called Rome and Thrasimene. In all the territories under the sway of France, the conscription law was established in its utmost rigour, and the decrees against commerce were enforced with unprecedented severity. Dealers in prohibited goods were branded in the forehead, and condemned to hard labour for ten years: the prohibited goods were burnt, and the piles of merchandise thus destroyed in the public squares, were recorded in the French journals as so many triumphs over the trade of Great Britain. The impolicy of these violent measures was so glaring, that it drew forth a remonstrance from Fouché, who was in consequence sent into exile as governor of Rome, and was succeeded by Savary in the ministry of police. New measures were adopted by the French government for restraining the liberty of the press; and it was decreed that there should be only one newspaper published in each of the departments, excepting that of the Seine; and that all those provincial newspapers should be severally subject to the authority of the prefects. In Paris, a regulation was established, which enabled the minister of police to extend his inquisition into private families. All persons of both sexes engaged, or desirous to be engaged in domestic service, were registered, and it was declared unlawful to employ them, without requiring a certificate of the registry, which was to be renewed on every change of situation. Servants in families were thus liable to be converted into spies of the government.

While Bonaparte was thus forging new chains for the French people, an event occurred which seemed to favour his projects of foreign domination. On the 29th of May, the prince of Augustenburg, the elected heir of the Swedish monarchy, fell from his horse while reviewing some hussar regiments near Helsinborg, and died immediately. The populace ascribed his death to poison, and fixed their suspicions on count Axel Fersen, whom they murdered on the 20th of June, while he was attending the funeral. A diet was assembled at Orebro, for the election of another successor to the throne. One party in the state wished to restore the son of Gustavus. The friends of Russia proposed the prince of Oldenburg, brother-in-law to the emperor Alexander. The other candidates were, the king of Denmark, and the French marshal Bernadotte, who offered to the state a loan of three millions of francs, at four per cent., the interest to be applied to national purposes. The old king recommended him, and he was elected. In entering upon his new functions, he found that all parties in Sweden were desirous to avoid a declaration of war against England, upon which France peremptorily insisted. Bernadotte found it impolitic to resist their wishes, and he carried this conciliatory disposition so far as to vex and mortify his late master. In a conference with Lagerbjelke, the Swedish minister at Paris, Bonaparte declared



[Successes of the Russians against the Turks.—Progress of the French in Spain.]

that the election of Bernadotte had alone restrained his resentment against the court of Stockholm, for the last three months. "I knew," he added, "how to provide against the hatred of Gustavus; he was my declared enemy; while the present government has only sought my friendship for the purpose of recovering Finland, an event which will never take place. It has moreover continued to trade with Great Britain in contravention of the treaty made with France, and permitted colonial produce to be introduced for the purpose of being afterwards re-exported to the continent. In consequence of all this, my minister at Stockholm has orders to demand that war be declared against England, that English manufactures be burnt, and that colonial produce be subjected to a duty of fifty per cent.; and in case of refusal he must quit Stockholm immediately. It is I who order it: such is my pleasure." On being told that some of these measures could not be taken without convoking the states of the realm, he replied, "let me hear no more of these silly laws of Sweden;" and whenever the minister attempted to make any further reply, he was abruptly bidden to hold his tongue. These haughty demands being supported by Russia and Denmark, the court of Stockholm reluctantly consented to order the sequestration of English property, and to declare war against England; but those measures effected no perceptible change in the relations of the two countries. Their interests were mutual: Sweden required support against her powerful neighbour; and England felt the importance of maintaining so strong a barrier in the north.

Another sanguinary campaign was fought between the Russians and the Turks, in which, after sustaining some reverses, the former became masters of all the strong places on the right bank of the Danube, from its mouth, to one hundred leagues upward. The Servians, under Czerni George, also gained several victories. Negotiations for peace were opened, but Russia demanded larger cessions than the Porte was disposed to grant, and during the discussions both parties renewed their exertions for carrying on the war.

In Spain the invaders having received strong reinforcements, pursued their operations on an extended scale. The main army, commanded by Soult, under whose orders were placed generals Victor, Mortier, and Sebastiani, forced the passes of the Sierra Morena on the 20th of January; and the head-quarters of Joseph Bonaparte were established on the following day at Baylen. Sebastiani, with his division, over-ran Grenada, and took possession of Malaga. Victor occupied Seville on the 10th of February, the supreme junta assembled there having previously retired to the isle of Leon, near Cadiz. This last refuge of Spanish independence had been exposed to the greatest danger through their vacillation or treachery, and it was saved by a rapid march of the duke of Albuquerque at the head of 8000 men, from Estremadura. Arriving at Cadiz on the 3d, he found that the junta had been deposed, and the supreme authority vested in a regency until the meeting of the cortes. The government of the city was entrusted to a local junta. Vigorous preparations were now made for defence: all persons capable of bearing arms were enrolled; reinforcements of British troops were received from Lisbon and Gibraltar; and the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty sail of the line, was

[Siege of Cadiz.—Attempt to rescue Ferdinand.]

moored in the harbour under the direction of the British admiral Purvis, who brought in his own squadron. When the French appeared before Cadiz, Victor sent a summons to the junta, informing them that he was ready to receive their submission to king Joseph. An answer was returned, declaring, that they acknowledged no one as king of Spain but Ferdinand VII. Soult sent a similar summons to the duke of Albuquerque, insinuating that the design of the English was to seize Cadiz for themselves. The duke treated this insidious slander with the contempt which it deserved; informed the French general that the Spaniards had gratefully accepted the friendship of the English, and that Cadiz had nothing to fear from an army of 100,000 men. The French occupied the shores of the bay, fortified their own position, and endeavoured to annoy the shipping and the town; but they did not venture a regular attack upon the isle of Leon. Fort Matagorda, fronting the isthmus connecting that isle with Cadiz, was bravely defended for two months by a body of British soldiers and sailors; and when the enemy obtained possession of it, their heavy artillery planted there was far from producing the effect that was expected.

In the month of April an attempt was made to rescue Ferdinand from his imprisonment in France. The agent employed was a young Irishman, named Kelly, who had acquired some knowledge of Spanish affairs while acting in the capacity of traveller for a mercantile house in London, which had an establishment at Madrid. Having made a plausible statement of his qualifications for accomplishing the enterprise, he was furnished with funds, which, on his arrival in France, he expended on a splendid equipage, and made a figure at Paris under the title of Charles Leopold baron de Kolli. The police suffered him to proceed to the castle of Valency, where his papers were seized, and published by order of Bonaparte.

In Catalonia, the French under Augereau waged a war of extermination against the patriots. O'Donnell, who had collected a considerable force, was defeated on the plain of Vich after an obstinate engagement, and was compelled to retreat in the direction of Tarragona. The castle of Hostalrich, seven leagues from Gerona, on the way to Barcelona, was besieged by a division under Mazzuchelli; after a brave resistance during four months, the greater part of the garrison fought their way through the enemy's lines by night, and joined their friends who were rallying under O'Donnell. The important fortresses of Lerida and Mequinenza were reduced in June; but Tortosa, which was besieged immediately afterwards, did not surrender until the commencement of the following year. Valencia, for the surprise of which a plan was concerted between Suchet and some traitors within the city, was defended by a brother of the marquis of Romana, don José Caro, who routed a French division that had taken possession of the suburb of Murviedro, and compelled them to decamp, leaving most of their plunder behind them. Toward the close of the year the Catalans had to deplore the absence of their brave leader O'Donnell, who being severely wounded, was obliged to retire to Majorca.

In the south of Spain, the French were incessantly harassed by a desultory warfare, which the patriots maintained in concert with their allies. A force of six thousand men, stationed at Ronda, was sur-

[Campaign in Portugal.—Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida taken by the French.]

prised by a detachment of Spanish troops from Algeciras, under general Lacy, and fled in disorder, leaving a large quantity of arms and ammunition, which were distributed among the mountaineers of Alpujarras. The spirit of resistance having extended to the frontiers of Murcia, Sebastiani was ordered to march into that province: he encountered a Spanish force of about seventeen thousand men, who, after a number of petty actions, were compelled to retire to Alicante, from whence they detached four thousand to Carthagena. In August a French force, posted at Moguer, in the province of Seville, was expelled by a body of Spaniards and English, who, on the approach of a hostile reinforcement, returned to Cadiz. Another expedition, undertaken against Malaga in October, proved unsuccessful, and lord Blaney, who commanded the troops, was taken prisoner. These enterprises distracted the attention of the French generals, and obliged them to weaken their force by sending detachments to the various points that were menaced with attack by sea, or were exposed to the sudden incursions of the mountaineers. Meantime the British commander, who after the victory of Talavera, had been raised to the peerage with the title of viscount Wellington, was engaged in the defence of Portugal, against the most formidable invasion with which that country had ever been threatened. The army collected for its subjugation, amounting to eighty thousand men, was entrusted to Massena. He arrived to take the command on the 23d of June, when Ney and Junot were besieging Ciudad Rodrigo. After a determined resistance, the garrison of that fortress proposed terms of capitulation, which being verbally agreed to, the French took possession of the town. Massena treated not only the garrison, but the civil officers of the government as prisoners of war, and marched them to Salamanca, in company with the governor, who alone was permitted to retain his horse. Almeida was next besieged; and the same causes which rendered it impossible for lord Wellington to relieve Ciudad Rodrigo, made it necessary that he should trust this fortress also to its own means of defence. The works had been repaired, and the garrison, consisting of about five thousand men, was commanded by brigadier Cox, an English officer in the Portuguese service. Massena opened his trenches on the night of the 15th of August. While a false attack was made on the north of the town, two thousand men dug the first parallel to a depth of three feet; and on the 26th, at five in the morning, eleven batteries, mounted with sixty-five pieces of cannon, opened their fire. The expectation of a long and vigorous defence was disappointed by a dreadful accident; for, on the following night the large powder magazine in the citadel, with two smaller ones contiguous to it, blew up. In this tremendous explosion, more than half the artillerymen, a great number of the garrison, and many of the inhabitants perished: a great number of the guns were dismounted, and with the exception of thirty-nine barrels of powder in the laboratory and some cartridges for immediate use, the whole of the ammunition was destroyed. Massena was now enabled to dictate terms of capitulation; the garrison were made prisoners of war, with the exception of the militia, for whom it was stipulated, that after having deposited their arms they should return to their homes, and not serve



## [Retreat of lord Wellington.—Battle of Busaco.]

during the war. Twelve hundred of them were afterwards pressed into the French service as pioneers.

During these sieges, the allied army was posted in the province of Beira, between Viseu and Guarda. After the fall of Almeida, lord Wellington concentrated his forces, and penetrating the designs of his antagonist, commenced a deliberate retreat on Coimbra. In this retrograde movement the soldiers suffered no privations, and underwent no unnecessary fatigue; the inhabitants retired under their protection, and assisted them in breaking up bridges, destroying mills, and laying waste the country. Massena advanced through a wilderness; he complained that women, children, and old men all fled before him, and that not even a guide was to be procured. In the town of Celorico he found only two inhabitants, and nothing but bare walls. His aim was to make himself master of Coimbra and its fertile district, for the refreshment of his exhausted army, and with this view he crossed and recrossed the Mondego; but lord Wellington still interposed, and on the 26th of September posted the British and Portuguese army on the ridge of the Sierra de Busaco. Massena, by turning the left of the position, might have reached Coimbra by a circuitous route, but he determined to give battle. At six in the morning of the 27th he ordered two attacks to be made, one to the right, and the other to the left of the highest point of the Sierra. One division of French infantry advanced to the top of the ridge, and was driven back with the bayonet; another division farther on the right was repulsed on the ascent. Of three divisions which made the attack on the left, only one advanced toward the summit, when it was charged with the bayonet, and driven down with immense loss. In this action the Portuguese troops behaved so gallantly, as to extort the admiration of the hostile general Junot, who said, that lord Wellington had adopted the stratagem of disguising Englishmen in Portuguese uniforms. The loss of the allies in this action was 197 killed, 1005 wounded, and 57 prisoners: the French left 2000 dead on the field, and lost 287 prisoners, among whom were general Simon, 3 colonels, and 33 officers. They made no attempt to renew the attack, but took the circuitous route toward Coimbra. Lord Wellington withdrew from Busaco, and moved to the south of the Mondego, with the whole army excepting the advanced guard, which remained in Coimbra, to give time for the inhabitants to remove themselves and their effects. After their departure the few provisions that remained were thrown into the river, and all else was destroyed that could be of use to the invaders. Lord Wellington continued his retreat, and fell back upon Leiria, while general Hill, with his corps, retired by way of Espinhal upon Thomar. The army halted on the 4th of October. Massena, leaving his hospital at Coimbra, advanced in pursuit through a country abandoned by its inhabitants: his hungry troops were encouraged with the hope of driving the English into the sea, and of plundering Lisbon; but to their astonishment and mortification, they found themselves compelled to halt before Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from the capital, where their adversaries took up a position, naturally strong, and by art rendered impregnable. The lines extended from the sea on one side to the Tagus on the other; and while

[Massena takes post at Santarem.—New regency appointed.]

the British and Portuguese entered them, Romana, according to a preconcerted arrangement, brought his army from Estremadura to co-operate in their defence. Before these lines Massena was now obliged to post himself, and the first intelligence which he received was, that colonel Trant, at the head of the Portuguese militia, had taken prisoners the 5000 French whom he left at Coimbra, and was advancing to Ourem in his rear; the garrison of Peniche, and the Portuguese general Bacellar, from Obidos, annoyed his right flank; Abrantes was garrisoned behind him, and Silveira cut off his communication with Castile. After remaining a month with his right at Sobral, and his left upon the Tagus in front of the British lines, he was constrained, on the 14th of November, to seek better quarters for the winter, by falling back upon Santarem. The division under general Hill was then sent across the Tagus to watch his movements, while the rest of the army took up a position on the river Mayor, lord Wellington's head-quarters being at Cartaxo. Massena fortified himself in his new station, while awaiting his promised reinforcements. Gardanne at one time had nearly effected a junction with him on the left of the Zezere, but he made a precipitate retreat to the frontier, and late in December united himself with Drouet, who having now augmented his force to about 15,000 men, entered Portugal by the valley of the Mondego, and fixing his head-quarters at Leiria, formed a line with Massena, extending from the sea to Punhete on the Tagus. Such was the state of the opposing armies until the close of the year.

While the Spanish monarchy was plundered and insulted by its invaders, the people persevered in asserting their ancient rights; and the election of constitutional representatives was carried on even in districts occupied by the French. On the 24th of September, the general and extraordinary cortes, in whom the sovereign power was declared to reside, commenced their proceedings at Cadiz. They renewed the oath of fealty to Ferdinand VII. of Bourbon, as their true and lawful king, and declared null and void the cession of the crown which he had made to Napoleon Bonaparte, not only because of the violence which accompanied that iniquitous transaction, but principally because the consent of the nation was wanting. They declared also, that the persons to whom they should delegate the executive power in the absence of their king Ferdinand VII. were responsible to the nation during the time of their administration, according to the laws. They authorized the members of the council of regency to continue to exercise the executive power under the same title; until the cortes should appoint a government, which they might deem more convenient. On the 28th of October a new regency was appointed, consisting of general Blake, then commanding the army of the centre, don Pedro Agar, a naval captain, and don Gabriel Ciscar, governor of Carthagena. Among the measures which evinced the liberal spirit of the cortes was a decree for securing the liberty of the press, and freedom of discussion on all subjects except religion. An ordinance was also enacted, by which no member, during the exercise of his functions, and for a year afterwards, was permitted to solicit or accept for himself or any other person, any pension, reward, honour, or distinction from the executive power.

[Chiefs and services of the guerrillas.—Affairs of the Spanish colonies.]]

During this year, the French made great but unavailing efforts to destroy the guerrillas, which, in proportion as the regular troops were dispersed, grew daily more formidable in every part of Spain. The services which these patriotic bands performed in cutting off escorts or convoys, recovering plunder, and intercepting despatches, were too multifarious to be here detailed, and it may suffice to mention a few of their principal leaders, and the districts in which they signalized themselves. Don Ventura Ximenes extended his incursions from Badajoz to Toledo; don Julian Sanchez harassed the French in Old Castile; Longa distinguished himself in Arragon, and Mina in Navarre. Another chieftain, emerging from the mountains of Guadalaxara, performed the most daring exploits in the very neighbourhood of Madrid, and more than once endangered the personal safety of the intrusive king. This chieftain was don Juan Martin, who, after the atrocious murder of his whole family by the French, vowed never to cease from seeking vengeance while a single Frenchman remained alive in Spain. In token of this vow, he smeared himself with pitch (*pez*) and soon became the redoubted champion of his oppressed countrymen under the familiar name of the *Empecinado*. In the course of his enterprising career, it was calculated that he occasioned a greater numerical loss to the enemy than they sustained in any one of their great battles in the peninsula. They denounced him as a brigand and an outlaw; but he soon compelled them to practise towards him the established rules of war. In the mountains of Guadarama he found eight of his men nailed to trees; he nailed eight Frenchmen to the same trees; and after this severe retaliation, Bessieres found it necessary to propose that prisoners on both sides should be treated according to the custom of civilized nations. Encouraged by the *Empecinado*'s example, other partizans arose in the different provinces of Spain, and acting either separately or in concert, waged by day and night a most destructive war against the French.

The American colonies of Spain were agitated by two parties; the loyalists, who adhered to the regency acting in the name of Ferdinand; and the independents, who sought to establish a government on the plan of the United States. The latter party gained ground as the affairs of the mother country became desperate, and in Caracas especially, their influence prevailed. On the 19th of April that province, together with Cumana, Varinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo, formed a union under the name of the American confederation of Venezuela. Anxious to ascertain the sentiments of the British government on this proceeding, the junta of Caracas opened a correspondence with the governor of Curaçao, who applied for instructions to ministers. A public declaration of their intended course of policy was made by lord Liverpool in a letter dated the 29th of June, stating in substance, that his majesty must discourage every step tending to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother-country; but that if Spain should be compelled to submit to the yoke of the common enemy, he should feel it his duty to afford every assistance to those provinces in rendering them independent of French Spain.

The state of affairs between Great Britain and the United States



[Differences between Great Britain and the United States.]

was still unpromising. The American minister in London demanded the recall of Mr. Jackson, which was accordingly ordered, but without any mark of censure on his conduct. In August, Bonaparte, availing himself of the conditional repeal of the non-intercourse act by congress, declared that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, and should cease to operate on the 1st of November ensuing, it being understood that in consequence of such declaration the English should revoke their orders of council, or that the United States should cause their rights to be respected. The president Madison thought proper to accept the promised revocation, as if there had been no impossible condition annexed to it, and on the 2d of November, issued a proclamation declaring that all restrictions imposed by previous acts, should be discontinued in relation to France and her dependencies. A circular notice was at the same time issued to the different ports, ordering that if Great Britain did not in like manner revoke or modify her edicts violating the neutral commerce of the United States, by the 2d of February, from that day the interdict should be enforced against her. Thus at the close of the year the prospect of reconciliation between the two powers was as remote as ever.

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

Death of the princess Amelia.—Illness of the king.—The prince of Wales appointed regent.—Affairs of Ireland.—Budget.—Relief of commercial distresses.—Inquiry into the state of the currency.—Bill for preventing the depreciation of bank-notes.—Regulations respecting the army.—The duke of York restored to office.—Failure of lord Sidmouth's bill for altering the Toleration Act.—Hostile policy of the United States.—Insurrection at Martinique.—Conquest of Java.—Measures of Bonaparte against English commerce.—He menaces Russia.—His son nominated king of Rome.—Change in the policy of the northern powers.—Peninsular campaign.—Massena retreats from Portugal, pursued by lord Wellington.—Almeida taken.—Battle of Albuera.—Expedition from Cadiz.—Battle of Barrosa.—Fall of Tarragona, and horrible massacre perpetrated by the French.—Surrender of Blake's army at Valencia.—Lord Wellington's measures for the relief of Galicia.—General Hill surprises the French at Arroyo Molinos.—Drives them from Merida.—Gallant defence of Tarifa.—Affairs of the Spanish colonies.—Earthquake at Caracas.—Siege of Montevideo.

AT the time fixed for the meeting of parliament, the public mind was agitated by apprehensions of a recurrence of that calamity which, in 1788, occasioned a suspension of the royal functions. The king, absorbed in grief for the painful and protracted illness of his youngest daughter, the princess Amelia, sought, by daily visits to her chamber, some relief for his paternal solicitude. On one of these occasions when he was led to the side of her couch, she silently placed a ring on his finger, enclosing a lock of her hair, and inscribed with her name, and with the words "Remember me!" This mute and affecting farewell went to the heart, but it disturbed the seat of memory; and when the sufferings of the princess terminated on the 2d of November, a more awful woe was superadded to the sorrow of the royal family and the nation.

Parliament had been formally prorogued until the 1st of November: but no intimation had been given that it should then meet for the despatch of business. By an order of council the chancellor had been directed and authorized to issue a commission, under the great seal, for a further prorogation until the 29th; but as the king was not in a state to sign the commission, both houses met at the time appointed, without having been summoned for the despatch of business; and having no precedent to guide them, were left to shape a course of proceeding for themselves. As the reports of the physicians afforded hopes of his majesty's speedy recovery, successive adjournments took place, until it became necessary to appoint a regency. On the 20th of December three resolutions, framed on the precedents of 1788-9, were proposed by Mr. Perceval, as preparatory to the introduction of a bill for supplying the defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority. By this bill, to which the royal assent was notified by commission, on the 5th of February, the prince of Wales was appointed regent, and empowered to exercise in the name of his majesty the royal authority belonging to the crown. He was to be deemed a person holding an office in trust, and was to conform to the statutes

[Prince of Wales appointed regent.—Affairs of Ireland.—Catholic petitions.]

relating to persons in that capacity. He was for a specified time restrained from granting peerages, or summoning heirs-apparent, or appointing to titles in abeyance; likewise from granting offices in reversion, or for a longer time than during pleasure, excepting those allowed by law to be granted for life, or during good behaviour, as well as pensions to the chancellor, judges, &c. These restrictions were to terminate on the 1st of February, 1812, provided parliament should have been sitting six weeks, and should be then assembled. The care of his majesty's person and the direction of his household were vested in the queen, who was to be assisted by a council of which the members appointed were, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the duke of Montrose, the earl of Winchelsea, the earl of Aylesford, lord Eldon, lord Ellenborough, and sir William Grant. If his majesty should be restored to health the queen and her council were to notify that event by an instrument transmitted to the privy council, who were to assemble and make entry of it; after which the king by his sign manual might require them to assemble, and at his pleasure direct proclamation to issue, when the powers of the act were to cease. The prince of Wales was installed as regent on the 6th of February, and on the 12th, the session of parliament was regularly opened by commission. His royal highness, whose filial duty and affection caused him to avoid any act which might in the smallest degree have the effect of interfering with the progress of his royal father's recovery, forbore to remove from their stations those whom he found in them as his majesty's official servants, and of course no change was made in administration.

The attention of parliament was speedily called to a measure adopted by the government in Ireland concerning the catholics, who had proposed to establish a committee in Dublin, composed of delegates from each county, for the management of their affairs. This convocation being deemed unlawful, Mr. Wellesley Pole, secretary to the lord lieutenant, wrote a circular letter to the sheriffs and chief magistrates of the counties, requiring them to arrest all persons concerned in the election of such delegates. In both houses this letter excited considerable discussion; and on the 3d of March, Mr. Wellesley Pole having returned from Ireland, entered into an explanation of the whole affair. He stated that the catholic committee of 1809 had confined their deliberations to the business of petitioning; whereas the delegates of 1810 were empowered to manage not only the petition but the catholic affairs; and that a committee of grievances, which met weekly, imitated all the forms of the house of commons. He added that, the lord lieutenant having taken the opinion of the great law-officers, the attorney-general had drawn up the circular letter which was issued; and that the Irish government could not wait for instructions from home, because, in that case, this self-constituted parliament would have held one meeting, which might have produced a dangerous effect.

The catholic petitions, presented during this session by Mr. Grattan and lord Donoughmore, were rejected. Not discouraged by this defeat, the Irish catholics persevered in the proceedings which had demanded the interference of the government. On the 9th of July a meeting was held at Dublin for the appointment of delegates to the



[Budget.—Measures for the relief of commercial distress.]

general committee of catholics, when five persons were apprehended for a breach of the convention act, one of whom, Dr. Sheridan, was tried and acquitted. A new committee of delegates met on the 19th of October, at a theatre, and having placed lord Fingal in the chair, despatched their business before the magistrates arrived to disperse them. On the 26th the aggregate meeting was held, when it was resolved to present a humble address to the prince regent as soon as the restrictions on his authority should cease.

The supplies voted for the year amounted to 56,021,869*l.* of which the proportion for Ireland was 6,569,000*l.* Twelve millions of exchequer bills were funded, which, with a loan of seven millions and a half, created a charge of 7,500,000*l.* No new taxes, however, were imposed; the deficiency, in the amount of customs, was balanced by an increase in that of the excise; the post-office revenue and stamp duties had improved considerably, and, on the whole, the consolidated fund afforded a surplus of five millions. The prosperous state of the English finances encouraged the chancellor of the exchequer to propose a measure for relieving those of Ireland. Of the sum required for that country four millions and a half had been borrowed in England, the expenses of which might be charged on the consolidated fund as a loan to Ireland, in order to procure for the public creditor a permanent security. This measure encountered no opposition.

Early in the session a select committee was appointed to inquire into the state of commercial credit. They reported that great embarrassment and distress were felt among the manufacturers in the cotton trade, principally arising out of excessive speculations to South America. The exporters, failing in their adventure, could not pay the manufacturers when their bills fell due; many of them became bankrupts, and in their estates the property of the manufacturers lay dormant. In the course of twelve or fifteen months a considerable part of their capitals might return, but they were exposed to severe distress, and many of them to imminent ruin during the interval. In the woollen-trade these commercial difficulties were not so severely felt, but they pressed heavily upon the importers of produce from the foreign West India islands and South America; for a great proportion of the returns for manufactures exported thither consisted of sugar and coffee, which were not entitled to sale in the home market, and of which there were no immediate means of raising the value. The existing embarrassments in these and other branches of commerce were aggravated by the extent to which the system of warehousing had been carried. Great Britain was now become a free port where foreign goods might be deposited and re-exported without payment of importation duties. Of this advantage the merchants of other countries, whether neutrals, enemies, or allies, eagerly availed themselves. Meantime the ships of the United States no longer introduced into the continent that large proportion of colonial produce of which they used to be the carriers. To relieve this temporary pressure they recommended an issue of exchequer bills to the amount of six millions, for the repayment of which a greater interval should be allowed than had been granted on a similar occasion in 1793: the sum to be reimbursed in three quarterly instalments, of which the first should not be earlier than the middle of January. A bill for

[Inquiry into the state of the currency.]

this purpose, after considerable discussion, was passed; but it was of little avail against the extensive distresses which it was framed to remedy.

The state of the currency formed another subject of interesting debate. The committee appointed in the preceding session, on the motion of Mr. Horner, made their report, in which they stated, that there was an excess in the paper circulation, of which the most unequivocal symptom was the very high price of bullion, and next to that the low state of the continental exchange; that the cause of this excess was to be found in the suspension of cash payments, there being no adequate provision against such an excess, except in the convertibility of paper into specie; that the unfavourable state of the exchange originated in the same cause, and was farther increased by the anti-commercial decrees of the enemy. They added, that they could see no sufficient remedy, except the repeal of the suspension act, which, they thought, could not be effected at an earlier period than two years; but they recommended that parliament should make timely provision for that purpose. On this report, Mr. Horner founded a series of resolutions, which were all rejected; and on the 13th of May, the house of commons agreed to a counter-series proposed by Mr. Vansittart, declaring that bank notes were not depreciated; that the political and commercial relations of the country with foreign powers were sufficient to account for the unfavourable state of foreign exchange and the high price of bullion; that it was highly important that the restriction on cash payments should be removed whenever it was compatible with the public interest, but that to fix a definite period earlier than six months after the conclusion of peace, which was already fixed, would be highly inexpedient and dangerous.

It very soon became necessary to adopt measures for preventing an actual depreciation of bank notes. The purchase of guineas at prices above the current value, was carried on to such an extent as rapidly to withdraw them from circulation. The general alarm which this traffic produced in the country was increased by the conduct of some landed proprietors. Lord King, in particular, gave notice to his tenants that he would no longer receive bank notes at par, and that his rents must thenceforth be paid either in guineas, or in an equivalent weight of Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes amounting to a sum sufficient to purchase such an equivalent weight. Apprehending great mischief from the tendency of this example, lord Stanhope, on the 27th of June, brought into the house of peers, a bill for preventing the current gold coin from being paid for a greater value than its current value; for preventing bank of England notes from being received for any smaller sum than that which they represented; and for staying proceedings upon any distress, by tender of such notes. This bill was censured by the opposition as manifestly leading to the compulsory circulation of a paper currency; but it was approved by ministers as a temporary expedient, and was passed; its duration being limited to the 25th of March ensuing. In reference to the principle acted upon by lord King, the chancellor supposed the case of a tenant who had to pay him a yearly rent of ninety pounds, and who had 3000*l.* in the public funds. His lordship demanded the tenant's rent in gold, but the bank refused to pay him his dividend in gold. Might not

[Regulations respecting the army.—Hostile policy of the United States.]

this individual justly say, “As a public creditor, I am refused any other payment than in bank notes; but here is a legislator, one whose act has authorized this refusal, who insists upon my paying him his rent in gold, which I cannot procure; and because I cannot procure it, my goods must be distrained.” The chancellor then adverted to his own peculiar situation with respect to this question: he had the official care of twenty-five millions of the property of his majesty’s subjects, yet had no means of enforcing the payment of any part of that sum except in bank notes. So long as it should be expedient to continue the measure of 1797, this bill must become a part of it, otherwise there would be no equality in the situation of contracting parties equally entitled to protection, nor would equal justice be dealt out to those who had equal claims.

Among the parliamentary regulations respecting the army, may be mentioned a clause added to the mutiny bill, on the motion of Mr. Manners Sutton, the judge advocate, by which a discretionary power was given to courts martial, of sentencing to confinement instead of corporal punishment. A bill was passed for effecting an interchange of militias between Great Britain and Ireland: its principal provisions were, that not more than one-third of either militia should be sent from one country to the other at one time; that the English militia should not continue in Ireland more than two years, nor the Irish in England more than three; that they should not afterwards be sent but in rotation, and that in no event should either be sent to the other country, but by an order from his majesty.

The restoration of the duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief, which took place on the 25th of May, excited some animadversions in parliament among those members who had been active in the late investigation; but the resolution proposed by lord Milton on this subject was negatived by 296 votes against 47. The disrepute into which some of the instigators of the charges had fallen produced a change in public opinion, which was favourable to the duke, and his re-appointment was no less gratifying to the army than satisfactory to the country.

One of the most unpopular measures proposed during this session was a bill introduced by lord Sidmouth for altering the toleration act, by exacting from candidates for the office of a dissenting minister more numerous and explicit testimonials as to their qualifications for the sacred office than had hitherto been required. Dissenters of various denominations united in deprecating the measure, and their petitions were signed by such numbers, that ministers thought proper to relinquish their intention, and the bill was accordingly thrown out. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of July.

The United States of America persevered in a course of policy favourable to France and hostile to England. Finding that the orders of council were not repealed on the 2d of February, they recalled their minister from London, and closed their ports against the ships of his Britannic majesty. An encounter, which took place between an English sloop of war, the *Little Belt*, commanded by captain Bingham, and the American frigate, called the *President*, under commodore Rodgers, had nearly proved the signal of open war between the two nations; but their respective governments disavowed the issue of any



[Insurrection at Martinique.—Christophe king of Hayti.—Conquest of Java.]

hostile orders to the commanders, and were disposed to take no farther notice of the affair. In the spring Mr. Foster was sent to America, as envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary from Great Britain; he entered into a correspondence with Mr. Monroe on the subjects in dispute, but found it impossible to effect an adjustment without exceeding his instructions, by holding forth an expectation that the orders of council would be repealed. On the meeting of congress in November, a message from the president Madison announced that in consequence of the hostile inflexibility of the British cabinet, it would be necessary to put the United States into an armour and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.

In the West Indies some alarm was excited by a conspiracy formed among the negroes and people of colour in Martinique, for the purpose of seizing the town of St. Pierre, and massacring all its white inhabitants. It was discovered on the day previous to that fixed for the enterprise; some of the principals were taken, and fifteen of the most active were executed. In St. Domingo, Christophe, the negro chief, imitating the example of Bonaparte, changed the republic into a monarchy, and declared himself king of Hayti. A short time before his coronation he created a nobility consisting of princes, dukes, counts, and barons, to give greater splendour to the ceremony. On the day appointed he proceeded with his sable consort in great state to the Champ de Mars, where having first placed the crown on his head with his own hands, he delivered it to the archbishop to be replaced in due form. He created a black legion of honour, called the order of St. Henri, and altered the name of his capital from Cape François to Cape Henri. His troops at this time amounted to about 10,000 men, all negroes, and his fleet consisted of one 44-gun frigate, nine sloops of war, eleven brigs, and a number of schooners. He omitted no effort to cultivate the good will of the English, and his first toast at the festival of his coronation, was, that his brother the king of Great Britain might prosper and be successful against Bonaparte, and continue the barrier between that tyrant and the kingdom of Hayti.

In the East Indies a formidable expedition was fitted out by lord Minto, against the Dutch settlements in the island of Java. He entrusted the command of the troops to sir Samuel Auchmuty, and accompanied them in person. On the 5th of August a landing was effected without opposition at Jilinzing, a village twelve miles eastward from the city of Batavia. The principal force of the Dutch, under general Jansens, was stationed at Cornelis; and sir Samuel Auchmuty's first intention was to march against it, keeping the city in his rear; but as some time was required to prepare for an inland movement, he determined to reconnoitre the coast road to Batavia, aware that it was strong enough, if well defended, to be nearly impracticable. The enemy, however, used no other means to impede his progress than that of destroying the bridge over the Antijol. The advance of the army crossing that river in boats by night, possessed themselves of the suburbs, and on the 8th the city surrendered without resistance. The garrison retreated to Weltevrede, and subsequently retired to a fortified position, two miles distant from their

[Measures of Bonaparte against English commerce.—He menaces Russia.]

works at Cornelis. This position was carried by a detachment under colonel Gillespie at the point of the bayonet; a strong column advanced from Cornelis to recover it, but was repulsed by the main body of the British, and driven under shelter of the batteries. The most arduous part of the enterprise was now to be performed. The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, were strongly intrenched between the river Jacatra and a canal called the Sloken: seven redoubts, and many batteries mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding ground within the lines; the fort of Cornelis was in the centre, and all the works were defended with a numerous artillery. It was expected that the resistance to the British might be sustained until the climate should have ensured their destruction. Sir Samuel Auchmuty was aware of the danger of delay, and after cannonading the works for some days, made dispositions for a general assault on the 26th. His orders were carried into execution at every point with the most determined bravery; the lines were forced; the fort was stormed; and the whole of the hostile army was killed, taken, or dispersed. Jansens fled with a few cavalry, and arriving at Samarang, employed himself in collecting all the force that remained for defence, but he was soon compelled to capitulate, and the whole island of Java surrendered to the British arms. The French force in Madura likewise submitted, and thus were wrested from the grasp of Bonaparte, the oriental dominions which he appropriated in annexing Holland to his empire.

In reverting to the affairs of France, we find the government of that country equally intent on raising a navy, and on destroying the commerce of the continent. The conscription law was applied to the levying of seamen in the thirty maritime departments, and the quotas liable to serve in the year 1813, and the three following years, were placed at the disposal of the minister of marine. At Antwerp, eight three-deckers and thirteen other ships of the line were ordered to be built, and the basin was rendered capable of containing fifty sail; Spanish prisoners were employed in the dock-yards and fortifications, and men of all countries were collected to man the fleet. The enforcement of the anti-commercial decrees kept pace with these redoubtable preparations; and while the people of France were substituting horse-beans for coffee, and extracting sugar from beet-root and palm seaweed, they were called upon to applaud the wisdom and goodness which dictated the exclusion of colonial produce, and the burning of British merchandise. They were taught to believe that the arbitrary edict which subjected them to these privations, would be made the supreme law of the continent, and that there were obstacles to such an extension of it, which must be overcome by force. Bonaparte while haranguing some merchants assembled in a council of commerce, said to them: "All Europe has been too long tributary to England; her monopoly ought to be destroyed, and it shall be by me." Adverting to the quarter from whence resistance to his policy was most to be apprehended he added, "I am and always will be master of the Baltic. The emperor of Russia has not, indeed, as yet, caused my decrees to be observed in his ports: but ere six months be passed he will, or I declare war against him. At Tilsit, what prevented my march to Petersburg? What I did not do, I can do yet." From this menace it was apparent that no great cordiality subsisted between

[Warlike preparations.—Russian policy.—Spain.]

France and Russia; nor could it be surprising that the emperor Alexander, weary of his subserviency to France, should be disposed to resume a course of policy more consistent with the interests of his subjects, and with his own dignity.

Meantime, the hopes which Bonaparte had founded on his marriage with a princess of the house of Austria, were gratified by the birth of a son. This event was celebrated with enthusiasm at Paris, and the infant was hailed as king of Rome, a title which while it startled the democrats by reminding them of the expulsion of the Tarquins, gave fresh cause of offence to the pope. His holiness persisted in his refusal to institute the bishops nominated by the French ruler; and the latter, declaring that this refusal nullified the concordat, convoked a council of the Gallican church, to fill up the vacant sees, and to invest him with an authority beyond the control of the pontiff. To his great astonishment, this proposal was rejected by almost all the prelates, as inconsistent with the usages, and subversive of the unity of the Romish church. He had the policy to conceal his chagrin, by affecting to turn his whole attention to secular affairs, and especially to the regulations of his new dominions in Holland. In September, he undertook a journey to the sea-coast, and arriving at Bologne, thought proper to signalize his presence at that port, by ordering the flotilla to attack the English blockading frigate. The result of the action served only to mortify his vanity: one of the praams, having on board 112 men, was taken, and the rest were put to flight. At Amsterdam, where he was received with the homage that might be expected from a subdued people, he issued twelve decrees, introducing into the seven Batavian departments the French system of taxation, education, and conscription. After his return to Paris, he had so little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the northern powers, that he called out the conscripts for 1812, amounting to 120,000 men, and took into his pay the contingent force of the Rhenish confederation, consisting of nearly the same number, which was ordered to assemble in the vicinity of Mentz. This warlike attitude was not prematurely assumed; the Russians, after a successful campaign, were engaged in negotiations with the Turks, which might release their armies from the Danube; they manifested no displeasure at the presence of a British fleet, under sir James Saumarez, in the Baltic; and in this disposition towards a fair neutrality the Swedish government participated; for Bernadotte made no scruple in preferring the interests of his adopted countrymen, to those of the despot whom he had so lately served.

In the peninsula the campaign commenced with some movements of the French in Estremadura, for the purpose of relieving Massena. The plans which lord Wellington had formed for defending the frontier in that direction were frustrated by the death of the marquis de la Romana, and by the incapacity of his successor, Mendizabal. Olivenza surrendered on the 22d of January, to a force under Girard; and Badajoz capitulated to Mortier on the 11th of March. This success was achieved too late, for Massena was already retreating from Santarem. This retrograde march toward the Mondego was conducted with consummate skill; but his troops were permitted to perpetrate barbarities which, in the language of his pursuer, had been rarely equalled and never surpassed. They burnt Alcobaça,



[Massena retreats from Portugal, followed by lord Wellington.]

Leyria, and Pombal, and threatened Coimbra with the same fate. On their approach to that city colonel Trant, the governor, having with him only 200 of the Portuguese militia, was preparing to evacuate it, when he received a summons to surrender, which convinced him that the enemy had over-rated his force, while aiming solely to alarm him by exaggerating their own. He returned a confident answer, and had the satisfaction to see them move off in the direction of Miranda de Corvo. Here Regnier, who had taken the road by Thomar and Espinhal, effected his junction, and the whole French army was concentrated. Lord Wellington, who was rapidly advancing, compelled it to abandon this position during the night, after destroying a considerable proportion of baggage and ammunition. The French were now severely distressed, and began to abandon their wounded on the road; but, as if misery could not abate their habitual cruelty, they hamstringed their horses and mules which sunk from exhaustion, and left them to a lingering and miserable death. Massena took up a formidable position on the Ceira, one of the tributary streams of the Mondego, and posted a corps in advance at Foz de Arouce. Lord Wellington moved his divisions on their right and left, and attacked them briskly in front. The French retreated, and their loss was increased by a well managed movement of the English 95th. That regiment perceiving a body of the enemy retiring in two parallel columns, took advantage of the evening fog to penetrate into the wood which separated them, fired volleys on both sides, and when they were answered instantly withdrew. The two French columns kept up a heavy fire on each other as they passed the wood; the darkness of the night increased their confusion; numbers were drowned in crossing the mountain stream, which was swollen by the rains; and it was said that one column blew up the bridge while the other was upon it. On the following day, the 16th, lord Wellington's army was obliged to halt for provisions, which arrived slowly, as the roads were almost impassable. On the 18th he advanced toward the Ponte de Macellã; but the French, having passed this bridge during the night, blew it up by means of the very mines which the British had constructed for the same purpose on their retreat in the preceding autumn. Lord Wellington turned the left of their position at Alva, and manœuvring in their front compelled them to retire upon Mouta, from whence they withdrew as usual, in the night, and were pursued in their rapid retreat by the cavalry and the light division under sir William Erskine, supported by the militia on the right of the Mondego. The main army halted for the provisions, which had been sent round from the Tagus. On the 26th lord Wellington again advanced against the enemy, who now occupied Guarda, one of the finest military positions in Portugal. He moved forward his army in five columns, which appeared on the heights almost at the same moment, when the enemy without firing a shot, retired to Sabugal on the Coa. There they took up a strong position, their right at Ruivina, their left at Sabugal, and their 8th corps at Alfayates. On the 3d of April the allies crossed the Coa and attacked their left above Sabugal: a sharp action ensued, in which Regnier's division was thrown into confusion and driven to Alfayates, from whence their main body continued their retreat to the Spanish frontier. On the 8th the last

[Operations in Estremadura.—French abandon Almeida.]

division of Massena's army crossed the Agueda, and not a Frenchman remained in Portugal except the garrison of Almeida, which lord Wellington immediately prepared to blockade.

Having completed his arrangements, he took advantage of the temporary inaction of the enemy, to go into Estremadura, whither he had despatched a considerable force, under marshal Beresford, to repair the mischief occasioned by the incapacity of the Spanish commanders. The French had taken the fortresses of Olivenza, Badajoz, Valencia de Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Campo Mayor. Against the latter place, marshal Beresford, having been joined by general Cole's division, moved forward on the 25th of March, and compelled the force stationed there, under Latour Maubourg, to retreat in the direction of Badajoz. The marshal crossed the Guadiana on the 6th of April, and leaving general Cole to reduce Olivenza, continued his operations against the retiring enemy, and then repaired to Elvas to meet lord Wellington. While they were concerting measures for the siege of Badajoz, intelligence arrived that Massena, having received reinforcements, was beginning to act on the offensive, and lord Wellington consequently returned to his army, which was cantoned along the Duas Casas, and on the sources of the Azava, the light division being at Gallegos and Espeja.

On the 2d of May, the main body of the French crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, and passed the Azava in the evening. The British light division, and the cavalry, which were much reduced by hard service, fell back upon the little village of Foentes d'Onoro, where the 1st, 3d, and 7th divisions were posted; the 5th, under sir William Erskine, and the 6th, under major-general Campbell, were observing the passages over the Duas Pontes, and brigadier-general Pack with his brigade was maintaining the blockade of Almeida, while Don Julian Sanchez, with an active guerrilla force, occupied Navedeaver. A variety of actions and evolutions ensued, in which the French were repulsed with loss, and on the night of the 7th they retreated and recrossed the Agueda, leaving Almeida to its fate. From the inferiority of his numbers, and the distressed state of his cavalry, lord Wellington had been induced to avoid a general engagement; and the same considerations deterred him from risking any great amount of force in the pursuit. On the night of the 10th, the garrison of Almeida, pursuant to orders from Massena, blew up part of the works, and under the able direction of their commandant Brenier, forced their way through the blockading piquets, and effected their retreat to the Agueda. The forces stationed to support the piquets, had mistaken the explosion of the mines for one of the night cannonades, which had frequently been practised, and the escape of the garrison was not immediately ascertained. A regiment which was ordered to intercept them at Barba del Puerco, missed its way, and to this accident Brenier was mainly indebted for his good fortune. He was severely harassed in his further retreat, and lost 490 prisoners with all his baggage. Shortly after the fall of Almeida, Massena returned to France, with Ney, Junot, and Loison; he was succeeded in the command by Marmont; and the army of Portugal, as it was still called, went into cantonments on the Tormes.

On the morning of the 16th, lord Wellington set out for the south,

[Marshal Beresford marches against Soult.—Battle of Albuera.]

in consequence of intelligence that Soult was advancing into Estremadura. Marshal Beresford, having invested Badajoz on the 4th of May, had prosecuted the siege with great vigour until the night of the 12th, when the advance of the enemy from Seville was announced to him by general Blake, who had left Cadiz to take advantage of the success of the allies in Portugal. Leaving a force to cover the removal of the heavy artillery and stores to Elvas, he met generals Blake and Castanos at Valverde, on the 14th, and they agreed to give battle to the enemy. The cavalry of the allies effected a junction at Santa Martha; the British and Portuguese infantry were stationed at Valverde; but general Beresford determined to occupy a position which would more effectually prevent the advance of the French to Badajoz. He therefore assembled his forces on the 15th, near the ruined village of Albuera, and a stream of that name which flows into the Guadiana. The cavalry retired hither from Santa Martha, and in the afternoon the enemy appeared. General Blake's corps, making a forced march, joined in the night; and general Cole's division, with the Spanish brigade under Don Carlos de Espana, which had been employed in dismantling the works before Badajoz, arrived in the morning of the 16th. The allied forces now consisted of 8000 British, 7000 Portuguese, and 10,000 Spaniards: their proportion of cavalry was hardly 2000. Soult had left Seville with 16,000 men, and was joined by Latour Maubourg with 5000; he had 4000 cavalry, and a great superiority of artillery. Beresford formed his army in two lines, nearly parallel to the Albuera, and on the ridge of the gradual ascent from its banks. The French began the engagement by a false attack on the village; while Soult bore with his principal force on the right wing of the allies, where the Spaniards were posted. Having driven them from the height, he was enabled to rake the entire line of his antagonists, and their strongest efforts were required to dislodge him from this commanding position. While the Spaniards were rallying, colonel Colbourne brought up the right brigade of general Stewart's division to recover the lost ground; but when they were in the act of charging, they were themselves suddenly turned and attacked in the rear by a body of Polish lancers, when a dreadful carnage ensued. The 31st regiment on the left was the only one composing the brigade which escaped this destructive charge, and it maintained its ground under the command of major L'Estrange. The fate of the day was now worse than doubtful, and nothing but the most determined courage could prevent a ruinous defeat. Major Houghton's brigade, and general Cole's division, advanced to recover the heights, their officers declaring that they should win the field or die. This object was accomplished after a severe contest; the fusileers and the Lusitanian legion, 3000 strong, when they advanced to the charge, could not muster one thousand when they gained the rising ground. The enemy now suffered in their turn from the musketry and shrapnells, which mowed them down as they descended toward the river. Soult, from his great superiority of cavalry, was enabled to cover his retreat to the ground which he occupied before the action, and on the night of the 17th he withdrew toward Andalusia. In this destructive battle, the British lost 900 killed, and 544 missing; 2732 were wounded: the Spaniards lost 1600; the Portuguese, of whom only a small part were



[Lord Wellington invests Badajoz—raises the blockade.—Expedition from Cadiz.]

brought into action, about 400. The French left 2000 dead on the field, and about 1000 were made prisoners; their total loss was estimated at more than 8000 men. Soult is said to have acknowledged to some of our captive officers, that in the whole course of his long service he had never before witnessed so desperate and sanguinary a conflict.

The operations, which had been suspended on the advance of the French, were now resumed. The 3d and 7th divisions having arrived from Upper Beira, lord Wellington invested Badajoz on the 25th, and broke ground four days afterwards. A breach having been effected in fort St. Christoval on the 6th of June, an assault was made at night, in which our troops were repulsed, and it was renewed on the 9th with no better success. On the following day an intercepted letter was brought to the British general, in which Soult announced to Marmont that he was ready to begin his march, and to effect a junction. By other communications lord Wellington ascertained that Drouet was advancing from Toledo, and that Marmont might be expected at Merida in a few days. This general had marched on the 7th from Ciudad Rodrigo by way of Puerto de Banos and Placentia, crossing the Tagus at Almaraz, where the French had re-established the bridge, and covered it by strong batteries. Lord Wellington converted the siege of Badajoz into a blockade, and advanced to Albuera on the 13th; but finding that the enemy had collected from the Castiles and from Andalusia a greater force than the allies could oppose to them, he raised the blockade, and recrossing the Guadiana, took up a line within the Portuguese frontier. Blake made a movement into the county of Niebla, which was intended as a diversion to menace the enemy's rear, but it proved wholly unsuccessful. This failure occasioned some disappointment to the British general, but he was aware that the enemy could not long subsist their forces when concentrated; and, as he expected, they broke up from the Guadiana about the middle of July, after fortifying the old castles of Medellin and Truxillo. Soult returned to Truxillo, and Marmont to his command in the north. Lord Wellington then moved the combined forces to the left, and cantoned them in Lower Beira.

In the spring an expedition was undertaken at Cadiz against the besieging army, which had been weakened by large draughts to strengthen the force destined against Portugal. Don Manuel La Pena was appointed to command it, and lieutenant-general Graham, with the British troops stationed in Cadiz, consented to act under him. The plan was to land on the coast between cape Trafalgar and Tarifa, and after the junction of a force stationed at St. Roque, to make a combined attack on the rear of the enemy's line, while a concerted attempt was to be undertaken from the isle of Leon. The troops, consisting of 7000 Spaniards and 4000 British and Portuguese, disembarked on the 26th of February at Algeciras, and advanced to Tarifa. On the 5th of March, having been joined by the division from St. Roque, they proceeded to execute La Pena's project of attacking the left of the enemy's lines near the Santi Petri. By a well-conducted and successful charge on a French force under Villatte, they established the desired communication with the isle of Leon, and general Graham was then directed to move down from Barosa

## [Battle of Barosa.—Operations in Catalonia.—Massacre at Tarragona.]

towards the Torre de Bermeja, leaving some Spanish troops under brigadier Begines on the heights. When he had advanced into the middle of the wood through which his route lay, he was informed that the enemy were hastening to possess themselves of the commanding position which he had quitted; and he immediately counter-marched to support the troops stationed for its defence. On emerging from the wood he perceived that they had quitted the heights, and that the left wing of the French, commanded by Victor, were rapidly ascending them; but as a retreat at this crisis would have endangered the whole army, he resolved on an immediate attack. It was executed with determined bravery, and in an hour and a half the enemy were in full retreat, leaving behind them an eagle, the first which the British had won, six pieces of cannon, and nearly 3000 dead on the field, among whom were two generals. The loss of the British amounted to 1243 in killed and wounded; not a single British soldier was taken. As there was no pursuit, they took only 440 prisoners. General Graham remained some hours upon the heights; but as no supplies arrived, he left a small detachment, and crossing the Santi Petri next morning, withdrew with his troops into the isle of Leon. La Pena, who was blamed for not having more effectually co-operated with the British, returned with his forces to Cadiz, and the French resumed the blockade. At this period, while the Spaniards were deploring the fruitless issue of the expedition, they had to lament the loss of their illustrious champion, the duke of Albuquerque, who expired in London, of a fever, occasioned by indignation and chagrin at the calumnies heaped upon him by the junta of Cadiz.

In Catalonia, the patriots, by a well-concerted enterprise, recovered Figueras, one of the four fortresses which Godoy, before the usurpation, delivered into the hands of the French. It was blockaded by Baraguay d'Hilliers, while Suchet advanced against Tarragona, the only strong place which the Spaniards retained upon this part of the coast. There was a British squadron in the roads ready to co-operate in its defence, and a reinforcement of 4000 men from Valencia was sent under captain Codrington; but these troops, at the request of Campoverde, who was stationed at Igualada, were transported to Sitges, that they might act with him on the flank of the besiegers. On the 21st of June the French won the lower town; yet Contreras, the commandant of the garrison, declined the assistance of a British reinforcement, which arrived from Cadiz under colonel Skerrett, and desired that it might co-operate with Campoverde's army, upon which he placed all his hopes. He had determined in the last resort, to abandon the place, thinking it of more importance to preserve his soldiers than to defend the ruins of Tarragona. On the 28th the French effected a practicable breach, and their assault, which immediately ensued, was too successful. The inhabitants, aware of the intentions of the commandant, were panic-struck, and offered no resistance to the inhuman slaughter with which Suchet had menaced them. More than six thousand persons were butchered, old and young, man and woman, mother and infant; the streets flowed with blood; the churches, where the women had taken refuge, were profaned with rape and murder, and the French consummated these atrocities by throwing many of their victims into the burning houses.



[Suchet reduces Berga, &c.—Enters Valencia.—Defeat and surrender of Blake.]

They fired upon the landing-place, where crowds of mothers and children were collected, and upon the British boats which were employed in rescuing these hapless fugitives. The fate of Tarragona was a practical commentary on the merciless threat of Napoleon, that if he could not reign over Spaniards, he would at least reign over Spain.

After this bloody tragedy, Suchet reduced the fortresses of Berga and Montserrat. With these misfortunes the Catalans had to deplore the fall of Figueras, which capitulated on the 19th of August, after a blockade of four months. The garrison had obtained honourable terms, by which they were to march out with their baggage, depositing their arms only on the glacis. When this was done the French general commanded them to be stripped, and they were marched into France destitute of clothing. After this disaster, the spirit of the patriots in this province was not subdued; and they found in general Lacy, the successor of Campoverde, a more determined and enterprising leader. He harassed the invaders in detail; and his second in command, the baron d'Eroles, when pressed by a superior force, surprised and disconcerted the commander opposed to him by seizing the pass of Luerol, from whence he penetrated into France, and levied contributions in Languedoc.

In September, Suchet entered Valencia, and on the 27th took possession of the town of Murviedro. He attempted to carry its fortress by assault, but was repulsed with considerable loss, and found it necessary to reduce the little fort of Oropesa in his rear, which prevented the junction of his battering train from Tortosa. He endeavoured at the same time to provoke general Blake into the field, who had arrived with a force from Cadiz to take the command in the eastern provinces, and who had withdrawn his army to Valencia. Blake avoided a battle, in hopes that the French would weaken themselves in the field, and that they might be compelled to retreat by movements on their flank and on the side of Arragon. By his orders the guerrilla chiefs, Duran and the Empecinado, united their forces, laid siege to Calatayud, and compelled the force stationed there to surrender. A strong body of French sent for its relief arrived too late, and while preparing to follow the patriots, was recalled into Navarre, to resist Espoz y Mina, who was enabled to extend his operations, by a movement of lord Wellington upon Ciudad Rodrigo, which compelled Marmont to withdraw troops from that province. The Spaniards in Valencia were now eager to encounter Suchet, and Blake having consented to gratify them, an engagement took place on the 25th of October, when the French with considerable loss obtained a victory, which was immediately followed by the capture of the fortress of Murviedro. Blake retreated to his entrenched camp at Valencia, and defended that city against Suchet until the beginning of January, when, after sustaining a bombardment of three days and nights, he agreed to a capitulation, which placed in the hands of the enemy 18,000 troops of the line, 22 generals, 893 officers, and 374 pieces of cannon. Suchet engaged that no inhabitant should be molested for the part he had taken: no sooner was he master of the city than he executed in the public square the most distinguished of the patriots, and sent 1500 of the monks prisoners to France.



[Relief of Galicia.—French surprised by general Hill.—Defence of Tarifa.]

The operations of the enemy on the Portuguese frontier were again frustrated by the skill and firmness of their opponents. When Marmont returned from the Guadiana, he directed Dorsenne, who had succeeded Bessieres in the north, to make a rapid movement into Galicia, hoping that the British would be tempted to expose themselves by advancing upon Salamanca. Lord Wellington adopted wiser measures for the relief of the threatened province; having fixed his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo, he blockaded Ciudad Rodrigo, and thus obliged Marmont not only to recall Dorsenne, but to order up Souham's division from Navarre. Advancing their joint force, amounting to 60,000 men, with 125 pieces of artillery, they offered him battle; but he declined to exhaust his army in contending for a profitless victory, and retiring about three leagues, took up a position at Alfayates, and afterwards formed his army on the heights behind Soito, having the Sierra das Mesas on their right, and their left extending to Rendo on the Coa. The French retired to Ciudad Rodrigo, and there separated, Dorsenne moving toward Salamanca and Valladolid, and Marmont toward the pass of Banos and Placentia.

Meanwhile Soult was devising measures to destroy the army which Castanos had recruited in Estremadura; and had sent a division of 4000 foot and 1000 cavalry under Girard to Caceres. Lord Wellington directed an attack against this force, and intrusted the execution of it to general Hill, who accordingly moved from his cantonments at Portalegre, on the 22d of October, and advanced to the Spanish frontier. He caused Girard to retreat, and making a forced march, surprised him on the morning of the 28th, at Arroyo Molinos, captured 1400 men, and dispersed the remains of his force, which fled to the woods and mountains with a loss of 600 killed. Among the prisoners were general Brune, prince of AreMBERG, two lieutenant-colonels, and 30 other officers. The whole of Girard's artillery, baggage, and commissariat, with magazines of corn, were taken, together with the contribution of money which he had levied at Merida. So great was the consternation of the enemy, that Badajoz was shut for two days: all the fords of the Guadiana were watched, and every detachment was ordered to rendezvous at Seville.

General Hill returned to his cantonments, from whence, toward the end of December, he made a rapid movement upon Merida in the hope of surprising the French stationed there; they were accidentally warned of his approach, and fled during the night, abandoning a large store of bread and grain. The gallant general marched on Almedralejo, which he compelled the French to evacuate; and having thus cleared the country of them, he cantoned his troops at Merida for the winter.

In Andalusia the French were incessantly harassed by the patriots under the command of Ballasteros, and their vanity was mortified by the spirited resistance of Tarifa, against a besieging force of eleven thousand men, commanded by marshal Victor. The garrison consisted of 1200 British under colonel Skerrett, and about 1000 Spaniards under Copons. A practicable breach having been made on the 31st of December, 2000 picked men advanced to the assault, and were driven back to their trenches. Preparations were made for a more formidable attack; but on the 5th of January the besiegers withdrew,

[Affairs of the Spanish colonies.—Miranda sent to Spain.]

leaving behind them a great part of their cannon, ammunition, and stores.

The Spanish colonies continued to be agitated by conflicting parties. In Mexico, the royalists after much bloodshed, gained the ascendancy. In Venezuela the confederates issued a declaration of independence, and entrusted the command of their forces to Miranda, whose genius was expected to emancipate all South America. He commenced his career by an attack on Valencia, from whence he was repulsed by an inferior force; but having received fresh troops, he reduced the city by a blockade. While he was preparing to subdue Coro and Maracaibo, an event occurred which utterly blighted his hopes. On the 26th of March, 1812, an earthquake laid in ruins the towns of La Guayra, Caracas, San Carlos, and Barquesimeto. This calamity happened on Holy Thursday, and it was on a Holy Thursday that the independence of Venezuela had been proclaimed. The people of Caracas regarded it as a visitation from heaven, and hastened to offer their submission to Monteverde, the royalist general, who sent Miranda and some other leaders prisoners to Cadiz. In the vice-royalty of La Plata, Buenos Ayres declared its independence, and claimed as being the capital, authority over Montevideo, which adhered to the cause of the monarchy. On arriving at the latter place, Elio, the new viceroy, ordered a squadron to blockade Buenos Ayres, and the independents retaliated by besieging him in Montevideo. During a negotiation, which afterwards took place, admiral de Courcy arrived in the river, and caused the blockade to be removed with respect to British ships. The negotiation was broken off in September, when a Portuguese force arrived from Brazil to the assistance of Elio.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

Gloomy aspect of affairs in Great Britain.—Meeting of parliament.—Provision for the royal household.—Bill for improving ecclesiastical courts.—Returns under the population act.—Measures for suppressing disturbances in the manufacturing districts.—Currency act amended.—Renewal of the bill against the grant of offices in reversion.—Discussion respecting colonel Mahon.—Overture to lords Grey and Grenville.—Marquis of Wellesley resigns.—Assassination of Mr. Perceval.—Negotiations for the formation of a new cabinet.—Conference of earl Moira with lords Grey and Grenville.—Lord Liverpool prime minister.—Catholic affairs.—Conditional revocation of the orders of council.—The United States declare war against Great Britain.—Budget.—Dissolution of parliament.—Spanish campaign.—Lord Wellington takes Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.—His victory at Salamanca.—Enters Madrid.—Marches to Burgos.—Retires to the Portuguese frontier.—Events of the war with the United States.—East Indies.—Capture of Palembang.—Bonaparte's expedition to Russia.—Battle of Borodino.—Conflagration of Moscow.—Retreat of the French.—Passage of the Beresina.—The Russians advance to Wilna.—Bonaparte escapes to Paris.

THE affairs of Great Britain were now approaching to a crisis. The contest in Spain was still doubtful; the protracted dispute with America threatened an open rupture; and France was preparing, for the subjugation of Russia, a mightier armament than had ever been collected in Europe. At home, the decline of commerce produced severe distress among the people; secret combinations were formed in one of the midland counties, for the destruction of machinery, and serious apprehensions were entertained that an organized insurrection would spread through all the manufacturing districts. Amidst these difficulties the country might desire, but had little cause to expect, a union of the two great parties in the state; for while ministers persisted in recommending a vigorous prosecution of the war, their opponents condemned it as impolitic, improvident, and ruinous.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 7th of January. At an early period of the session, Mr. Perceval proposed a plan for the arrangement of the royal household, and recommended such an addition to the civil list as might support the separate establishments, now become necessary for the regent and the king. He likewise suggested an addition of 10,000*l.* a year to the queen's income, to meet the extraordinary expenditure, which her majesty might be likely to incur. When the bills for these purposes had been passed, an annuity of 36,000*l.* was granted as a provision for the four princesses, each of whom was to receive 9000*l.* a year exclusive of 4000*l.* from the civil list: on the demise of one, the survivors were to have 10,000*l.* each, the same to be continued when there should be two survivors: the proportion for the sole survivor was fixed at 12,000*l.*

A bill for improving the ecclesiastical courts in England was introduced by sir William Scott, and received the sanction of the legislature. Its objects were to abolish excommunication, and to remove the civil consequences attendant on that process, except in cases of great enormity; to diminish the number of inferior tribunals, and to



[Population of Great Britain.—Disturbances.—Offices in reversion, &c.]

remove the proceedings which belonged to them into the diocesan courts.

Returns under the population act passed in the last session were laid before the house of commons, from which it appeared that since the census of 1801, there had been an increase of more than one million and a half in Great Britain, in the ratio of fourteen per centum in England, thirteen in Scotland, and twelve in Wales. The total population of Great Britain in 1801 was 10,472,048; in 1811 it was 11,911,644, making an increase of 1,439,596 persons, actually resident in the country; which, added to the number serving in the army and navy abroad, made a total amount of 1,609,498. These results revived the very important question, in what degree the means of subsistence increased with the population. By accounts which were produced about this time, it appeared that during eleven years, from 1775 to 1786, the average quantity of grain imported was 564,413 quarters; from 1787 to 1798, 1,136,101 quarters; from 1799 to 1810, including three years of scarcity, 1,471,003 quarters. The average prices were 30s. per quarter in the first period; 40s. in the second; and 60s. in the third. During the last year not less than 4,271,000*l.* went out of the country for the sustenance of its inhabitants; a fact of most serious importance to the public interest.

The alarming disturbances in the manufacturing districts demanded prompt measures for their suppression. An act was passed, by which the breaking of frames used in the hosiery manufacture, was declared a capital offence; and it was followed by another, which attached the same criminality to the taking or administering of an oath, binding the party to the commission of a crime; with a proviso, that any person, who, after taking such oath, should come forward before a charge was made against him, confess his guilt before a magistrate, and take the oath of allegiance, should be saved from the penalty. A bill was also enacted, to preserve the public peace in the disturbed counties, by giving additional powers to the magistrates for a limited time.

In support of the regulations respecting the currency, made in the last session, an act was passed, by which payments of bank notes, whether in or out of court, were declared legal, to the effect of staying an arrest; and the provisions of this statute were extended to Ireland.

The act for prohibiting the grant of offices in reversion was renewed for two years. A bill was introduced for abolishing sinecure offices executed by deputy, and for creating from the profits of these offices, as they should fall in, a fund, from which the civil servants of the public might after a certain time be provided with pensions according to their merits. In the discussions on this subject, the office of paymaster of widows' pensions, which had thirty years before been noticed by the commissioners of public accounts as a useless sinecure, was abolished. The regent's confidential servant, colonel Mahon, by whom it was held, was appointed keeper of the privy purse, and private secretary to his royal highness. Strong animadversions were made on the latter office, and, though a motion for the production of the appointment was negatived, it was found expedient to adopt the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the salary should be paid out of the regent's privy purse.

[Overture to Grenville and Grey.—Lord Castlereagh succeeds marquis Wellesley.]

It was generally expected that, on the expiration of the restrictions imposed by the regency bill some important changes would take place in the cabinet. On the 13th of February, the prince addressed a letter to the duke of York, in which, after stating his satisfaction with the measures adopted by those ministers, whom, from a sense of duty to his royal father, he had retained in office, he expressed a wish that some of the persons with whom the habits of his early life had been formed, would strengthen his hands and constitute a part of his government. The letter concluded by authorizing the duke of York to communicate the sentiments of the prince regent to lord Grey, who would doubtless make them known to lord Grenville; and a copy of the letter was at the same time sent to Mr. Perceval.

In their answer to the duke of York, lords Grey and Grenville declared that no sacrifices, except those of honour and duty, could appear to them too great to be made for the purpose of healing the divisions of the country, and uniting both its government and people. They disclaimed all personal exclusion, and expressed on public grounds alone the impossibility of their uniting with the existing government. Their differences of opinion embracing almost all the leading features of the actual policy of the empire, were too important to admit of such a union. On one subject their sentiments were especially at variance with those of his majesty's ministers: they were firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the system of governing Ireland, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities, under which so large a portion of the people laboured on account of their religious opinions. To recommend to parliament that repeal would be the first advice which they would feel it their duty to offer to his royal highness. An answer so decisive precluded all hope that these eminent statesmen, or any of those "early friends," for whom, as it should seem, they were authorized to decide, would constitute a part of the existing government; and it is remarkable that their refusal was almost immediately followed by the resignation of the marquis Wellesley, who was succeeded in the office of secretary for foreign affairs by lord Castlereagh. An attempt, however, was made to accomplish the coalition which had been so anxiously desired. On the 19th of March, lord Boringdon, in the house of peers, moved for an address to the prince regent, to represent to his royal highness, that the administration, to which he might be pleased to commit the management of affairs, should be so composed as to unite, as far as possible, the confidence and good-will of all classes of the people; that in the present state of Ireland, it was impossible that such general confidence could be enjoyed by any administration which opposed the claims of the Roman catholics; and that his royal highness should endeavour to form a cabinet, which, by consulting the affections of all classes of the community, might effectually call forth the resources of the empire. In the debate on this motion, which was negatived, lord Grey explained the reasons which induced him and his friend to decline a share in the government. An event soon afterwards occurred, which, while it filled the whole country with consternation, rendered new arrangements necessary.

On Monday, the 11th of May, at about half past five in the afternoon, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons,

[Assassination of Mr. Perceval.—Negotiations respecting the cabinet.]

through the door at the head of the staircase, he was shot by a person, whose name afterwards proved to be Bellingham. He staggered a few paces, and fell at the feet of a gentleman who was standing near the second pillar in the lobby. He was conveyed to the speaker's apartments; but when brought thither, all signs of life had vanished, and on a surgical examination, it was found that the ball, which was of unusually large size, had penetrated the heart near its centre, and had passed completely through it. For a short time the alarm of a conspiracy pervaded both houses, but it subsided after the examination of the assassin. He professed to have sustained injuries from the Russian government, which he had made the subject of memorials to several of his majesty's ministers, and being unable to procure the redress which he sought, he determined to put one of them to death, that his case might be brought before a court of justice. It appeared on his trial, that the British ambassador at St. Petersburg had attended to his applications, and had ceased to interfere, only after he had been fully satisfied as to the legality of the proceedings instituted by the Russian authorities against the unhappy man. Respecting these claims, the reasoning of Bellingham was as absurd as his late conduct had been atrocious; but on other subjects he gave proofs of a sound mind: and as the plea of insanity was manifestly inapplicable to his case, he was found guilty, and underwent the sentence of the law. Pursuant to a message from the prince regent, an ample provision was made by parliament for the widow and children of Mr. Perceval, and on this melancholy occasion, when political animosity gave way to regret for his untimely fate, men of all parties concurred in bearing testimony to his upright and amiable character.

Overtures were now made by lord Liverpool to the marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning, but those statesmen positively declined to associate themselves with the government, assigning as their reason the avowed sentiments of ministers on the catholic question. On the 21st of May, a motion was made in the house of commons by Mr. Stuart Wortley, that an address should be presented to the prince regent, praying that he would be pleased to take such measures as might enable him, in the circumstances of the country, to form a strong and efficient government. The motion was carried; the address was presented; and the answer of his royal highness was, that he would take it into his serious and immediate consideration. The marquis of Wellesley, to whom was entrusted the arrangement for effecting the object of the address, proceeded, through the medium of Mr. Canning, to open a communication with the earl of Liverpool, proposing, as the chief conditions on which the new cabinet should be formed, the early consideration of the catholic question, and the more vigorous prosecution of the war in Spain. The proposal was instantly declined by lord Liverpool and lord Melville, who expressed their resolution not to become members of any administration to be formed by lord Wellesley. Their objection was said to be founded principally on a statement of the causes of lord Wellesley's resignation, which, a few days after the death of Mr. Perceval, found its way into the public papers, and which contained severe reflections on the talents and conduct of administration. The marquis afterwards communicated with lords Grey and Grenville, who declined his pro-



[Catholic affairs.—Revocation of the orders in council.]

posals almost as promptly as the ministers themselves. Lord Moira was afterwards empowered to negotiate with them; and as a full understanding was established on the principal points in discussion, while an assurance was given, that it was not intended to impose any restraint on their lordships, as to the policy which they might judge it expedient to pursue, it was generally believed that the treaty would be brought to a favourable issue. In an interview with lord Moira, they expressed their satisfaction with the fairness of the proposal, and their readiness to enter into such discussions as must precede the details of any new arrangement. As a preliminary question, which appeared to them of great importance, and which they thought it necessary immediately to bring forward, to prevent the inconvenience and embarrassment of the further delay which might be produced, if the negotiation should break off in a more advanced state, they asked, "whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great offices of the household which have been usually included in the political arrangements made on a change of administration;" intimating their opinion, that it would be necessary to act on the same principle on the present occasion. Lord Moira answered, that the prince had laid no restriction upon him in that respect, and had never pointed in the most distant manner at the protection of those officers from removal; that it would be impossible for him, (lord Moira,) however, to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable in the formation of the administration; because he should deem it on public grounds peculiarly objectionable. They replied, that on public grounds, it appeared to them indispensable that the connexion of the great offices of the court with the political administration should be clearly established in its first arrangements. Thus the negotiations terminated. On the 8th of June, the earl of Liverpool intimated to the house of lords, that the prince regent had been pleased to appoint him first commissioner of the treasury, and that his royal highness had given him authority for completing with all possible despatch the other arrangements of administration.

The affairs of Ireland, which occupied the attention of parliament at an early period of the session, were again discussed on the revival of the important question concerning the claims of the catholics. On the 22d of June, Mr. Canning, in the house of commons, moved a resolution, that the house, early in the ensuing session, would take into consideration the laws affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to a final and conciliatory adjustment; it was carried by 225 votes against 106. On the 1st of July, a similar motion was made by the marquis of Wellesley in the house of lords, when the previous question moved upon it by the lord chancellor was carried by a majority of one, the numbers being 126 to 125. This rejection of lord Wellesley's motion was by some ascribed to the violent conduct of a catholic meeting in Dublin, at which resolutions were passed, demanding a concession of the claims as a matter of right, and threatening exemplary vengeance on those who should be hostile to them.

The committee, which had been appointed to enquire into the effects of the orders of council, having made their report, Mr. Brougham

[United States declare war against Great Britain.—Budget.]

moved, on the 16th of June, for an address to the prince regent, beseeching him to recall or suspend those orders, and to adopt such measures as might tend to conciliate neutral powers, without sacrificing the rights and dignities of the crown. The motion was withdrawn, in consequence of an intimation from lord Castlereagh that government were about to make a conciliatory proposition to America. A declaration was accordingly issued in the gazette, stating, that by a prior declaration of the 1st of April, 1812, the repeal of the orders of council was to take place so soon as the French decrees were formally revoked; that a communication had been made by the American chargé d'affaires to lord Castlereagh, of a copy of the alleged instrument of repeal by the French government; and although this revocation was not such as to satisfy the conditions required by the British declaration, yet, as Great Britain was anxious to replace the commerce of neutrals on its ancient basis, the orders of council of the 7th January, 1807, and the 26th April, 1809, were suspended, as far as regarded American property, from the 1st of August following. As the armed vessels of Great Britain were excluded from the harbours of the United States, while those of France were admitted; and as all commercial intercourse with England had been suspended, it was declared, that if the American government should not, after the regular communication of the present document, alter its policy, then the repeal of the orders of council should not take effect. Provision was also made, that American ships seized since the date of the communication relating to the French decrees, should not be condemned; and an express reservation was made of the right of the British government to revive the orders of council, and to adopt such measures of retaliation as it might deem expedient, when circumstances should demand such a course of proceeding. This concession was made too late to be of any avail even as an experiment; for, on the 18th of June, the president of the United States intimated his approval of an act of congress, by which war was declared against Great Britain.

The financial measures for the year had been nearly arranged by Mr. Perceval before his death, and were adopted, with some exceptions, by his successor Mr. Vansittart. The joint charge on Great Britain and Ireland exceeded 58 millions, of which the proportion for Great Britain, joined to a separate additional charge of more than four millions, amounted to 55,350,648*l*. The following were the ways and means proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer for raising this enormous supply: the annual duties were taken as usual at 3,000,000*l*; the surplus of the consolidated fund, including the property-tax, 20,000,000*l*; the lottery, 300,000*l*; the loan in the 5 per cent. annuities, contributed by the subscribers of exchequer-bills in the spring of the current year, 6,789,625*l*; and exchequer-bills intended to be issued on the vote of credit, 3,000,000*l*. The last sum would make no addition to the unfunded debt, as an equal sum granted on the vote of credit of the last year had been funded, and not replaced by any fresh issue. The old naval stores, carried to public account, were estimated at 441,218*l*; and the surplus of the ways and means of last year at 2,209,626*l*. To these items were to be added the loan effected on the preceding day, of 15,650,000*l*.

[Spain.—Ciudad Rodrigo surrendered.—Capture of Badajoz.]

Parliament was prorogued on the 30th of July; and on the 29th of September was dissolved by proclamation.

At an early period of the year the campaign in the peninsula, to the astonishment and confusion of the invaders, commenced with offensive operations on the part of the British. Lord Wellington having made his dispositions for reducing the frontier fortresses occupied by the enemy, crossed the Agueda, and on the 8th of January invested Ciudad Rodrigo: while general Hill, advancing from Merida, compelled Drouet to retire from Almendralejo upon Zafra and Llerena, leaving his stores and ammunition. Badajoz was thus reduced to the utmost extremity; the country between the Tagus and the Guadiana cleared of the enemy, and the communication between Soult and Marmont intercepted. The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo was vigorously pressed, and on the 19th an attack was made in five separate columns, which proved completely successful at every point; the garrison, after a desperate conflict, surrendered to the number of 1700 men, besides officers, placing in the hands of the captors the heavy train of the French army, with great quantities of ammunition and stores. The British army sustained a severe loss in the death of major-general Mackinnon, who fell at the head of his storming party in the moment of victory; and the hardihood of the assault was shown in the number of killed and wounded, amounting to 1200. Thus, in the space of ten days, was recovered a fortress, which, when in a state of weakness, and garrisoned by Spaniards, resisted for a whole month the efforts of Massena, supported by an army of 110,000 men. Marmont, who had stationed his army on the Tagus to support the operations in Valencia, had calculated on being in time for its relief by the 29th of January; he had advanced to Salamanca with a large army collected from the north and centre of Spain, when he was surprised and mortified by the news of its fall. After attempting in vain to lure his antagonist to a battle, he placed his army in cantonments along the Tormes.

Having strengthened the fortifications of Ciudad Rodrigo, lord Wellington moved the greater part of his army to the southward, for the support of general Hill, who was blockading Badajoz with about 12,000 men, aided by the Portuguese army under marshal Beresford. He urged on the siege with such vigour and success, that on the 6th of April three practicable breaches were made; and a resolution was immediately taken to storm the place. Lieutenant-general Picton was ordered to attack the castle by escalade; major Wilson to assail the ravelin of San Roque; and major-general Colville to attack the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Martha. The conduct of a false attack was entrusted to lieutenant-general Leith, with instructions to convert it into a real one, should circumstances prove favourable. Picton crossed the Guadiana with some resistance, and in an hour and a half was master of the castle. Wilson carried the ravelin of San Roque; the light division under Colville, after repeated attempts, was unable to gain the bastions; but the false attack under general Leith, and the other operations of the besiegers entirely succeeded. The French governor, with his staff, retired into fort St. Cristoval, and surrendered on the following day. The garrison which amounted originally to



[Retreat of Marmont and Soult.—Wellington advances to Salamanca.]

5000 men, had lost 1200 killed and wounded in the previous operations, and suffered severely in the assault. The British and Portuguese had 809 killed and 2000 wounded.

By the speedy reduction of this important fortress, lord Wellington again baffled his opponents. Marmont, after vainly attempting to surprise Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, penetrated into Portugal as far as Castello Branco, where he no sooner learnt the result of the siege than he commenced a precipitate retreat. Soult, who had reached Villa Franca, fell back with equal alacrity, pursued by the British cavalry under sir Stapleton Cotton. On the 11th of April the dragoons under major-general Le Marchant charged the rear guard of the French with such impetuosity, as to drive them in the utmost confusion into Llerena, where the main army was posted. On the same day Soult evacuated the place, and thus the province of Estremadura was entirely freed from the enemy. The British commander, following up these successes, detached general Hill to destroy the bridge of Almaraz, almost the only communication below Toledo by which a large army could cross the Tagus. This bridge was strongly defended on either side by works which the enemy had thrown up, and was protected by the neighbouring castle and redoubts of Mirabete. The extreme badness of the roads retarded this enterprise; but on the 19th of May the British carried the works on the left bank of the river by escalade; the enemy attempted to escape over the bridge, but their comrades on the other side destroyed it, and fled with precipitation toward Naval Moral. Many of the fugitives, whose escape was thus intercepted, perished in the stream, and 300 were taken prisoners. This and other positions from which the French, after carefully fortifying them, were so suddenly expelled, became formidable barriers for the future defence of the peninsula; and the acquisition of them, while it gave fresh confidence to the British, augmented the alarm and embarrassment of the enemy. After the surprise at Arroyo Molinos they had good reason to apprehend, that if lord Wellington directed general Hill to do a service, it would be done, with the smallest possible loss of time, and in defiance of any ordinary measures of prevention. When Marmont heard of the movement upon Almaraz, he moved to the south-east as far as fort Veras, where the intelligence of its success induced him to retrace his steps, and again occupy himself in fortifying the convents of Salamanca.

Lord Wellington appeared before that city with his main army on the 16th of June, when the French general, leaving a force to defend the fortifications, retired with his troops across the Tormes. He afterwards attempted to relieve the forts, which from their strength had been formed into a depot of stores; but the British general, by a masterly manœuvre, compelled him to abandon them to their fate. Major-general Clinton, with the sixth division, was ordered to reduce them, and the service, after some delay occasioned by an accidental scarcity of ammunition, was accomplished. Lord Wellington then put his army in motion against Marmont, who hastily retired across the Douro, destroyed the bridges, and concentrated his forces at Tordesillas. His rear guard, stationed at Rueda, was attacked by the British cavalry under sir Stapleton Cotton, and driven in great confusion upon the main body. Lord Wellington deeming it imprudent

[Movements of the respective armies.—Battle of Salamanca.]

to attack the enemy in his strong position beyond the Douro, menaced the Spanish capital. Marmont, having received a reinforcement under general Bonnet, which gave him a superiority of numbers, extended his right as far as Toro, restored the bridge at that place, and ordered a part of his army to cross the river, as if to turn the British left. Suddenly recalling them, he made a rapid march with his whole army to Tordesillas, crossed at that point, and succeeded in turning the flank of the allies at Castregon. This brilliant movement re-established his communications with Madrid, and with the army of the centre. Lord Wellington having made dispositions for the retreat and junction of his different divisions, took up a position, in which he offered battle. Marmont declined it, but disdaining to wait for the reinforcements that were hastening to join him, persevered in his manœuvres on the British flanks. A series of skilful movements ensued on both sides, until the 21st of July, when the allied army was concentrated on the Tormes; the French crossed the river on the same day, and appeared to threaten Ciudad Rodrigo. During the 22d and 23d, Marmont practised a variety of evolutions to distract the attention of the British general from his real plan, which was to inclose the allies in their position on a peninsula formed by the river, and to cut off their retreat. He threatened their left, which he found well provided for defence, while their other flank, where the real attack was expected, presented a no less formidable resistance. In aiming to surround the British he extended and weakened his own line, and lord Wellington, watching the progress of this error, seized the favourable moment for striking a decisive blow. His arrangements were soon made, and no time was lost in executing them. Major-general Packenham, with the third division, began a furious assault on the flanks of the enemy's left, in which he was supported by brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, by the fourth and fifth divisions, and by the cavalry under sir Stapleton Cotton in front. The French, though finely posted and supported by cannon, were overthrown. Against the enemy's centre on the hill of the Arapiles, general Pack's attempt was at first unsuccessful; but the fifth division, after its success on their left, changed its front, and attacking the centre, drove it from the hill with precipitation. The right wing of the French, being joined by the fugitives, maintained a show of resistance, but it was attacked in front and on its flanks, and driven in confusion from the field. The pursuit was continued till night-fall and renewed next morning, when the French rear guard was overtaken, attacked, and put to flight, the cavalry leaving the infantry to their fate. Three whole battalions surrendered, and large quantities of stores, baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the conquerors. Eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, and six colours were taken; 5 generals, 3 colonels, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 130 officers of different ranks, and 7000 soldiers were made prisoners. The loss of the allies was about 700 killed and 4000 wounded. Major-general Le Marchant, a brave and skilful officer, was killed; lieutenant-generals Leith and Cole, and major-general Alten were wounded; sir Stapleton Cotton was fired upon at night through mistake by a British soldier, but happily his wound did not prove fatal. On the side of the enemy, Marmont and Bonnet were both wounded, and the command of the fugitive army

[Allied army enters Madrid.—Repulse at Burgos.—Movements of the French.]

devolved upon general Clausel, who made a stand for some time on the Douro; but on the approach of the victors crossed that river, abandoned Valladolid, and continued his retreat upon Burgos. Thus terminated the battle of Salamanca, in which the British general obtained a complete victory over an army superior in numbers to his own, and commanded by one of the most distinguished of the French marshals.

Lord Wellington, leaving a force under general Paget to watch the motions of the enemy, advanced with the main body of his army to the Spanish capital. Joseph Bonaparte, who with 20,000 men under his command, had reached Segovia, when he heard of the defeat of Marmont, hastily retreated through Madrid to Almanza, a position from which he could communicate either with Soult or with Suchet. On the 12th of August the allied army entered the capital, the Retiro, garrisoned by 1500 men immediately surrendered, and Guadalaxara was at the same time taken by the Empecinado. Intelligence was received that an army of British and Neapolitans from Sicily, under general Maitland, with some Spaniards from Majorca, had reached Alicante. Expectations were formed that this force, uniting with the patriots in Murcia, and Valencia, might favour the operations of the grand army by a powerful diversion; but unfortunately the defeat of general O'Donnel by the French under Harispe, combined with other reverses, disabled the Spaniards from acting, and in a great measure deranged the plan of the campaign.

Meantime the enemy, aware that their losses had been aggravated by want of concert, were co-operating to retrieve them. On the 24th of August, Soult relinquished the siege of Cadiz, and began to evacuate Andalusia, for the purpose of uniting his forces with those of Joseph Bonaparte and Suchet, for the recovery of the capital. The French troops stationed in Biscay, evacuated that province, and joining the wreck of Marmont's army under Clausel, moved in the direction of Burgos, to watch the British troops destined for the siege of that place. By thus threatening Madrid and reinforcing Burgos, they hoped to compel the British either to fight to a disadvantage or to retreat. They had strongly fortified the latter place, and made it the centre of their operations in the north of Spain.

On the 1st of September, lord Wellington quitted Madrid and advanced to Valladolid, the enemy retiring before him across the Pisuerga. He pursued them to Burgos, through which city they retired during the night of the 17th, leaving a strong garrison in the castle. Preparations were immediately made for besieging this important strong hold, and as the heavy artillery had not arrived, recourse was had to the slow and uncertain process of sapping. On the 11th of October a mine was successfully sprung, the breaches were instantly stormed and the lines escaladed; part of the British actually entered the works, but the fire from the garrison was so heavy that they were obliged to retire after suffering some loss. Preparations were made for renewing the assault; but at this critical period the British encountered a series of disappointments. They had been led to calculate on the support of a Gallician army, 30,000 strong, in the highest state of order and equipment; this army was found to consist of only 10,000 undisciplined troops. Ballasteros, instead of obeying the



[Wellington retreats to Portugal.—War with the United States.—East Indies.]

orders of the general to harass the retreat of Soult into Valencia, made an appeal to the Spanish army and the nation against the cortes who had invested lord Wellington with the chief command. A French army under Souham approached for the relief of the besieged fortress, and after sustaining a spirited repulse, appeared in great force on the 19th in the vicinity of Burgos. Advices were received on the 21st, that Soult, Suchet, and Joseph Bonaparte, with 70,000 men, were fast approaching the passes against general Hill, who had no adequate force to oppose them. This intelligence induced lord Wellington to raise the siege of Burgos, to retire toward the Douro, to recall his troops from Madrid, and to direct general Hill to proceed northward to join him. He moved upon Salamanca, where he hoped to establish himself, but Soult advancing from Madrid, and uniting his forces with those of Souham, obliged him to continue his retreat. On the 24th of November he fixed his head-quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier, after a masterly retreat before an army of 90,000 men, against which he could oppose only 52,000. The campaign might have had a different issue but for the miserable jealousy of Ballasteros, who was arrested by order of the cortes and exiled to Ceuta.

Compared with the conflict in the peninsula, the war with the United States was regarded by the people of England as an affair of inferior importance. The Americans obtained some successes at sea, and were beaten by land. On the 19th of August, their frigate, the *Constitution*, was enabled by great superiority in guns and men, to overpower the English frigate the *Guerriere*, which was burnt after the action. On the 26th of October, another of their ships, called the *United States* frigate, having the scantling of an English 74, crippled the English frigate *Macedonian*; their privateers made numerous captures in the West Indies. General Hull, after invading upper Canada, surrendered fort Detroit, with 2500 men and 33 pieces of ordnance, to a much inferior force of British and Indians, under general Brock. On the 13th of October, the American general Wadsworth made an attack on the British position at Queenstown; general Brock hastening to its defence, was killed while cheering his troops, but a reinforcement arriving under major-general Sheaffe, the Americans were defeated, and Wadsworth, with 900 men, surrendered.

In the East Indies, the strong fortress of Bundelcund capitulated to a British force, under colonel Martindell. An expedition, fitted out at Batavia, against Palembang, was completely successful, and the military force employed in it, afterwards subdued the sultan of Jojo-carta. A definitive treaty of alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Persia.

To secure the ascendancy of France in Europe, Bonaparte went to war with Russia, on the pretext that she had violated the treaty of Tilsit. He had provoked her hostility by seizing the dutchy of Oldenburg, and insulted her by demanding that she should adhere to the continental system, while he claimed the privilege of renouncing it at pleasure, by granting licenses to trade with England. He required from her the rigorous execution of his Berlin and Milan decrees, while he adhered to them only when it suited his convenience. The quarrel was of no recent origin, and so early as the spring of

## [Expedition to Russia.—Battles of Polotsk and Smolensko.]

1811, both parties were engaged in hostile preparations. Russia had now a force consisting of 300,000 infantry, and 40,000 cavalry, to which might be added 50,000 Cossacks. A great proportion of this force, however, was employed against the Turks, and in watching the movements of Sweden. Bonaparte having called forth the contingents of the Rhenish confederation, and an auxiliary force from the kings of Saxony and Naples, assembled an army on the frontier of Russian Poland, which, according to the most moderate computation, exceeded 400,000 men. A nominal treaty was concluded with Prussia, whose resources were already at the disposal of France; and the emperor of Austria, by a compact signed in March, engaged to place at Bonaparte's disposal, 30,000 men and 60 pieces of cannon. On the 30th of April, a French army of 80,000 men crossed the Vistula, and took possession of Elbing and Königsberg. Swedish Pomerania had been occupied in January by 20,000 French troops, as a pledge for the conduct of Sweden in the approaching contest.

Bonaparte set out from St. Cloud on the 9th of May, accompanied by his consort, and arrived on the 16th at Dresden, where he had an interview with the emperor and empress of Austria. On the 6th of June he passed the Vistula, and on the 22d, issued a formal declaration of war, and an address to his soldiers, in which he promised, "that Russia should be for ever excluded from exerting the unnatural influence which she had too long maintained in the affairs of Europe." On the 24th he passed the Niemen, and entered the Russian territory. The plan of his adversaries was, to resist the progress of the invader, at all points where a stand could easily be made without risking a general engagement; to lay waste the country through which he should aim to penetrate; to harass him as he advanced, and to cut off his supplies. Bonaparte encountered no formidable resistance in his rapid advance to Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, which he entered on the 28th of June. He there issued a proclamation, offering to restore freedom and independence to the Poles, with the exception of those who were subjects of the emperor of Austria. The Russians, whose forces were distributed over an extended line of country, gradually approximated during their retreat, and in the beginning of August, their main army, under Barclay de Tolly, were concentrated at Smolensko; while the enemy, whose head-quarters were at Vitepsk, were hastening the advance of their strongest divisions, in the hope of bringing on a general and decisive action. In this critical posture of affairs, the emperor Alexander was gratified by intelligence that peace had been concluded with Turkey, and that treaties of friendship and alliance had been concluded with Great Britain and with Sweden. The army of the Danube, under admiral Tchichagoff, after a long and difficult march, obtained some brilliant successes over the Saxons and Austrians, who had reached Minsk, Slonim, and Kobrine. In the north, a division of the invaders; under Macdonald, received a severe check from general Essen, to whom the defence of Riga was entrusted. Count Witgenstein defeated marshal Oudinot and the Bavarian general Wrede, at Polotsk, after a conflict of twelve hours, in which the enemy lost 10,000 men in killed and wounded, and thus were they foiled in their attempt to open a passage to St. Petersburg. Meantime, Bonaparte directed his attention to the main Russian army,

[Battle of Borodino.—The Russians evacuate Moscow.]

which he attacked at Smolensko, on the 17th of August. After a furious contest, the Russians retired from the city, which the invaders, on their entrance, found burning and in ruins. Their leader gave vent to his chagrin by exclaiming, “never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies.” He had certainly encountered no such obstacles in either of his marches to Vienna.

The Russian army retired upon Viasma, followed by the rear guard, which had been nearly intercepted by marshal Ney; but on receiving a timely reinforcement, was enabled to repulse him. Viasma, not being considered tenable, every thing in it which could be of use to the enemy, was destroyed; and the army took up a position nearer Moscow. At this juncture, the veteran general count Kutusoff was called from his retirement at St. Petersburg to take the chief command. On his way to head-quarters he passed through Moscow, where he had an interview with count Rostopchin, the governor. Arriving at head-quarters on the 29th of August, he put the army in motion, and halted it on the 31st, near the village of Borodino, on the great road leading to the capital, where he determined to hazard a battle.

The French entered Viasma on the 30th of August, and did not advance until the 4th of September. It was remarked, that Bonaparte, on being apprized that Kutusoff was opposed to him, became more cautious in his movements, and that he was more than usually anxious for the junction of reinforcements. The interval of preparation, however, was no longer than necessary for a conflict between two armies, each amounting to more than 120,000 men. It commenced on the morning of the 7th by a tremendous attack on the Russian left, against which nearly one-half of the French force was directed, while Ney bore down on the centre, and Beauharnois assailed the right. Kutusoff, finding that his left, after a combat of three hours, was giving way, reinforced it with grenadiers and cavalry from the reserve, when a desperate effort was made to recover the lost position, from which the French were at length driven. Beauharnois made repeated efforts to carry the village of Borodino and the redoubts which covered it, but he was ultimately repulsed with great loss. The Russians were then enabled to reinforce their centre, where the battle raged with great fury until night, when the French withdrew at all points, leaving them masters of the field. They estimated their own loss at 40,000 in killed and wounded, and that of the enemy at 60,000. Among the slain were generals Touchkoff and Konovitzin; prince Bagration afterwards died of his wounds. Of the French generals, Montbrun was killed and twelve others dangerously wounded.

After this dearly purchased victory, Kutusoff found himself unable to make head against the fresh troops which his antagonist was soon enabled to bring forward. He ordered Moscow to be evacuated, and retired with his army beyond it, to protect the rich provinces of Toula and Kalouga, where he maintained an uninterrupted communication with Tschichagoff; while to the north of the capital, Winzingerode, by the occupation of Twer, completed the line which was thus extended round the enemy. The painful, but necessary measure of with-



[Conflagration of Moscow.—The Russians refuse to negotiate.]

drawing from their homes in Moscow 200,000 human beings of both sexes, and of every age, was carried into effect by count Rostopchin, who placed himself at the head of 40,000 of its brave inhabitants, and proceeded to join the Russian army. He had a villa in the vicinity, to which he set fire with his own hands, and affixed the following notification to one of its gates: "Frenchmen; for eight years I found pleasure in embellishing this country retreat. I lived here in perfect happiness within the bosom of my family, and those around me largely partook of my felicity. But you approach; the peasantry of this domain, to the number of 1720 human beings, fly for mercy; and I set fire to my house. We abandon all; we consume all, that neither ourselves nor our habitations may be polluted with your presence. Frenchmen; I leave to your rapacity two of my houses in Moscow, full of furniture and valuables, to the amount of half a million of rubles. Here you will find nothing but ashes."

The advanced guard of the French, under Murat and Beauharnois, entered Moscow on the 14th of September, and soon overpowered the small band which still lingered in the ancient palace of the czars, called the Kremlin. The deserted city was discovered to be on fire in several places, and the French soldiers, eagerly seeking their long-promised plunder, rather increased than checked the conflagration. Bonaparte was waiting at the barrier on the Smolensko road to receive the homage of the constituted authorities ere he made his triumphal entry. A Polish general, whom he sent to remind the citizens of their duty, returned with information that there were no constituted authorities, and that Moscow would soon be a heap of ruins. The mortified conqueror entered without parade on the following day, and took up his residence in the Kremlin.

The first act of his authority was to order all Russians who could be suspected of setting fire to the city to be seized; about one hundred were tried and shot. On the third morning after his entrance a violent wind arose, and the conflagration became general. In less than an hour the whole extent of the capital for many versts appeared like a sea of flame, rendered more horrible by the tremendous volumes of smoke which darkened the air, and by the atrocious excesses of the French soldiers, who might be truly called the dæmons of this infernal scene. They remembered the promise of their chief when he pointed to the distant spires of Moscow; "behold the end of your campaign; its gold and its plenty are yours;" and they exercised this license for rapine, in defiance of the civil magistracy appointed by himself to restrain their excesses; nor could order be restored among them until the conflagration abated, when their rage subsided into sullen discontent. The Russians were in their rear, for Winzingerode had sent forward troops to Mojaïsk, and was in communication with the grand army under Kutusoff. Bonaparte still expected to be addressed as a conqueror, and obstinately remained in Moscow, though his stores were exhausted, his supplies intercepted, and his troops enfeebled by famine and disease. By a prompt retreat he might have secured winter-quarters in Poland, but his selfish pride revolted at a measure dictated alike by policy and humanity. Urged at length by the clamours of his soldiers, he sent Lauriston with a flag of truce to the Russian head-quarters, announcing his readiness to treat. The

[Retreat of Bonaparte.—Operations on the Dwina.—Plan for saving the army.]

answer returned was, that no terms could be entered into while an enemy remained in the Russian territory. The roads leading to Moscow were now occupied by detached corps under Dochteroff, Korff, Miloradovich, and Winzingerode, who cut off the supplies, dispersed the straggling parties of the French, and took many prisoners. Bonaparte sent Lauriston a second time to demand that if the Russian general would not listen to a negotiation, he should forward a letter to the emperor Alexander. "I will do that," replied Kutusoff, "provided the word *peace* is not expressed in that letter. I would not be a party to such an insult on my sovereign, by forwarding a proposal which he would order to be instantly destroyed. You already know on what terms alone offers of peace will be attended to." The clamours of the French increased; their foreign auxiliaries deserted in thousands, and made known the extent of their distresses. Lauriston was sent a third time to the Russian head-quarters with proposals for an armistice, and an offer that the French should evacuate Moscow, and take up a position in the neighbourhood, where the terms of a treaty might be afterwards arranged. The answer was, "it is no time for us to grant either armistice or negotiation, as the campaign, on our part, is but just opening." Bonaparte soon afterwards announced his intention of leading his army into other provinces until the return of spring, when he would advance on St. Petersburg, and erase the name of Russia from the list of European nations. He indulged his soldiers with an eight-days' pillage in Moscow, and commenced his retreat, leaving a force to blow up the Kremlin. General Iliovaskoy arrived in time to prevent the completion of this outrage, and on the 23d of October the exiled inhabitants of Moscow began to return to their desolated city.

Meantime general Essen, in the neighbourhood of Riga, harassed Macdonald until that general found it necessary to abandon the banks of the Dwina; and Witgenstein, in a series of sanguinary engagements with the French corps stationed at Polotsk, captured two thousand prisoners, including its commander, St. Cyr, and forty-five officers of different ranks. Tchichagoff compelled the Austrians and French to retreat upon Bialistock, and then, in consequence of orders from the general-in-chief, commenced his march upon Minsk, to interrupt the retreat of the grand French army.

In the pressure of increasing difficulties, Bonaparte adopted an expedient, which, although it threatened to sacrifice one part of his armies, promised to secure the flight of the other divisions, as well as his own personal safety. He sent towards Smolensko his wagons filled with plunder, ammunition, and wounded soldiers, and despatched Murat and Beauharnois, with 50,000 men, to attack the Russian grand army by surprise, as if his object had been to cut his way through it, and reach the fertile provinces of the south. He endeavoured, at the same time, to conduct the other divisions under his command to Minsk, where a grand depot had been established. Murat and Beauharnois were themselves surprised by a force which Kutusoff detached against them under general Benningsen, who attacked them in front, while count Orloff Denizoff turned their left flank, and fell upon their rear. They lost 2500 killed and wounded, 1000 prisoners, 36 pieces of cannon, and great quantities of ammunition, baggage, and plunder.

[Affair of Viasma.—Sufferings in the retreat.—Defeat of Davoust and Ney.]

Bonaparte, foiled in this plan, directed his march upon Mojaïsk, while the defeated generals aimed at the same point by a more circuitous route. Kutusoff moved onward, and ordered twenty-five new regiments of Cossacks, under the hetman Platoff, to scour the country in all directions, and harass the retreat of the enemy. The French, dispirited by hunger and fatigue, lost all confidence in their leader; and he, charging his generals with the care of the multitude which was once an army, journeyed in the midst of a strong guard, and meditated on the means of escaping to France. On the 2d of November, general Miloradovich, with the advance of the grand Russian army, came in contact with the French in the neighbourhood of Viasma. A line of battle was immediately formed by Ney, Davoust, and Beauharnois, but ere they could take advantage of the positions which presented themselves, they were attacked with impetuosity, and driven through the town at the point of the bayonet. Beauharnois made a hasty retreat to Douchovechina; Davoust and Ney took the road to Dorogobouche: and the stragglers scattered themselves along the banks of the Dnieper. The French lost in this affair 6000 men and 28 pieces of cannon.

The night which ensued was terrible to the fugitives: there was a heavy fall of snow, after which the frost became intense, and increased the mortality produced by warfare, famine, and pestilence. Horses died by hundreds, and many of the troops either perished from cold, or in despair suffered themselves to be taken by the enemy. Rapidity of movement was impossible, since, according to strict orders given at Moscow, the soldiers had to drag along with them, through roads nearly impassable, the whole of their cannon. Beauharnois, pursued in his retreat by the hetman Platoff, fled with one of his divisions toward Smolensko; the other, on its route to Douchovechina, was overtaken near the river Vop by the Cossacks, and dispersed, after losing 1500 killed, 3500 prisoners, and 60 pieces of cannon. That part of the French army which reached Dorogobouche was routed by Miloradovich, who captured 6000 prisoners, with a great quantity of cannon and baggage. The carnage was dreadful, and numbers of the wounded, exposed to the intense frost, endured a painful death upon the field.

Bonaparte reached Smolensko on the 9th of November, and remained there until the 15th, when he set out for Krasnoi. Davoust, who followed him, after blowing up the ramparts, was beaten by Miloradovich on the 17th, and escaped with the loss of 4000 killed and wounded, 9000 prisoners, and 70 pieces of cannon. He lost also the whole of his baggage, three standards, and his *baton de maréchal*. Ney, who left Smolensko with the rear-guard on the day of this battle, was surprised by the victorious Russians, and compelled to fly with a small proportion of his staff, leaving 11,000 of his troops in the hands of his pursuers.

Meantime, Witgenstein, after a series of successes against the corps of St. Cyr, Oudinot, and Victor, advanced from Polotsk, and on the 8th of November reached Vitepsk, where he was informed of the disastrous retreat of the grand French army. On the 18th, he was informed of the flight of the Austrian and Saxon auxiliaries, and of



[Bonaparte crosses the Beresina.—Kutusoff enters Wilna.]

the rapid advance of the Russians in pursuit. This intelligence was brought by colonel Czernicheff, who had performed a most arduous and extraordinary march from the army of the Danube. Witgenstein was now in communication with Platoff and the commander-in-chief, so that the whole force of the Russian empire was now directly co-operating against the retreating enemy.

The frost became daily more severe, and the distress of the French increased; they were nearly destitute of cavalry, of artillery, and of transport carriages. After leaving Krasnoi, Bonaparte was informed that his stores at Minsk were in the hands of the Russians, that his Polish general Dombrowsky was routed, that the corps of Oudinot and Victor were dispersed, and that the Russian grand army, the army of the Dwina on its left, and that of the Danube on its right, were closing upon him. To secure his escape he ordered two bridges to be thrown over the Beresina, at Stoudenzi and Vaselova. He had scarcely passed the river with his guard at the latter point, when Witgenstein opened a cannonade on the troops who were preparing to follow. They rushed in crowds toward the bridge; it was blown up by Bonaparte's order; a shout of despair followed the explosion; numbers plunged into the stream and disappeared amidst the floating masses of ice; 5000 were killed, and 13,000 were taken prisoners. The artillery, baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the Russians, who on this occasion recovered the greater part of the plunder which the French had taken from their cities.

After repairing the bridges, the Russian armies advanced, and on the 12th of December, prince Kutusoff established his head-quarters at Wilna. The retreat of the French from the Beresina to the Niemen was attended with horrors, to which no parallel can be found in the annals of the world. For weeks before they quitted Moscow, they had no regular supplies of food; they were exhausted by long marches, harassed by an indefatigable foe, and exposed to the severity of a Russian winter, with scarcely a garment to protect their freezing limbs. In some places their route might be traced by the dead bodies, which appeared like the mounds in a church-yard when covered with snow. The scene of a night-watch often exhibited at dawn a circle of the dying and the dead wrapped in rags, matting, old canvass, and even raw hides stripped from the perished horses. The fugitives set fire to houses and villages; and many, when their joints were racked by the sudden transition from cold to heat, became frantic and fell into the flames. Numbers, with their feet frozen and half mortified, were left to perish in the snow. It would be tedious to pursue the detail of these complicated miseries, of which the result may be calculated when it is known that of the 400,000 men who composed the invading army, not more than 50,000, including the Saxon auxiliaries, recrossed the Russian frontiers. Their losses by capture were stated by the accounts published at St. Petersburg to be 41 generals, 1298 officers, 167,510 privates, and 1131 pieces of cannon.

Bonaparte did not remain to witness the last scenes of the tragedy. On the 7th of December he reached Wilna, and having appointed Murat to the chief command, he departed for Warsaw, accompanied by Caulaincourt, and made a rapid journey to Paris. He was the

[Bonaparte returns to Paris.]

herald of his own discomfiture; and he proclaimed with circumstantial precision, the results of a campaign which did equal credit to his foresight as a politician, and to his skill as a general. In making this plain avowal, which intimated that France would be more in need of him than he of France, he betrayed some compunction; and that feeling would have been paramount, if his love of glory had not been exceeded by his contempt for mankind.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Hopes excited in England by the events in Russia.—Speech of the prince regent on the opening of parliament.—Exposition of the causes of the war with America.—Discussion of the Catholic question.—Mr. William Smith's bill in favour of Unitarians.—Renewal of the East India Company's Charter.—New plan of finance.—Budget.—Discussions on the treaty with Sweden.—Stipendiary curates' bill.—Speech on the close of the session.—Campaign in America.—Defence of Canada.—Loss of the Java.—Capture of the Chesapeake.—Spanish campaign.—The French retreat beyond the Ebro.—Advance of lord Wellington.—Battle of Victoria.—Suchet repulsed at Castella by the British.—Sir John Murray's abortive expedition to Catalonia.—Soult resumes the command of Joseph Bonaparte's army.—Battles of the Pyrenees.—Capture of St. Sebastian and Pampluna.—Lord Wellington enters France.—Drives Soult into his entrenchments at Bayonne.

It was amidst the ferment of a general election, that the conflagration of the ancient capital of Russia was made known to the people of England in one of those memorable bulletins, which issued from the Kremlin while Moscow was overwhelmed in "an ocean of flame." The sensation of astonishment and awe produced by this event, gave place to a hope that the Russians, after making so tremendous a sacrifice, would persevere in opposing the invader, until the delusion which represented his power as irresistible should be dispelled, and the other nations of Europe should be relieved from the *incubus* which had so long oppressed them. Subsequent events soon heightened this hope into confidence; and the new parliament assembled on the 24th of November, under happier auspices than the most sanguine politician could have ventured to anticipate.

The session was opened on the 30th, by the prince regent, who pronounced from the throne a speech, containing a comprehensive view of the great events of the year. In Spain, the marquis of Wellington, by the glorious victory at Salamanca, had compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Cadiz, and the southern provinces had thus been delivered from the armies of France. The concerted movements of those armies had rendered it necessary to withdraw from the siege of Burgos, and to evacuate Madrid for the purpose of concentrating the main body of the allied forces; but those efforts had been attended with important sacrifices on his part, which must materially contribute to extend the resources and facilitate the exertions of the Spanish nation. His royal highness expressed his firm reliance on the determination of parliament to continue every aid in support of a contest, which had first given to the continent of Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France. The recent treaties with the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm, were another topic of congratulation, and the exertions of the Russian emperor and his people against the common enemy, were mentioned with high applause. As a proof of his confidence in the British government, his imperial majesty had recently sent his fleets to the ports of this country; and the prince regent declared his fixed determination to afford to that monarch the most cordial support in the great contest



## [Causes of the war with America.]

in which he was engaged. In reference to the war with the United States of America, his royal highness, after noticing the measures pursued on either part, added, that his best efforts should not be wanting to restore the relations of peace and amity between the two countries, but until this object could be obtained without sacrificing the maritime rights of Great Britain, he relied on the cordial support of parliament in a vigorous prosecution of the war. The prince concluded by stating that the approaching expiration of the East India company's charter, rendered it necessary that the early attention of parliament should be called to the propriety of providing for the future government of the Indian provinces of the British empire. The addresses were voted in both houses without a division. The principal proceedings before the adjournment for the holidays were, a grant of 100,000*l.* to lord Wellington; the renewal of the gold coin bill, and a grant of 200,000*l.* for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

After the Christmas recess, the attention of parliament was directed to the origin and causes of the war between this country and the United States. On the 3d of February, lord Castlereagh presented to the house of commons a series of papers on this subject, accompanied by a declaration issued on the 9th of January by the prince regent, containing a summary of the whole transactions, a vindication of the conduct of Great Britain towards America, and the following exposition of the principles on which that conduct had been regulated. Great Britain can never acknowledge any blockade, which has been duly notified and is supported by an adequate force, to be illegal, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the ports or coasts are not at the same time invested by land. She can never admit that neutral trade with Great Britain can be constituted a public crime, the commission of which can expose the ships of any power to be denationalized. She can never admit that she can be debarred of her right of just and necessary retaliation through the fear of eventually affecting the interest of a neutral; or that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant-vessels in time of war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of the neutral flag. After refuting the various charges adduced by the American government against that of Great Britain, the declaration ascribed the origin of the contest to that spirit which had long actuated the councils of the United States, and which had induced them with marked partiality to palliate and assist the aggressive tyranny of France. This subserviency to the ruler of France, and this hostile temper towards Great Britain, were evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government. On this declaration, which was also presented to the house of lords by earl Bathurst, addresses were voted, approving its principles, and expressing the determination of parliament to support the executive government in the conduct of the war.

Early in the session, a bill, proposed by lord Redesdale, was passed, for the appointment of a vice-chancellor of England, with full power to determine all cases of law and equity in the court of chancery, to the same extent as the chancellors had been accustomed to determine,

[Catholic question.—Unitarians.—Charter of the East India company.]

and his decrees were to be of equal validity, but subject to the revision of the lord-chancellor, and not to be enrolled until signed by him.

The annual discussion of the catholic claims commenced on the 25th of February with a motion by Mr. Grattan for referring them to a committee of the whole house, which was carried by 264 votes against 224. On the 30th of April, Mr. Grattan introduced a bill for the removal of the catholic disabilities, with certain regulations and exceptions. It encountered little opposition on the first and second reading; but on its passage through a committee, Mr. Abbott, the speaker, objected to that clause by which catholic members were to be admitted to sit in parliament, and referred to certain circumstances which gave reason to believe that the ample concessions which the bill contemplated would fail to give satisfaction, in consequence of the conditions with which they were accompanied. The clause was rejected by a majority of 251 against 247, and the bill was abandoned.

On the 5th of May, a measure was instituted for extending the provisions of the toleration act, by granting "further relief to persons differing in opinion from the church of England, with respect to certain penalties imposed by law on those who impugn the doctrine of the Holy Trinity." The bill introduced for this object by Mr. William Smith was read a third time on the 30th of July, when the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Chester, disclaiming all intention of opposing it, observed, that it had not been called for by any attempt to impede the worship of Unitarians, or inflict penalties upon them. This enactment, to which ministers neither offered nor encouraged any opposition, was regarded as a pleasing proof of the progress of religious toleration.

The important question concerning the renewal of the East India Company's charter, concerning which so many petitions had been presented, was brought before parliament on the 22d of March, and gave rise to much debate. The bill ultimately passed was founded on certain resolutions proposed by lord Castlereagh, of which the following is an abstract. The company was to continue in possession of all its former territories in India, with the later acquisitions, continental and insular, to the north of the equator, for a further term of twenty years from the 20th of April, 1814. Their exclusive right to commercial intercourse with China, and to the trade in tea, was confirmed to them. His majesty's subjects in general were permitted to trade to and from all ports within the limits of the company's charter, in such commodities as are allowed by law, under certain provisions. All ships engaging in this private trade to the settlements of fort William, fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales's Island, were required to procure a license, which the court of directors, upon application, were bound to grant: to all other places, a special license was required, which the directors might grant or refuse, but under appeal to the board of control, which might oblige them to issue the license. The church establishment in the British territories in India was placed under the direction of a bishop and three archdeacons. The order of precedence for regulating the company's territorial revenues was to be, the maintainance of the military force: the payment

[New plan of finance.—Budget.—Treaty with Sweden.]

of the interest of their debts in England; the payment of the expenses of the establishments at their settlements; the liquidation of their territorial debt, their bond debt at home, and such other purposes as the directors, with the approbation of the board of control, might appoint. A sum equal to the payments made from the commercial fund at home, on account of territorial charges in the year preceding, was to be annually issued in India, for the purpose of investment, or of remittance to England. The dividend on India stock was limited to ten per cent. until the fund, called the separate fund, should be exhausted, when it was to be  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The number of king's troops, for which payment was to be made by the company, was limited to 20,000, unless a greater number should be sent to India at the request of the court of directors. By these provisions, the East India Company, as sovereigns, obtained nearly all that they could demand in regard to political power; and their interests as merchants were but little affected, since the trade was opened to competition only in those branches which were avowedly the least profitable.

On the subject of finance, an important measure was proposed in a committee of the whole house, on the 3d of March, by Mr. Vansittart, which received the sanction of the legislature. After suggesting some arrangements of minor importance, respecting the redemption of the land-tax, and an addition to the sum appropriated to the sinking fund, on each new loan, he proceeded to unfold his new plan, the general nature of which may be thus explained. By the original constitution of the sinking fund, the stock purchased by the commissioners was not cancelled, but was still considered to be their property; and the interest was regularly applied by them to the further discharge of the national debt. This arrangement, securing an accumulation by compound interest, was now abolished; the whole stock purchased by the commissioners, which was now stated at 238 millions, an amount exceeding that of the debt when the fund was instituted, was to be cancelled, and the interest to become disposable for current services, or for paying the interest of new loans. An addition of 867,963*l.* was at the same time to be made to the sinking fund. It was also proposed, that when the loans should in any year exceed the amount of the sinking fund, a new fund of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. instead of one per cent. should be provided for that surplus.

The budget was produced on the 31st of March, when the joint charge of supplies was stated at 72 millions, of which the proportion for Great Britain, with the addition of the separate charge, amounted to 68,685,942*l.* Of the ways and means the principle articles were, war-taxes, 21 millions; exchequer bills funded, 15 millions; vote of credit, six millions; and loan, 21 millions.

The treaty of concert and subsidy with Sweden, which was laid before parliament on the 11th of June, excited strong animadversions from the opponents of ministers. By its stipulations the king of Sweden, engaged to employ a force of not less than 30,000 men, in a direct operation on the continent, against the common foe, in concert with the Russian troops under the command of the prince royal of Sweden, according to a compact between the courts of Stockholm and Petersburg. To this compact his Britannic majesty acceded, so far as not only to oppose no obstacle to the annexation of Norway to the



[Stipendiary curates.—Speech.—Campaign in America.]

kingdom of Sweden, but to assist, if necessary, in obtaining that object by a naval co-operation, it being understood that recourse should not be had to compulsion, unless the king of Denmark should previously have refused to join the alliance upon the conditions stipulated between the two northern courts. His Britannic majesty engaged independently of other succours, to furnish to Sweden, for the service of the current campaign, the sum of one million sterling, and also ceded to her the island of Guadaloupe. The king of Sweden reciprocally granted to the subjects of his Britannic majesty for twenty years, the right of *entrepot* in the ports of Gottenburg, Carls-ham, and Stralsund, for all commodities of Great Britain and her colonies, upon a duty of one per cent. *ad valorem*. Lord Holland deprecated the transfer of Norway as irreconcilable with public law and national honour, denounced the cession of Guadaloupe as altogether unwarranted, and opposed the subsidy as inconsistent with the financial difficulties under which the country was labouring. His amendment, requesting the prince regent to suspend the execution of the treaty, was rejected, and the original address of thanks was carried.

Among the proceedings of minor import during this session, may be noticed, an act for augmenting the stipends of curates, and for establishing some proportion between them and the value of the livings which they served. The salaries were in no case to be less than 80*l.* or the whole value of the benefice, if inferior to that sum; and they were to rise in gradations up to 150*l.* according to the value of the benefice and the population of the parish.

The session closed on the 22d of July with a speech from the throne, in which the prince regent expressed his satisfaction with the favourable state of affairs on the continent, and his regret at the continuance of war with the United States, declaring, however, that he could not consent to purchase peace by a sacrifice of the maritime rights of Great Britain. He approved the arrangements made for the government of British India, and concluded with avowing his resolution to employ the means placed in his hands by parliament, in such a manner as might be best calculated to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and facilitate the attainment of a safe and honourable peace.

The war with the United States was conducted on a small scale, and its events will demand only a very brief notice. Eager to retrieve the disasters of the former campaign, the Americans, having collected a large force in the back settlements, again approached Detroit. Colonel Proctor, who commanded the British, made a vigorous forward movement, and on the 22d of January, routed their advance guard with great slaughter, and captured 500 men, among whom was their commander, general Winchester. Another division of the enemy, which took post at Ogdenburgh, and made excursions to the opposite bank of the St. Lawrence, was dislodged by a British force under major Macdonnel. In the end of April, an American expedition of 5000 men, under general Dearborn, took possession of York, at the head of lake Ontario, from whence, general Sheaffe, who had not 1000 men, was compelled to retire. About the same time, general Vincent was obliged, by great superiority of numbers, to evacuate fort St. George, the main point of defence on the Niagara frontier.

[Defence of Canada.—Loss of the Java.—Capture of the Chesapeake.]

To these disasters was added, the failure of an attempt made by colonel Baynes to obtain possession of Sackett's Harbour. On the 5th of June, the enemy were defeated at Burlington, by general Vincent, and compelled to fall back on Niagara; but soon afterwards, colonel Proctor, failing in an attempt on Sandusky, was attacked by the American general Harrison with 10,000 men, who captured nearly the whole of his force: he himself escaping with a few attendants. A mortifying reverse was sustained on lake Erie, in consequence of the delay of a despatch from sir George Prevost to admiral Warren, demanding a reinforcement of shipping. On the 10th of September, nine American vessels encountered six British; the unequal contest was gallantly maintained; the American commander's vessel, the *Lawrence*, at one time struck, but came again into action, and at length the whole British squadron, reduced to a complete wreck, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Three American armies, each amounting to ten thousand men, marched in the end of October from different points upon Lower Canada. Harrison proceeded along lake Erie, Wilkinson embarked on lake Ontario, and Hampton marched to Montreal. The latter commander, with his whole corps was arrested for a day by three hundred Canadian militia; and on the arrival of fresh forces against him, he evacuated the province. Wilkinson, after having effected a landing near Kingston, was totally routed by a detachment amounting to one-sixth of his force, under lieutenant-colonel Morrison, and compelled, with the loss of one thousand men, to cross the St. Lawrence, whence, after abandoning his boats, he retreated by a difficult country to Plattsburg. On the 25th of December a British and Indian force surprised fort Niagara, and destroyed or made prisoners the whole garrison. The British then crossed the river, attacked general Hull, who was posted on the other side with ten thousand men, and put him to the rout. Thus, notwithstanding partial reverses, the campaign was on the whole glorious and fortunate for Great Britain.

At sea the success of the belligerents was more equally balanced. The British frigate *Java*, of thirty-eight guns, capt. Lambert, sailed from Spithead in November of the preceding year, for the purpose of conveying lieutenant-general Hislop to Bombay. She was met off the coasts of Brazil by the American frigate *Constitution*, of fifty-five guns, captain Bainbridge: and after a furious action, in which captain Lambert and many of his officers and men were killed, she was set on fire and blown up. This afflicting loss was compensated in the ensuing summer, by an achievement peculiarly gratifying. Captain Broke, of the *Shannon* frigate, with another small vessel attending him, had been cruising for some time near the harbour of Boston, where the *Chesapeake* frigate then lay. As she did not venture to come out, though much superior, especially in men, captain Broke, on the 1st of June, dismissed the attendant vessel, and with the *Shannon* alone, drew up before the harbour of Boston in a posture of defiance. Captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake* accepted the challenge, and put to sea, while crowds of the inhabitants lined the beach to witness the approaching conflict. So great was the public confidence in Boston as to the issue, that, according to some accounts a public dinner was prepared for the victors, and accommodations provided for their

[Wellington generalissimo of the Spanish forces.—Concentration of the French.]

expected captives. The interval of suspense was not long; the two vessels came almost immediately in contact, and the volumes of smoke which obscured them gave hopes to the spectators on shore that the contest would be decided in their favour by superior weight of metal. At this critical moment, captain Broke observing that the enemy flinched from their guns, gave orders to board. In less than ten minutes the whole of the British crew were on the decks of the *Chesapeake*; and in two minutes more the enemy were driven sword in hand from every point. The American flag was hauled down, and the British Union floated over it in triumph. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole service was performed in fifteen minutes from its commencement. Both ships, observes captain Broke in his letter to the admiralty, came out of action in the most beautiful order, their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute. The *Shannon* sailed immediately with her prize for Halifax.

In Spain preparations were made for a vigorous campaign against the enemy, who, though still formidable, were reduced to act on the defensive. The cortes, on the suggestion of the regency, passed a decree investing lord Wellington with extraordinary powers as generalissimo of the Spanish land forces, which were to be greatly augmented and disciplined under officers appointed or approved by himself. During the period of repose, the British army, which had been reinforced by 20,000 men after the battle of Salamanca, was brought to a high state of efficiency. At the opening of the campaign in May, the disposable forces of the allies were estimated at about 80,000 British and Portuguese, and 50,000 Spanish regulars, besides a considerable guerrilla force, which was hourly increasing. Lord Wellington, with the main body of the British and Portuguese, occupied cantonments along the northern frontier of Portugal, while general Hill, with a part of the army and the Spanish forces under Murillo, was posted in Estremadura. The second and third Spanish armies, under the duke del Parque and general Elio, were stationed, the one in La Mancha, and the other on the frontiers of Murcia and Valencia. An army of reserve, recently levied in Andalusia, was placed under the command of O'Donnell, who for his gallant conduct in Catalonia had been created Conde de Abisbul. The army of Galicia, under Castanos, was stationed on the frontiers of that province, and from the devotion of its leader to the British general, might be considered as placed entirely at his lordship's disposal.

The enemy, warned by the reverses of the last campaign, concentrated themselves in Castile, where the three French armies, of Portugal, of the centre, and of the south, were united under the orders of Joseph Bonaparte, whose head-quarters were at Madrid. Soult had been called off to assist his master in Germany; and numerous draughts had been made from the forces of the usurper, which were but inadequately supplanted by raw troops of the new conscription. The army of Portugal was commanded by general Reille, who had his head-quarters at Valladolid; that of the centre, under count d'Erlon, was posted near Madrid, and that of the south had its head-quarters at Toledo. Thus posted, in the centre of the kingdom, the French hoped, by rapid movements, to baffle the attacks of the allies from the dif-



[Allies march on Valladolid.—French evacuate Madrid.]

ferent points of the extensive semicircle which they occupied; but these hopes were frustrated by the profound and judicious tactics of lord Wellington.

The campaign did not open until the end of May. General Hill, who had made a movement to threaten Madrid, turned to the left, marched through Puerto de Banos, and joined the main army, which was assembling near Ciudad Rodrigo. General O'Donnel at the same time, marched through Estremadura, and the whole force of the allied army directed its course northward on the Douro. Along the right or northern bank of that river, which, being rugged and precipitous, commands the left, the French possessed a range of fortified positions; by which they hoped, for a time at least, to dispute the passage; but lord Wellington provided against this obstacle by a very admirable arrangement. Advancing with the light troops of the centre, he entered Salamanca, which the French general Villatte, had scarcely time to evacuate with the loss of 300 of his rear guard; the right, under sir Rowland Hill, moved in a parallel direction toward the left bank of the Douro: sir Thomas Graham, with the main body of the army, passed to the north of the river at Braganza, and proceeding along the right bank, superseded the necessity of forcing a passage in the face of the fortified positions. The French precipitately withdrew their detachments from both banks of the Douro, leaving no other obstacles to the advance of lord Wellington than those which nature presented.

After remaining a few days at Salamanca, his lordship left the command of the centre and right to sir Rowland Hill, and joined the left under sir Thomas Graham at Carvelejos. On the 31st of May this wing crossed the Esla, and passing through Zamora, arrived on the 2d of June at Toro, the French having evacuated both these places. On the following day lord Wellington halted to give time for the rear to close in. The army of Galicia had now effected a junction with this division, and formed its extreme left. On the 4th, the whole allied forces marched on Valladolid.

The French, astonished and alarmed at these movements, determined to abandon the capital: the troops stationed there and on the Tagus began their march on the 27th of May, and on the 3d of June crossed the Douro. Though their different armies were thus united, they did not attempt to defend Valladolid, or the passage of the Pisuerga, but continued their retreat without intermission to Burgos. Lord Wellington had advanced to Placentia, and allowing the army a short repose after a march of such extraordinary rapidity, pushed forward with the cavalry and light troops to reconnoitre the enemy. They were covering Burgos in a strong position; but a charge of British cavalry soon turned both their flanks, and obliged them to fall back behind the river Urbelar. In the course of the night they withdrew through the town, having first destroyed the works of the castle, and on the following day all their troops were in full retreat toward the Ebro.

Concluding that if he continued the pursuit along the main road, his progress might be obstructed by the strong fortress and defiles of Pancorbo, he ordered the allied army to make a movement on its left, with a view of passing the Ebro near its source. This operation,

## [Battle of Victoria.]

being unforeseen by the enemy, was effected without opposition, and he was thus enabled to threaten their rear, and interrupt their communications with France. He directed his march on Victoria, which the French had made their central depot in the frontier provinces. They evacuated Pancorbo in the night of the 18th of June, and hastened to take up a position in front of Victoria, which they effected on the following day. Their left rested on the heights, which terminate at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended across the valley of Zadora, in front of the village of Arunez. They occupied with the right of the centre a height which commands the valley: their right was stationed near Victoria, to defend the passages of the river Zadora. They were commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, under whom marshal Jourdan acted as major-general.

As the columns of the allied army had been much extended during a rapid march through a rugged and difficult country, a halt was made on the 20th in order to close them up, and lord Wellington employed that day in reconnoitring the position of the enemy. \* On the following morning he made a general attack, and obtained a complete victory, taking from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 wagons of ammunition, all their baggage, treasure, provisions, cattle, and a considerable number of prisoners. Among other trophies of this glorious achievement was the bâton of marshal Jourdan. The operations commenced with a successful movement of sir Rowland Hill, to obtain the heights of Puebla, which the enemy had strangely neglected to strengthen, and which they made strenuous but fruitless efforts to retake. Under cover of these heights general Hill passed the Zadora at La Puebla, and took the village of Sabijana de Alava, in the front of the enemy's line. From the difficult nature of the country the different columns stationed on the river Bayas could not attack as soon as was expected. The fourth and light division, however, passed the Zadora immediately after general Hill had occupied Sabijana; and almost as soon as these divisions had crossed, the earl of Dalhousie's column arrived at Mendonza, and the third division, under sir Thomas Picton, crossed the bridge higher up, followed by the 7th division. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre, while general Hill moved forward to attack the left. The enemy abandoned his position in the valley, and retreated in good order towards Victoria. The British continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground.

Meantime sir Thomas Graham, commanding the left of the army, moved from Margina on Victoria, by the high road from Bilboa. He attacked and carried the villages of Gamarro Mayor and Abechinco, which the enemy had occupied as *têtes-de-pont* to two bridges over the Zadora. On the left of that river there were two divisions of infantry in reserve, and it was impossible to cross until the columns directed against the enemy's centre and left should have driven them through Victoria. This service having been gallantly performed, the whole army co-operated in the pursuit.

By the capture of Gamarro and Abechinco, the fugitives were cut off from the high road to France, and were obliged to retreat towards Pampluna. They were unable to retain any position for a sufficient length of time to carry off their artillery; and consequently all the guns

[Advance of the allied army—Suchet repulsed at Castella.]

that remained, as well as their ammunition, baggage, and property of every kind, were taken close to Victoria. They secured one gun and one howitzer; and that solitary gun was afterwards captured. They passed Pampluna without halting at that fortress, and pursued their retreat over the Pyrennees into France. Joseph Bonaparte fled in confusion through Salvatierra, and thus closed his ignoble usurpation of the Spanish monarchy.

Lord Wellington followed up this brilliant victory with his characteristic promptitude and decision. After sending the light troops toward Roncesvalles, and directing general Hill to move through the mountains to the head of the Bidassoa, he prepared to intercept general Clausel, who, with that part of the army of the north which had not been engaged at Victoria, was posted at Logrono. Clausel retreated by forced marches, and crossed the Ebro at Tudela; but being informed that the British were upon the road, he recrossed, and marched towards Zaragoza, and thence retired by a circuitous route through Jaca across the Pyrennees. He was harassed during these movements by general Mina, who took from him two pieces of cannon and some stores at Tudela, besides 300 prisoners. General Graham marched with the left wing against a force collected from the garrisons in Biscay, which made a stand on a hill near the road from Pampluna. He dislodged and drove them into Tolosa, from whence they retired to the Bidassoa, and were driven across that river by a brigade of the army of Galicia under general Castanos. The port of Pasages at its mouth was taken by Longa, and its garrison made prisoners. Pancorbo, where the enemy had left a force to maintain their communication with Burgos, was blockaded by the Condé de Abisbal, to whom it surrendered on the 28th of July. After the right and left wings of the enemy had been withdrawn into France, three divisions of the centre, under general Gazan, remained in the fine and fertile valley of Bastan, which was full of strong positions. On the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July, they were successively dislodged by a British and Portuguese force under sir Rowland Hill, and driven into France. After these brilliant operations, the British invested St. Sebastian and Pampluna, two of the strongest fortresses in Spain.

On the eastern coast of the peninsula the campaign had commenced in April, when the Anglo-Sicilian army, under sir John Murray, left Alicant, and advanced to Castella, while general Elio took post at Yesla and Villena. On the 11th, Suchet, having collected the whole of his disposable force, attacked the corps of Elio, while yet unsupported by the rest of the allies; drove it with some loss from Yesla, and reduced the garrison of Villena. On the following day he assailed the advanced posts of the British; a vigorous resistance was maintained for five hours, and the troops at length fell back on the main body, only in compliance with orders from the general. At noon, on the 13th, Suchet presented himself before the position at Castella, where the British were concentrated. After having displayed all his cavalry, he advanced a corps of 2000 infantry, with the view of forcing the left of the line, which was covered by the van-guard of general Whittingham; these troops received their assailants at the point of the bayonet, then charged them with destructive effect, and threw them into disorder. Suchet, unused to such treatment, performed a



[Expedition to Tarragona.--Soulé takes command of the French.]

series of operations, which ended in a retrograde march. General Murray immediately ordered nine battalions of infantry and 1000 cavalry to pursue, and they occasioned great loss to the retreating columns. Perceiving however, that their superiority in cavalry gave them great advantages for proceeding in a direct line, general Murray commenced a flank movement upon Alcoy in hopes of seizing the entrenched camp at San Felipe, but they arrived at the former place a quarter of an hour before the allies, and the plan being frustrated, the British returned to their former position.

Pursuant to instructions from the duke of Wellington, which had for their object an operation on the rear of Suchet's left flank, general Murray, on the 31st of May, embarked his force, and on the 3d of June invested Tarragona. After taking fort San Felipe, on the Col de Balaguer, and constructing batteries for the siege, he abandoned the enterprise, in consequence of intelligence received on the night of the 11th, that Suchet was approaching from Tortosa, and that a French column was marching from Barcelona. He re-embarked his army on the 17th, and returned to Alicant, leaving his cannon in the batteries, although admiral Hallowell was of opinion that if he had remained until night they might have been brought away. A court of military inquiry, which was afterwards held on the expedition, acquitted him of all other charges, and ascribed this part of his conduct to a mere error in judgment. Lord William Bentinck, who succeeded him in the command, resumed the siege of Tarragona, in August. Suchet, who had retired into Catalonia, advanced to Villa Franca; and, the British general having withdrawn, he entered Tarragona, destroyed the works, withdrew the garrison, and again retired towards Barcelona. As the third Spanish army was detached to co-operate against the enemy on the side of the western Pyrennees, the remaining forces in the east of the peninsula continued to act on the defensive.

To maintain and cover the sieges of the frontier fortresses, lord Wellington was under the necessity of dividing his army. He established his head-quarters in Lesaca, at a small distance from St. Sebastian, and directed two divisions to cover the roads leading from Pampluna; one under general Hill, in the Puerto de Maya, and the other under general Byng, on the extreme right, at Roncesvalles. The siege of St. Sebastian was conducted by sir Thomas Graham.

Meantime the discomfited army on the Pyrenean frontier of France was reinforced, and Soult was despatched in all haste from Germany to take the command. On ascertaining the positions of the allies, he determined, with his whole force, to beat one of the covering armies, and then throw himself on the flank and rear of the other. On the 24th of July he directed a division against general Hill, at Puerto de Maya, and at the same time made a formidable attack, with 30,000 men, on general Byng's division at Roncesvalles. This division, though reinforced by another under sir Lowry Cole, was obliged to give way, and take post at Zerbiri, while general Hill, whose rear was now threatened, retired to Iruirita. On the 27th Soult arrived in sight of Pampluna, and immediately commenced operations for its relief. On the following day he made a furious attack on the positions of the British, but his troops were every where repulsed.

[Battle of the Pyrennees.--Capture of St. Sebastian.]

Generals Hill and Dalhousie arriving with their divisions, placed themselves in line with the rest of the force. On the 29th and 30th the opposing armies continued to view each other, neither daring to attack the formidable heights on which its antagonist was posted. But in the course of these days the enemy cautiously withdrew a considerable body of troops from the front, where the former actions had taken place, and moved them to the right, with the view of attacking the British left under sir Rowland Hill. On the following day they obliged him to fall back from the range of heights which he occupied to another immediately behind. Lord Wellington, seeing the enemy's line weakened, instantly detached lord Dalhousie and general Picton to drive them from the heights on which their right and left rested; and this service having been rapidly accomplished, the centre advanced to join in the attack. The French were driven from one of the strongest positions which it was possible for troops to occupy, and compelled to fall back on their own frontier. To cover their retreat they placed a strong rear guard in the pass of Donna Maria, from which it was driven by lord Dalhousie. They endeavoured to make another stand on the heights of Puerta de Echalar, but they were dislodged by a single British division; and Soult, who had been ordered to celebrate Bonaparte's birth-day in the town of Victoria, was reluctantly compelled to solemnize that anniversary in France.

The fortress of St. Sebastian was obstinately defended. A breach having been effected on the 25th of July, the besiegers made an attempt to storm, but they were unable, by their bravest efforts, to overcome the unexpected difficulties opposed to them. As the port was necessary for the supply of provisions and other necessaries by sea to the army in its ulterior operations, not a day was lost in prosecuting the siege. To cut off the communication of the enemy with France, sir George Collier, with a party of marines, stormed the island of Santa Clara at the mouth of the harbour, and took the garrison prisoners. New breaching batteries were in the meantime raised, and carried forward with such vigour, that on the 31st of August it was determined to attack and form a lodgment on the breach, which now extended to a large surface on the left of the fortifications. The assault was made at eleven in the forenoon by a combined column of British and Portuguese. The breach proved extremely fallacious; for when the assailants, after being exposed to a heavy fire of shot and shells, arrived at the foot of the wall, they found a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet to the level of the streets, leaving only one accessible point, formed by the breaching of the end and front of the curtain, which admitted an entrance only by single files. No man survived the attempt to surmount the narrow ridge. Two hours of severe but fruitless exertion ensued, and the attack was almost in a desperate state, when sir Thomas Graham adopted the venturous expedient of directing the guns against the curtain over the heads of the assailants. The firing was executed with admirable precision and proved effectual. In an hour the defenders were driven from their complicated works, and retired to the castle, leaving the town in full possession of the allies, who had upwards of 500 men killed and 1500 wounded.

On the morning of this day Soult crossed the Bidassoa in great force; but he was gallantly repulsed by the Spanish troops whom lord

[Fall of Pampluna.—Soult retires within his entrenchments.]

Wellington had posted on the hills near the right bank of the river. In the afternoon he renewed his attack at another point, and was again beaten. The castle of St. Sebastian surrendered on the 8th of September, and the garrison, now reduced to about 1800 men, were made prisoners.

The left of the allied army crossed the Bidassoa on the 7th of October, and gained a firm footing in the French territory. Pampluna surrendered, on the 31st of October, to Don Carlos de Espana; and the rear of the army being thus secured, lord Wellington was enabled to direct his whole force against the French in their sacred country. They had formed and fortified two lines of defence; one along the river Nivelle, and the other immediately in front of Bayonne. The march of the allies was impeded by heavy rains; but on the 10th of November the whole army was brought forward to attack the French intrenched position along the Nivelle. Three British and one Spanish division drove them from the strong posts which they occupied on the left of their centre. Lord Wellington then directed troops to advance upon the rear of their right; but before this operation could be performed, day closed, and the enemy took advantage of the darkness to retire upon Bedart, leaving their strong lines in the possession of the allies.

They withdrew into their intrenched camp at Bayonne, their left occupying the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Adour and the Nive, their right and centre extending from the left bank of the Nive to the Adour, below Bayonne. The front was here protected by an impassable morass. Lord Wellington deeming this position impregnable by a direct attack, determined to threaten the rear of the enemy, and accordingly directed generals Hill and Beresford to cross the river in two divisions. This operation was effected on the 9th of December, and a series of actions ensued, in which the principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the British left, and were uniformly defeated. The Dutch regiment of Nassau, and the German regiment of Frankfort came over to the allies. On the 13th Soult suddenly moved his whole force through Bayonne, and fell upon the British right under sir Rowland Hill. Lord Wellington expected this attack, and sent reinforcements to resist it: but general Hill's troops alone defeated the enemy with immense loss, and drove them into their intrenchments. The loss on both sides was considerable; but the allies were completely successful, and they established themselves firmly between the Nive and the Adour. After the discomfiture of Soult there was no hope for Suchet in Catalonia; and thus by the genius, activity, and perseverance of lord Wellington, and the indefatigable exertions of the allied troops, who shrunk from no obstacle under such a leader, the liberation of the peninsula was accomplished.



## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

The Prussians under general York separate from the French.—Truce between the Austrians and Russians.—The king of Prussia declares war against France.—Military preparations of Bonaparte.—Positions of the allies.—Movements of the French.—Battle of Lutzen—of Bautzen.—Armistice.—Austria joins the alliance.—Blucher defeats Bonaparte on the Katzbach.—Battle before Dresden.—Bernadotte's victory at Dennewitz.—Bavaria joins the alliance.—Battle of Leipsig.—Bonaparte retreats, and returns to Paris.—Liberation of Hanover.—Revolution in Holland, and restoration of the prince of Orange.—Denmark joins the allies.—Declaration of the allied sovereigns.—Basis of the treaty proposed by them.—They cross the Rhine.—Bonaparte's reproof to the legislative body.—Caulaincourt sent to Chatillon.—Meeting of parliament, and measures for the prosecution of the war.

THE coalition which Bonaparte had formed against Russia, gave him much anxiety after his ruinous expedition to Moscow. He was apprehensive that Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and the smaller states of the Rhenish confederation, would abandon a cause for which they had been compelled to make so many sacrifices, and would espouse that of his victorious adversary. He could not hope to overawe them, except by levying another powerful army in France, and marching it into Germany. However disunited among themselves, they were bound to *him* by no tie of mutual interest; they could not applaud his wild usurpation of Spain, or justify his iniquitous and ill-timed invasion of Russia; still less could they excuse that perverse obstinacy in error, with which, by procrastinating his retreat, he exposed his own forces and theirs to the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, amidst the horrors of a northern winter.

Prussia was the first to shake off the yoke. When prince Kutusoff arrived on the frontier, he issued a proclamation, explaining the moderate views of his government, and promising support, on the part of his imperial master, to every people, who, being then obliged to oppose him, should abandon the cause of Napoleon, and pursue their real interests. It was to Prussia that this invitation was particularly addressed. At this time, 15,000 Prussians, commanded by general Von York, were united with the 10th corps of the French army, under Macdonald, in the blockade of Riga. Macdonald, retreating with great expedition, succeeded in extricating himself; but York concluded a convention with the Russians, by which, his troops were to remain neutral in eastern Prussia. This defection alarmed Bonaparte so much, that he issued a *senatus consultum* for calling out 350,000 men. There was a time when the mere promulgation of such a decree would have rallied his troops; but that time was past, and the scattered bands of his grand army continued their flight to the Vistula. Witgenstein, pursuing Macdonald, entered Königsberg on the 7th of January. On the 12th, admiral Telichagoff, and count Platoff, took possession of Marienwerder, Marienburg, and Elbing; and on the following days, having crossed the Vistula, and its tributary stream, the Nogat, they pursued the French in different direc-

[Truce with the Austrians.—King of Prussia declares war against France.]

tions, on the roads to Dantzic and Graudenz. On the side of Warsaw, the Austrians and Saxons were driven back by the Russians under Sacken and Vasilchikoff. The emperor of Russia crossed the Niemen on the 13th, amidst the acclamations of his troops, and pursued his march in a westerly direction, while the columns under Miloradovich and Dochteroff, moved in a parallel line on the left. The Prussians every where hailed them as deliverers. The capital was in the hands of a French garrison; but the populace rose against these troops, and obliged them to remain in their barracks. At Königsberg, where a regency had been established, general York was declared commander-in-chief of the patriotic army, and numbers daily flocked to his standard. The king suddenly withdrew from Potsdam, and went to Breslau, where, on the 3d of February, he issued proclamations, calling on his subjects to arm in support of their king and country. Volunteers from all parts of the kingdom presented themselves for enrolment in such multitudes, that the new commander of the French forces prohibited the recruiting enjoined by the royal decree. This new commander was Eugene Beauharnois, who, on the retirement of Murat, through indisposition or disgust, was nominated to succeed him, as "possessing the entire confidence of the emperor."

The Austrians, in the month of February, concluded an unlimited truce with the Russians, in virtue of which they withdrew into Galicia. The Saxons under Regnier, availing themselves of this opportunity, retired towards their own country, pursued by Winzingerode, who made 2000 prisoners, and took seven pieces of cannon. On the 15th, the king of Prussia offered himself as mediator between the belligerents; he proposed that the Russians should retire behind the Vistula, and the French behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia and its fortresses free from foreign usurpation. On the rejection of these terms by Bonaparte, he concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the emperor of Russia. The king of Saxony, unhappily for himself, took a different course, and at a time when the approach of the allied armies obliged him to quit Dresden, issued a proclamation, in which he told his subjects, that the political system to which he had for the last six years attached himself, was that to which the state had been indebted for its preservation amidst the most imminent dangers. General Blucher, who commanded the Prussian army of Silesia, published an address to the Saxons, stating that he entered their territory to offer them his powerful assistance, and calling on them to raise the standard of insurrection against their oppressors. He made the following energetic allusion to the events of the late campaign: "In the north of Europe, the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and the angel of death has cut off 300,000 of those strangers, by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under their yoke." Prussia now became one great camp; the militia and the levy en masse were called out, volunteers enrolled themselves on all sides, and the national enthusiasm rose to a height which it had never attained in the most prosperous days of the monarchy. Berlin was evacuated by the French on the third of March, and the Russian general Czernicheff, entered it on the following day, amidst a great concourse of people. The small force under Morand, which occupied Swedish



## [Preparations of Bonaparte.—Battle of Lutzen.]

Pomerania, followed the main French army; but it was intercepted and beaten, its leader killed, and his remaining troops made prisoners. Hamburg was entered on the 18th by the Russian general Tettenborn; a Swedish force advanced to Stralsund, and in the following month, the strong fortress of Thorn surrendered to the Russians. On the 20th, the king of Prussia published an edict, abolishing the continental system, and regulating the importation of merchandise into his dominions, from which all French goods were prohibited.

Meanwhile Bonaparte was actively employed in augmenting his military force, and in strengthening his authority by conciliating public opinion. He released the pope from imprisonment at Fontainebleau, restored the territories of the church, and procured the sanction of his holiness to his second marriage. A regency was provided, in the event of his death, during the minority of his son; it was vested in Maria Louisa, and she was to act with the assistance of a council. In preparing to take the field, he thought it necessary to make an addition, even to the immense armament already in preparation. Ninety thousand men of the conscription for 1814, originally destined for the reserve, were now rendered disposable; and ninety thousand more were raised by a sort of retrospective conscription. Requisitions of horses were made on the municipalities to replace the cavalry lost in the Russian campaign. The raw levies were disciplined by officers procured in drafts from the peninsula, or in the skeletons of regiments from the north. A large camp was formed on the Maine, where training could be carried on without interruption from the enemy. On the 15th of April, Bonaparte set out for the army.

About this period the allied forces were thus distributed. Wittgenstein, with the main body of the Russians, had crossed the Elbe; part of Tchichagoff's army was in the vicinity of Thorn; while another division under Platoff was besieging Dantzic. The army under Winzingerode was at Custrin, Lansberg, and Dresden; another corps had crossed the Elbe at Schandau to turn Davoust, who was threatening Hamburg. Blücher had removed from Silesia into Saxony, and York was at Berlin with the main Prussian army. Detachments had been sent to Hamburg and Rostock, which were now occupied by Prussian corps, and another detachment had invested Stettin. An army of 50,000 men, under the crown prince of Sweden, was expected at the commencement of the campaign. The Prussians were estimated at 70,000, the Russians at 110,000.

The French army on the Maine moved into Saxony; that under Beauharnois marched from Magdeburg to meet it, and a junction was effected on the left bank of the Saale. Their united numbers were estimated at 170,000 men. On the 25th of April, Bonaparte arrived at Erfurt, and immediately ordered all the divisions to move forward in the direction of Leipzig. On the morning of the 2d of May he advanced into the plain of Lutzen, with the view of reaching that city, and of throwing himself on the rear of the allies. They, however, suddenly crossed the Elster at Pegau with their whole force, and commenced a grand attack upon the French army. An obstinate battle ensued, in which the village of Gros Gorschen was six times taken and retaken by the bayonet; but it was at length won by the allies. They drove the French from their positions, and remained



[Battle of Bautzen.—Armistice.—Austria joins the coalition.]

masters of the field; but they subsequently found it necessary, from inferiority of numbers, to fall back upon the Mulda, and afterwards to retire beyond the Elbe. Bonaparte entered Dresden on the 8th, and was there joined by the king of Saxony.

The allies, having received strong reinforcements under Barclay de Tolly, Langeron, Sass, and Kleist, took up a strong position on the Spree, near Bautzen, where they were attacked by the French. A series of sanguinary actions ensued, from the 19th to the 22d, in which the loss of the French by their own accounts amounted to 11,000 men, and that of the allies to 6000. The latter retired in good order upon Schweidnitz, southward through Silesia, and along the frontier of Bohemia, with the view of drawing the enemy as far as possible from Berlin and the central provinces of Prussia. Bonaparte, moving onward with his main army, raised the blockade of Glogau, and took possession of Breslau, the capital of Silesia. He had here the satisfaction of learning that the negotiations between Denmark and Great Britain had failed, and that Hamburg was occupied by a detachment from the corps of Davoust.

Through the mediation of Austria, an armistice was concluded on the 1st of June, of which the duration was fixed to the 20th of July. By its terms, the line of demarcation for both armies took its departure from the frontier of Bohemia, and extended to the Oder, according to their actual occupation. Breslau, being between them, was declared neutral. The line which separated the detached corps was continued from the mouth of the Katzbach, along the Oder, to the frontier of Saxony and Prussia, where it joined the Elbe. A congress was holden at Prague to arrange a general pacification; and to afford time for the discussions the armistice was prolonged; but finding that Bonaparte would not make even a nominal sacrifice for the repose of Europe, the emperor of Austria declared war against him on the 10th of August, and concluded a treaty of alliance with Russia and Prussia.

At this crisis the forces under the immediate command of Bonaparte, were estimated at 300,000 men. He had established a strong fortified line, extending from Wittenberg through Torgau and Dresden, to the intrenched camp at Pirna. His main army was stationed between this line and the Silesian frontier. Mortier was posted with 70,000 men in Upper and Lower Lusatia; Ney, with nearly an equal force, occupied Bautzen. The Saxons were at Goerlitz. On the Maine there was an army of reserve under Augereau, and an army of 25,000 Bavarians was stationed near Munich. A considerable force under Davoust defended Holstein and Hamburg, and threatened Pomerania. The communication was maintained by the garrison of Magdeburg.

The grand army of the allies, consisting of the whole Austrian force and large detachments of Russians and Prussians, took its position in Bohemia, thus threatening Saxony and the rear of the French. Blucher commanded about 100,000 men in Silesia. Bernadotte, who commanded the army of the north of Germany, amounting to 120,000 men, had his head-quarters at Berlin. He was there joined by his early companion in arms, general Moreau, whose counsel

## [Battles of the Katzbach, Dresden and Dennevit.]

was considered of high importance in concerting the military operations.

While this army was occupied in repulsing a combined force of the enemy under Marmont and Victor, general Blucher crossed the Bober, and drove in all the French corps which defended that river. On the approach of Bonaparte with a strong reinforcement, he retraced his steps, and took up a strong position near Lignitz, on the Katzbach. He was there attacked, but he defended himself with great intrepidity, took 18,000 prisoners, 103 pieces of cannon, 250 wagons, and two eagles; and compelled the enemy to retreat. They returned in greater force, and he retired in good order behind the Katzbach. During these demonstrations, which for a time engrossed the attention of Bonaparte, the allies were issuing in great force from the passes in Bohemia, and moving upon Dresden. On the 28th of August Bonaparte came out of that city with 130,000 men to attack them, having detached a force under Vandamme to seize the passes in their rear. The battle was chiefly fought by the cavalry and artillery, and continued until evening, when the allies retired toward the Bohemian frontier. In the assault on the preceding day, general Moreau, while conversing with the emperor Alexander, was struck by a ball, which shattered one of his legs, and, passing through his horse, carried off the other. He bore the wounds and the amputation of both limbs with great firmness, and was carried on a litter, formed by the lances of the Cossacks, to Toplitz, where he expired. His death was greatly lamented by the allies, and especially by his countryman, Bernadotte, who knew how deeply he sympathized in the sufferings of France under Bonaparte. Yet this death was not glorious for a man who had served his country so well! On their retreat the allies captured Vandamme and six other generals, 10,000 men, six standards, and sixty pieces of cannon. They were re-animated by intelligence that Blucher had attacked and beaten Macdonald on the 26th and the two following days, taking from him eighty pieces of cannon, great quantities of ammunition, and 15,000 prisoners.

The army of the north of Germany, under Bernadotte, obtained a splendid victory on the 6th of September at Dennevit, over a strong force commanded by marshal Ney, taking 5000 prisoners, thirty pieces of cannon, and 200 ammunition wagons. Blucher, after driving before him the wreck of Macdonald's army, pursued his victorious career almost to the gates of Dresden. The grand army of Bohemia again advanced toward that city, and occupied Dohna and Pirna. Bonaparte remained there until the beginning of October, waiting for reinforcements from France, and employing his troops in marches and counter-marches, to frustrate the plans of the allies. Their grand army in Bohemia, being reinforced by 40,000 men under general Bennigsen and the hetman Platoff, proceeded in three divisions towards Chemnitz and Freiburg, to interrupt his communications with the Rhine. Blucher and the crown prince at the same time advanced, and effecting a junction, moved on the 5th towards Leipzig, with a force amounting to 130,000 men. A treaty of alliance was concluded on the 8th between the courts of Vienna and Munich; in consequence of which, general Wrede, at the head of 35,000 Bavarians, immediately

## [Battle of Leipzig.—Retreat of Bonaparte.]

co-operated with the allies. Bonaparte concentrated his forces at Leipzig while the allies extended themselves on every side, and prepared for battle. The united armies of Bernadotte and Blücher were posted on the north, from the Mulda to the Saale; the grand army, on the south, extended from the latter river to the Mulda. On the morning of the 16th, general Blücher attacked the three French corps commanded by marshal Ney, and after an obstinate conflict, drove them behind the Partha immediately under Leipzig, taking 12,000 prisoners and 40 pieces of cannon. On the same day a simultaneous attack was made by the grand Bohemian army on the side of Wachau and Liebert Wolkowitz. Bonaparte with his cavalry broke their centre; but at this critical moment, his progress was checked by six regiments of Austrian cuirassiers. On the 17th, the allies made a pause, to bring up their reinforcements; and Bonaparte drew his army closer round Leipzig, attempting no other operation than that of securing an opening through the hostile line in the direction of Weissenfels, in which he succeeded. A general battle ensued on the 18th, which was not distinguished by any bold manœuvres or striking vicissitudes. On the north, Bernadotte, reinforced by 30,000 men from Blücher's army, crossed the Partha, and drove the enemy through the villages of Sonnerfeldt, Parnsdorf, and Schönfeldt, upon Leipzig. He was about to halt for the arrival of his artillery, when a large body of Westphalian and of Saxon troops, the latter bringing with them twenty-two pieces of cannon, came over to him, and accepted his offer to head them against the French. The grand Bohemian army, against which the most strenuous resistance was made, pressed onward, and towards evening effected a junction with the army of the north, under the walls of Leipzig. Bonaparte had now lost in killed, wounded, and captured, 40,000 men, with sixty-five pieces of cannon; all his outposts and fortified lines were carried, and the only line of retreat which he had secured was over a marshy tract, intersected by five or six rivers running in a parallel direction, at a small distance from each other. His army began to file toward Weissenfels during the night, and in the morning the magistrates of Leipzig, at the instance of Bonaparte, sent a deputation to the head-quarters of the allies, requesting a suspension of arms for the purpose of arranging a capitulation. It was easily seen that this was an artifice to facilitate the escape of the remaining part of the French army. The emperor Alexander openly declared that no respite could be allowed; the allied forces were led to the attack; after a short resistance they carried the city, and at eleven in the forenoon, the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, arriving from different quarters, met in the great square, amidst the acclamations of the army and of the people. Bonaparte had quitted Leipzig about two hours before. The French were flying in utter confusion over the Elster; the bridge was choked up with men and cattle; prisoners were taken by thousands; and the greater part of those who plunged into the stream perished. The whole of the rear guard fell into the hands of the allies: among the prisoners were Regnier, Brune, Vallery, Bertrand, and Lauriston. Macdonald with difficulty gained the opposite bank; prince Poniatowski, making the same attempt, was drowned. The wounded, to the amount of 50,000, were all taken, together with the



[Bonaparte goes to Paris.—Advance of the allies.—Revolution in Holland.]

magazines, stores, and artillery remaining in the city. The king of Saxony, who, with his whole court, ranked among the prisoners, was sent under a guard to Eysebnach.

Bonaparte retreated through Erfurt with about 70,000 or 80,000 men. Blücher, supposing that he would cross the Rhine at Coblenz, directed his march on that town, and was thus disappointed in his hope of overtaking the enemy, who was enabled to turn his whole force against the 30,000 Bavarians posted at Hanau, under general Wrede. They disputed his passage with great determination, and did not retire until they had sustained a severe loss, in this unequal encounter. Bonaparte continued his retreat through Frankfort, crossed the Rhine on the 7th of November, and proceeded to Paris on the 9th, sending before him, twenty stands of colours, taken by his victorious armies in the battles of Weissen, Leipzig, and Hanau!

The grand allied army, consisting of the Austrian, Bavarian, and part of the Russian and Prussian armies, advanced to the Maine; and the respective sovereigns established their head-quarters at Frankfort. The crown prince of Sweden, with the army of the north, marched into Hanover, and entered its capital on the 6th of November. The regency of the electorate was re-established, to the general joy of the people, who gave the most affecting proofs of loyalty to their venerable sovereign, while contrasting his mild sway with the odious tyranny which had of late oppressed them. The crown prince proceeded on the 17th to Bremen, where general Winzingerode's corps had lately arrived; Bulow moved to Arnheim, while Bennigsen and Walmoden with the Hanoverians, and Adlercrantz with the Swedes, marched against Davoust and the Danes.

The efforts of the allies for the liberation of Germany encouraged the people of the United Provinces to recover their independence. In the month of April some partial disturbances had ensued, in consequence of the enrolment of the national guard; but they were speedily quelled, and in the season of apparent tranquillity which followed this storm, the French made large drafts from their military force in that country, until it was reduced to 10,000 men. After the battle of Leipzig, secret confederacies were formed at the Hague, and at Amsterdam, among the principal burghers, for the purpose of directing and regulating the patriotic impulse in favour of the ancient government. On the 15th of November, the populace of Amsterdam rose in a body, and proceeded to burn the wooden huts of the French douaniers, or excisemen, and pillaged the house of a receiver of customs who refused to take down the arms of Bonaparte. On the 16th, count Styrum was proclaimed governor of the Hague, in the name of the Prince of Orange; and the national flag was hoisted amidst enthusiastic shouts of "*Oranje Boven!*" At this time the whole force of the confederates scarcely amounted to 900 men, badly armed. During the three years and a half since its annexation to France, the country had been drained of its arms, ammunition, military stores, accoutrements, artillery, and horses. General Molitor, with an army of 4000 regular troops, was at Utrecht, only twelve leagues from the Hague, and there was a French garrison at Gorcum. These troops were recovering from their panic, and were advancing to the towns which they had evacuated. Of the allies, only a small band of Cossacks had arrived; and it

## [Restoration of the prince of Orange.]

was known that the military plans of the allies did not permit general Bulow to pass the Yssel. The assembly of ancient regents convoked by the confederates refused to assume the administration, even when informed that succours had been solicited from England. Patriotism, however, at length prevailed over fear; and on the 23d the prince of Orange was solemnly proclaimed at Amsterdam. The example was followed by the magistracy of Rotterdam; but an interval of anxious suspense ensued until the 27th, when Mr. Fagel returned from England with intelligence, that succours would speedily be sent, and that the prince would sail as soon as possible for Holland. A pressing solicitation having been sent to Bulow at Munster, he ventured on his own responsibility, to pass the Yssel, and soon afterwards general Winzingerode received from the crown prince an order to advance. On the 28th, four English men-of-war appeared off Schæveningen, and on the following day a body of marines were disembarked to the extreme joy of the people, who had begun to dread the return of their vindictive oppressors. These alarms might be heightened by the report of a dreadful tragedy, which had recently been acted at Woerden. The French recaptured that town on the 24th, and massacred the inhabitants, sacrificing to their indiscriminate fury three generations at once. On the 30th this atrocity was severely retaliated by the Prussians, who put the whole garrison to the sword. On the same day the prince of Orange, accompanied by lord Clancarty, and the British embassy, landed at Schæveningen, and proceeded to the Hague, amidst the acclamations of a people from whom he had been separated during nineteen years of adversity. On the 3d of December, he made his entrance into Amsterdam, where he was proclaimed sovereign prince of the Netherlands, and on the following day he announced his determination to establish a free constitution. The French, believing that a powerful army escorted him from England, confined themselves to defensive measures; they still held the greater number of the fortresses, and the whole of Zealand, including the isle of Walcheren. The Brill was speedily reduced, and Helvoetsluys surrendered on the 5th of December to some marines of admiral Young's fleet, aided by a body of Dutch troops. The next day 1700 English guards landed at Schæveningen. Notwithstanding the strong hold which the enemy still maintained in the country, no doubts were now entertained of its speedy deliverance, and measures were immediately adopted for the levy of troops, and the regulation of the military force. Impoverished as the Dutch had been by the exactions of their tyrants, and diminished as their efficient numbers were by the conscription law, yet in the short space of four months 25,000 men were raised, armed, and equipped, from a population of 1,800,000 souls. Their natural love of liberty urged them to redoubled exertions against a strong and cruel enemy, who had deliberately ruined their commerce, reduced them to a state of vassalage, and wasted their blood and treasure in a warfare, alike iniquitous in its object, and disastrous in its issue.

Bonaparte was now disposed to treat for the evacuation of all the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, which would have liberated 50,000 of his soldiers: but the allies rejected that overture. They refused to allow terms of capitulation to the French garrison

[Denmark joins the allies.—Declaration.—Address of Bonaparte.]

left in Dresden, under Gouvion St. Cyr and Lobau, who, with a force of 16,000 men surrendered on the 12th of November as prisoners of war. The garrisons in Stettin and its forts followed the example, and the Dutch troops, who formed part of them, immediately mounted the Orange cockade, and were sent to join their countrymen.

Early in December the crown prince, moving his army northward, drove Davoust into Hamburg, separated the French from the Danes, and conquered Holstein, while the Russians under his command overran Sleswig, and established themselves on the frontier of Jutland. These successes produced a decided change in the policy of Denmark, and, on the 14th of January, her ministers concluded a treaty with Mr. Thornton on the part of England, and with baron de Witterstedt for Sweden, according to which 10,000 Danes, then stationed at Rensburg, were immediately united to the army of the north of Germany. Bernadotte was thus enabled to march his legions to the Rhine, after leaving 30,000 men, under Bennigsen, to form the siege of Hamburg.

On the 1st of December the allied sovereigns issued a declaration explanatory of their views and policy. Victory had conducted them to the banks of the Rhine, and the first use which they made of it was to offer peace. They desired that France might be great, and powerful, because in a state of greatness and strength she constituted one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wished that France might be happy; that her commerce might revive, and that the arts might again flourish; because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory, which France, under her kings, never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank by having, in its turn, experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest in which it had fought with its accustomed bravery. But they wished also to be free, tranquil, and happy themselves. They desired a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, might preserve their people from the numberless calamities which had overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years. They would not lay down their arms until this great result should be obtained; until the political state of Europe should be re-established; and until the fidelity of treaties should have at last secured a real peace.

The temper in which Bonaparte met these pacific overtures may be judged from his address to his council of state on the 1st of November, to which the above declaration seems to have been intended as a contrast. "Wellington," said he, "is in the south; the Russians threaten the northern frontier, Austria the south-eastern; yet, shame to speak it, the nation has not yet risen in mass to repel them. Every ally has abandoned me; the Bavarians have betrayed me. Peace! no peace till Munich is in flames! I demand of you 300,000 men. I will form a camp at Bourdeaux of 100,000, another at Lyons, a third at Metz; with the remnants of my former levies I shall have a million of men under arms. But it is *men* whom I demand of you; grown men, in the prime of life; not those miserable conscript striplings who choke my hospitals with the sick and my highways with their carcasses. Give up Holland! rather resign it to the sea! I hear only the word peace when all around me should re-echo the cry of war!"



[Proposed treaty.—Amount of the allied forces.—They cross the Rhine.]

He determined not to sacrifice any of the conquests which he yet retained, and would hear of no proposition which should reduce him to the position which he occupied at the peace of Luneville. He caused the senate to pass two decrees for levying 300,000 men, and for doubling the public contributions. Apprehensive, however, that the moderation of the allies might alienate the minds of the French people, by throwing on him the odium of continuing the war, he authorized Caulaincourt to accept the basis of a treaty adjusted by the Austrian cabinet in the presence of lord Aberdeen, the English ambassador. The terms of this basis were, that the allies were resolved to abide by their reciprocal engagements, and to insist upon a general peace, including England as well as the continental belligerents; that the allied sovereigns were agreed upon the limits which nature herself had assigned to France, namely, the course of the Rhine, the chain of the Alps, and the mountains of the Pyrennees; that Germany, including all the provinces on the right bank of the Rhine, should recover its independence; that Spain should be evacuated, and the ancient dynasties restored in the peninsula; that the arrangements with Austria respecting Italy should be the subject of future discussion; that Holland should become an independent state; and that England would acknowledge such freedom of commerce and navigation as could be justly claimed by France. The discussion of these terms occasioned no interruption of hostilities, and Bonaparte hoped that while negotiation and warfare proceeded together, he might, either by victory or intrigue, detach Austria from the confederacy. He professed to regard the impending invasion as a disgrace to France, and not to himself.

At this period the Russian army had received reinforcements, which swelled its amount to nearly 200,000 men. The main body of the Austrian army, amounting to 150,000, with a reserve of nearly equal numbers, was stationed along the upper Rhine, and extended its operations from Geneva to Spire. The army of Prussia, which exceeded 140,000 men, was under the command of general Blücher, whose head-quarters were at Frankfort. The German forces, exclusive of the Prussians and Austrians, were estimated at 144,000 men. A force of 10,000 men, sent from England, under sir Thomas Graham, had arrived in Holland to co-operate with Bulow, whose corps formed the extreme right of that immense army, which occupying a frontier of 500 miles in extent, rested its left wing on the mountains of Switzerland.

The Austrians under Schwartzberg crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen; the Russians near Rastadt; the Prussians under Blücher between Coblenz and Mannheim. The French marshals, Marmont, Mortier, Victor, and Ney, retreated, after attempting to resist the overwhelming torrent of invaders, and Macdonald, imitating their example, withdrew from the lower Rhine into the interior. In the middle of January Schwartzberg established his head-quarters at Vesoul in the department of Upper Saône, and his advanced guard, under count Guilleminot, captured the important town of Langres la Pucelle, while Blücher advanced to Nancy, the ancient capital of Lorraine. Thus the allies, adopting the tactics of Bonaparte, penetrated, by rapid and simultaneous movements, into the interior of the

[Address of the legislative body.—Caulaincourt sent to Chatillon.]

hostile country, leaving behind them the fortresses, to be observed and blockaded by their followers. They were enabled by the great numbers of their irregular forces to occupy almost all the towns and villages in Alsace, Franche Comté, and Lorraine, and thus to frustrate the conscription and the levy en masse in those frontier districts where the people would have been most likely to arm against invasion.

Alarmed at the dangers of the country, the legislative body ventured to recommend pacific measures to Bonaparte. He had communicated to them documents relative to the negotiation with the allies, expecting of course an address, declaring that he had in vain used every effort to procure peace, and that the French people were bound to support him with their lives and fortunes in the inevitable war which the allies had forced upon him. They appointed a committee, under Monsieur Lainé, to make a report to him on the documents laid before them, in which they suggested that the declaration of the allies should be answered by a counter-manifesto on his part, distinctly avowing the sacrifices which he was willing to make for the repose of Europe. They intimated that it was only on the rejection of such a pacific overture that France could be considered as embarked with him in a common cause, for the defence of the liberty, safety, property, and rights of the people. He forbade the printing of the report; prohibited their future sittings, stationed a military force in the hall, and summoned the legislators before him. He told them that Lainé was a traitor, in correspondence with the prince regent of England; others of the committee were fools, treading the path which had conducted the Girondists to the scaffold. "You are not," he said, "the representatives of the people; you are but the deputies of the departments. I came to seek consolation from you; courage I have of my own. Instead of doing what I desired, you have sought to calumniate me in the eyes of France, and to draw a line of distinction separating the interests of the sovereign and of the people. I am the only true representative of the people; which of you is able to support such a charge? The throne is but a wooden chair covered with velvet. I am both the sovereign and the people. In three months the enemy shall be repulsed, or I will be no more. Is it a time to prate of reforming the constitution when the frontiers are attacked? If France desires another constitution, and that constitution does not suit me, let her seek another sovereign. Have I not stooped sufficiently to attain peace, in sacrificing my sense of superiority over those with whom I am treating for it? If I have pride it is because I have courage; it is because France is indebted to me for her greatness. Your address is unworthy of me and the legislative body; I will print it in my own time, with such notes as shall redound to your eternal disgrace. Begone to your homes! Supposing I have faults, was it for you to reproach me with them before the public? They who have foul linen to wash do not invite the world to be spectators. Begone! France has more need of me than I have need of France."

Though he dismissed the astonished deputies with this vulgar and angry valediction, he could not, on mature reflection, wholly disregard the advice which they had offered. He so far acted upon it as to temporize at once with the demands of the allies and with the

[Preparations of Bonaparte.—Parliament.—Subsidies to the allies.]

expectations of the French people. The negotiations, which had been for a time suspended, were resumed, and Caulaincourt was ordered to repair to Chatillon on the Seine, now the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, and there to await the arrival of a plenipotentiary from England, who was to assist at the conferences. In making this pacific demonstration, however, Bonaparte did not for an instant relax his efforts to augment his military force. Twelve new regiments of volunteers were speedily formed; the conscription was in full activity, and the new levies were sent to compensate for the large draughts made from the army opposed to lord Wellington. The march of Suchet from Catalonia was accelerated; and to render the evacuation of the peninsula less humiliating, Bonaparte had already had recourse to the expedient of concluding a treaty with Ferdinand the seventh. By this treaty, which was signed on the 11th of December, he agreed to ratify his prisoner's title to the crown of Spain, on condition that Ferdinand should reinstate in their honours, estates, and offices, all who had acted under the authority of Joseph; exchange without delay the French prisoners made in Spain, whether by English or native troops; and compel the English to evacuate the peninsula. This treaty was compulsory, and could not be ratified by the cortes; but it answered for a time its miserable purpose.

As Great Britain was deeply interested in giving timely and efficient support to her allies at this great crisis, parliament had assembled so early as the 4th of November, for the despatch of business. A bill was passed “to enable his majesty to accept the services of a proportion of the militia out of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war.” The sanction of parliament was obtained for a loan of 22 millions, as well as for the aids granted to Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, either in direct subsidies or in bills of credit. Two millions had been advanced to Portugal, two millions to Spain, and one million to Sweden. The sum to be allowed to Russia and Prussia was estimated at five millions; and the advance to be made to Austria consisted of one million, together with 100,000 stand of arms, and military stores in proportion. These engagements were approved without a dissentient voice, and in both houses a unanimity prevailed respecting public measures, which had not been observed for many years. Men of all parties concurred in supporting the foreign policy of ministers, and the advocates of peace admitted, that there were no means of securing that blessing, but perseverance in the mighty contest which had been so gloriously begun. This unanimity was doubtless owing in some measure to the avowal of the prince regent, in his speech from the throne, that no disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description, inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation, would ever be on his part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace.

On the 26th of December, parliament was adjourned until the 1st of March, 1814.



## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Campaign in France.—Battles at Brienne and La Rothière.—At Montmirail and Champ Aubert.—Movements of Schwartzemberg and Blucher.—Murat joins the alliance.—Advance of Bulow and Winzingerode.—Operations of lord Wellington against Soult.—Battle of Orthes.—Investment of Bayonne.—Marshal Beresford marches to Bourdeaux.—Treaty of Chaumont.—Battles of Craonne and Laon.—Conferences at Chatillon terminated.—The allies march to Paris.—Battle.—Suspension of hostilities.—The allied sovereigns enter Paris.—Movements of Bonaparte.—Decree of the provisional government declaring his forfeiture of the throne.—His abdication.—Battle of Toulouse.—Sortie from Bayonne.—Reduction of Genoa.—Cessation of hostilities in Italy.—Bonaparte goes to Elba.—Louis XVIII. returns to France.—His declaration, forming the basis of the constitutional charter.—Treaty between France and the allied powers.—Liberation of Hamburg.—Parliamentary affairs.—Bill respecting colonial offices.—Alteration of law respecting felonies.—Regulation of the corn trade.—Budget.—Prosecution of lord Cochrane and others.—The sovereigns of Russia and Prussia visit England.—Return of lord Wellington, and national rewards of his eminent services.

THE grand army of the allies, having occupied Langres, sent forward two divisions, under the prince royal of Wirtemberg and count Guilay, to Bar sur Aube; while Blucher, advancing from Nancy, posted himself on that river at Brienne le Chateau, detaching squadrons on the left bank, towards Arcis and Troyes.

The French army, consisting of various corps, under Marmont, Macdonald, Ney, and other generals, who had retreated from the frontier, was concentrated at Chalons sur Marne, where it was reinforced by the imperial guards and the new levies. On the 25th of January, Bonaparte, having confided the regency to Maria Louisa, under the direction of his brothers, quitted Paris to place himself at its head. Anxious to prevent the junction of his opponents, he moved forward to St. Dizier, and on the 29th attacked Blucher at Brienne, where, after a sanguinary conflict, he remained master of the field. On the 1st of February, he again attacked the Prussian general, at La Rothière, where he was beaten, and compelled to retreat over the Aube, to Troyes, with the loss of 60 pieces of cannon. He was joined at Troyes by the old imperial guard, and this reinforcement raised the total of his army to 50,000 men. The advance of Schwartzemberg compelled him to retreat to Nogent, leaving the ancient capital of Champagne to be occupied by the troops under the prince royal of Wirtemberg. Perceiving that the army of Silesia had taken the route of La Fere Champenoise, he determined to surprise it by a lateral movement on its flank and rear. After a most arduous march over a swampy country, in the depth of winter, he defeated its advanced division, under Sacken, at Champ-Aubert and Montmirail, causing it to retreat through Chateau Thierry, whither general York, who had advanced as far towards Paris as Méaux, likewise retired. From thence, the Russians and Prussians continued their retreat upon Rheims. Bonaparte then countermarched to attack Blucher with the

[Movements of the respective armies.—French garrison in Germany.—Murat.]

main body, who, after a brave resistance, retreated in good order upon Chalons sur Marne.

The grand army of the allies, advancing from Troyes, seized Sens and Nogent, secured the passage of the Seine at Montereau, and compelled Victor to retire to Nangis. Their nearer approach to the capital was suspended in consequence of the defeat of Sacken; but they had already relieved Blucher from the attacks of Bonaparte, who, by a forced march of fourteen leagues, reached Méaux on the 14th of February, and on the next day, advanced to Guignes, where the forces under Victor and Oudinot augmented his army to 80,000 men. Displacing Oudinot, and appointing Girard to his division, he immediately marched against the prince royal of Wirtemberg, who was posted at Montereau with 20,000 men, and was compelled to retreat suddenly, without having it in his power to destroy the bridge. The grand army of the allies retired by Nogent, to Troyes. Blucher, having refreshed his army, and strengthened it with the corps of York and Sacken, advanced from Chalons to Arcis sur Aube, and pushed forward his vanguard to Mery, on the right bank of the Seine. Bonaparte, hastening from Nogent, made a fierce attack upon this village, and obtained possession of it; but it was soon recovered by the Prussians.

The two armies of the allies might now have effected a junction; but intelligence arrived from the south of France, which induced the Austrian general to retreat from Troyes, and fall back upon the line of communication with the frontier. Augereau, who was posted at Lyons, had received strong reinforcements from Spain, and threatened to occupy the departments of the Doubs, the Saone, and the Vosges, to raise the peasantry in mass, and to intercept the supplies from Germany. To counteract these movements Schwartzemberg not only retreated, but detached 12,000 men, under general Bianchi, to reinforce the allied troops stationed at Dijon. Bonaparte entered Troyes in triumph; while Blucher, relieved from his presence at Mery, made a flank movement against Macdonald at Sezanne, pursued him through la Ferté Gauchère, and again threatening Paris, compelled him to unite his forces with those of Marmont at Méaux.

While Bonaparte was thus harassed by the alternate advance and retreat of his opponents in the heart of France, he had little cause to be satisfied with the state of affairs in other quarters; though he was prevented from ascertaining it by the uncertainty of his communications. The garrisons which he had left in Germany maintained a hopeless resistance against the forces which had been left to blockade them. Dantzic was taken on the 2d of January, and its garrison were made prisoners of war. Wittenberg was stormed by general Tauenzien on the 12th; its citadel surrendered at discretion, and the troops which had defended it were sent captives to Berlin. In Italy Eugene Beauharnois, to whom the defence of that kingdom had been entrusted, was reduced to a state of inactivity by the defection of Murat, who opened his ports to the English, and engaged to assist Austria with an army of 30,000 men. A counter-revolution in Savoy, and similar movements in the Swiss states, utterly blighted the hopes which Bonaparte might have formed of transferring the war into the north of

## [Operations of Wellington against Soult.—Battle of Orthes.]

of Italy, and thence into the Austrian provinces. On the north-eastern frontier, Bernadotte reached Cologne on the 1st of February. The Russian corps of Winzingerode, Woronzow, and Bulow, were withdrawn from his command and ordered into France. Bulow, leaving the English, under Sir Thomas Graham, to blockade Antwerp, marched through Flanders, and penetrated to Laon, where he united his forces with those of Winzingerode. That general had marched from Namur, and being joined by general Woronzow, who had crossed the Rhine at Cologne, occupied Rheims, and pushed his advanced guard, under Czernicheff, to Soissons. The British on the 7th of March made an unsuccessful attack on Bergen-op-Zoom.

In the south-west of France the state of affairs was equally adverse to Bonaparte, and might be said to fill up the sum of his mortifications. The royalists in Bourdeaux were preparing to shake off his yoke; and the army under lord Wellington threatened to dislodge Soult from his fortified camp in front of Bayonne, by crossing the Adour below that town, and by forcing the passage of its tributary torrents, called the Gaves. In open violation, too, of the continental system, that army was now receiving supplies and reinforcements from the little harbour of St. Jean de Luz, which was crowded with shipping, and displayed the bustle and activity of an English sea-port. The right wing under general Hill drove the French divisions of Harispe and Paris over the Gave D'Oleron. Soult hastened in person to their support with a strong body of troops, and lord Wellington, leaving the command of his left wing to general Hope, made a movement corresponding with that of his adversary. The Gave d'Oleron was passed, and Soult withdrew to a fine position in front of Orthes, where, being joined by a powerful reinforcement under general Clausel, he determined to wait the issue of an action. His right under Reille occupied the village of St. Bois and the heights near Orthes; his left, commanded by Clausel, rested upon the town itself, and commanded the passage of the Gave de Pau, while the centre, following the direction of the heights, formed a sort of crescent supported by both wings. On the 27th of February lord Wellington issued his orders for a general attack. Marshal Beresford and sir Lowry Cole assailed and carried the village of St. Bois on the enemy's right; general Picton attacked the left and centre at once; but it was found impossible, from the nature of the ground, and the obstinate resistance of the enemy to take advantage of the success on the right, by turning the enemy's flank. Lord Wellington instantly altering his dispositions, united the troops of his reserve with those of his right, and by a sudden and desperate attack, gained the heights upon the French left, turned their position, and compelled them to give way. Meanwhile general Hill, having forced a passage over the Gave de Pau above the town, marched a strong body of cavalry upon the road from Orthes to St. Sever, thus threatening the left and rear of the enemy. They were driven from one position to another, until, panic struck by the rapid approach of general Hill, they fell into inextricable confusion, and fled. Whole battalions of conscripts threw down their arms and dispersed over the country; some corps left their muskets regularly piled upon the ground which the British were to occupy, as if to evince their settled resolution to abandon a service into



[British cross the Adour.—Bonaparte rejects the proposals of the allies.]

which they had been dragged by the government. Soult retreated at first to St. Sever and Aires; but afterwards directed his march towards Agen, leaving open the direct road to Bourdeaux.

General Hope, with the left wing of the army, was meantime occupied, in conjunction with admiral Penrose, in achieving the difficult passage of the Adour, below Bayonne. The river was defended by several gun-boats, and a large frigate; and there was a bar at its mouth, on which ran so violent a surf, as to present a formidable impediment to the boats, destined to construct the bridge. Four of them were lost in the attempt; but by the exertions of the British seamen, the others were brought over in succession, and moored in their respective positions. An advance guard, under major-general Stopford, had already passed over, on pontoons and rafts, and, covered by the fire of the rocket brigade, made good its landing. The gun-boats were destroyed, the frigate driven higher up the river by a battery of eighteen pounders, and the whole corps passed to the right bank in view of the astonished garrison. General Hope immediately proceeded to invest Bayonne.

Soult continued his retreat with his disorganized army upon Tarbes, to secure a junction with such detachments of Suchet as were now crossing the Pyrennees. Lord Wellington sent general Fane to take possession of Pau, and appointed marshal Beresford, at the head of 15,000 men, to march to Bourdeaux. This army was accompanied by the duke of Angouleme, who had lately arrived at saint Jean de Luz.

It was on the 25th of February, during the elation of his success at Montereau, that Bonaparte received the proposals of the allies for peace, which had been settled at the conferences at Chatillon. He tore the paper asunder, saying, "I am nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris." He deemed it convenient, however, to continue the negotiation, and directed his minister to name the 10th of March, as the time within which he would produce the *ultimatum* on the subject of peace or war. He also promoted a correspondence with the Austrian head-quarters, and by a frequent interchange of couriers excited a belief among his troops that the emperor Francis was about to withdraw from the alliance. In that opinion they were utterly deceived. On the 1st of March, a treaty was signed at Chaumont by lord Castlereagh, count Metternich, count Nesselrode, and baron Hardenberg, in which England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, for twenty years; engaged to enter into no separate treaty with the enemy, and agreed to maintain each an army of 150,000 men, exclusive of garrisons, Great Britain having the option to subsidize other troops instead of her own, and covenanting to supply five millions sterling, to be divided among the other powers for the expenses of the war.

Bonaparte remained three days at Troyes, without making any movement, either in pursuit of Schwartzberg or towards Blucher, who was now in full communication with Winzingerode and Bulow, while his advanced guard, under Sacken, occupied the suburbs of Méaux, and the Cossacks extended their incursions as far as Lagny, within fifteen miles of Paris. Finding the capital a third time menaced, Bonaparte left Victor and Oudinot with only 30,000 men to

## [Battles of Craonne and Laon.—Ultimatum of Bonaparte.]

press the retreat of Schwartzberg, and moved with his main force against Blücher. On the 1st of March he reached La Ferté Gauchère, and thus threw himself suddenly on the flank of the Silesian army; Sacken and York crossed to the right bank of the Marne; and Blücher, taking a similar direction, aimed to concentrate his forces at Soissons. That town, having twice changed masters, was most opportunely reduced by Winzingerode and Bülow at the head of 30,000 men, and Blücher thus found himself reinforced at the point where he had determined to make a stand. Bonaparte attacked the Russians at Soissons on the 5th, and was repulsed. He then made a flank movement to the position of Craonne, which covered the left wing of Blücher's army. An obstinate engagement ensued, during which the Prussian general detached 10,000 cavalry, with instructions, by a circuitous march, to throw themselves on the flank and rear of the French. The manœuvre was unsuccessful, and Blücher retreated with his wonted firmness and skill upon Laon, without losing a single gun or wagon, and leaving only 50 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. This fine retreat, as well as all the masterly manœuvres of the Prussian army, was executed under the direction of the quarter-master general, Gneisenau, whose military genius gained him the entire confidence of the stout-hearted field-marshal. But it was to Blücher himself that the Prussian soldiers looked for an example of constancy in every vicissitude, and of heroic determination to avenge the wrongs of their country. In him Bonaparte found an antagonist who was not to be deluded by stratagem, crushed by overwhelming force, or discouraged by defeat; an antagonist to whose prowess he is said to have paid an involuntary tribute on one occasion by exclaiming, "I would rather fight ten regular generals than that old drunken hussar; for the day after I have totally defeated him, I am sure to find him as ready as ever to renew the combat."

The Silesian army occupied a very strong position at Laon, and was there joined by the Russians who had evacuated Soissons. On the 9th of March, Bonaparte brought up his whole force to the attack. He was repulsed in front, and his right wing, while hotly engaged at the village of Athies, was thrown into confusion by a mass of cavalry which Blücher had sent round from his rear. Marmont who commanded this wing, endeavoured to extricate it, but he was attacked in front, and totally routed by prince William of Prussia. On the following day, Bonaparte assaulted Blücher's right wing; but he was again repulsed, and he retreated in the night towards Soissons, having lost 48 pieces of cannon, and a great number of men, of whom 5000 were taken prisoners.

Meantime Schwartzberg again advanced, and after driving Oudinot and Victor from Bar sur Aube, recovered Troyes, where on the 3d of March, the allied sovereigns again established their headquarters. It was now necessary to wait for intelligence from Blücher, and adopt measures for recovering a communication with him. For this purpose, the hetman Platoff was detached to the right, and his Cossacks soon scoured the whole country between the Seine and the Marne. The 10th of March passed away, but the promised *ultimatum* did not appear; it was presented on the 15th by Caulaincourt, to the congress at Chatillon. Bonaparte demanded the whole line of the

[Action at Arcis.—Bonaparte marches to St. Dizier.]

Rhine, and part of the line of the Waal, with the fortress of Nimeguen; he demanded Italy, and even Venice, for Eugene Beauharnois; he demanded indemnities to his brother Jerome, for the kingdom of Westphalia; indemnities to Louis, for the dutchy of Berg; indemnities to Joseph, not for Spain, but for Naples. The allies instantly declared the congress to be dissolved.

Hostilities were now carried on with redoubled activity. Bonaparte, who had seized Rheims, left a corps there to observe Blucher, and marched on the 16th to Chalons sur Marne. He advanced from thence, on the following day, by Epinay, to the Aube, expecting to fall upon the allies whom he supposed to be retreating. Moving his army along both banks of the river, he sent his van through Arcis to drive away the few squadrons which appeared on the plain; but to his astonishment, the allied army suddenly deployed their line, supported by 60 pieces of artillery. An obstinate engagement ensued under the walls of Arcis, while part of the French forces were crossing the river. Bonaparte, in rallying his men, was obliged to use his own pistols, and narrowly escaped the lance of a Cossack; he had a horse killed under him. On the morning of the 21st, having been joined by the troops under Oudinot, Victor, and Macdonald, and by a numerous body of veteran cavalry from Spain, he was strongly tempted to risk a general action; but apprehensive of a surprise from Blucher, he retreated upon Vitry and St. Dizier. Vitry was occupied by a Prussian commandant with 3000 men, who had put it into a state of defence, and sternly refused to surrender. Bonaparte did not execute his menace to storm the place, but pursued his march to St. Dizier, leaving open the communication between the invading armies. In making this movement, he might contemplate a junction with the army of the Soane, and an attack on the rear of Schwartzberg. But Augereau was beaten on the 18th by the Austrian reserve, recently arrived in France, under the prince of Hesse Homberg, who in conjunction with general Bianchi, compelled him to retreat through Lyons, toward the Isere, and interposed an army of 60,000 men between him and his master.

Schwartzberg established his head-quarters at Vitry on the 23d, having placed a division of troops under general Ducca on the Aube, to ensure his communications with the reserve at Lyons. He detached 10,000 cavalry with 50 pieces of cannon under Winzingerode and Czernicheff, to hang on Bonaparte's march, and impress him with a belief that they formed the vanguard of the grand army. He then prepared to move upon Paris, conformably to the resolution of the allied sovereigns, which was confirmed by an intercepted despatch addressed to Napoleon, announcing a descent of the English in Italy; the entry of the Austrians into Lyons; the march of lord Wellington toward Toulouse; and the declaration of Bordeaux in favour of the Bourbons. Blucher having driven Marmont and Mortier over the Marne, was now hastening toward Chalons and Vitry; but he received from the king of Prussia the welcome order to direct his march to the westward on Paris. The two armies were now in communication, and moved in corresponding lines toward the same point. Marmont and Mortier arriving in the vicinity of Vitry, in expectation of joining Bonaparte, found themselves opposed to the allies, and made a hasty



[Allies advance on Paris.—Battle before Paris.]

retreat to Sezanne, losing great numbers of prisoners, much baggage, and thirty pieces of cannon. While the cavalry of the allies were engaged in close pursuit, the infantry, having defiled towards La Fere Champenoise, intercepted a detached column of 5000 men escorting from Paris a large supply of ammunition and provisions for Bonaparte. The advance to Paris was continued with such rapidity, that the grand army fixed its head-quarters at Coulommiers on the 27th, having marched in three days upwards of seventy English miles. In the evening the van-guard of the Prussians reached Claye, driving before them the shattered divisions of Marmont and Mortier, which had lost during their retreat 80 pieces of artillery, and 8000 men. The allies, having left generals Wrede and Sacken with a rear guard of 30,000 to secure the line of the Marne, moved along the three grand routes of Méaux, Lagny, and Soissons, to the heights north-eastward of Paris. They posted their right toward Montmartre, and their left near the wood of Vincennes. The army opposed to them, consisting of about 40,000 men, and provided with 150 pieces of cannon, was commanded by Marmont and Mortier, under the orders of Joseph Bonaparte. Its extreme right occupied the wood of Vincennes, and the village of Charenton on the Marne, and was supported by troops stationed on the heights of Belleville and Romainville, and in the butte de Charenton; its centre, posted on the line of the canal de l'Ourcq, was defended by the village of La Villette, and a strong redoubt on the farm of Rouvroy, and protected by a powerful artillery planted in the rear, on the heights of Montmartre. The left wing was thrown back from the village called Monceaux, near the north-western extremity of the heights, and prolonged itself to Neuilly, on the Seine. Joseph Bonaparte, acting as regent in the name of Maria Louisa, who was sent with her son to Blois, issued a proclamation, describing the enemy as a solitary column, which had approached from Méaux, and exhorting the Parisians to a brave resistance until the arrival of the emperor, who, he assured them, was in full march for their deliverance.

On the morning of the 30th the allies commenced a general attack. General Rayesski pushed forward a column for the purpose of turning the heights of Romainville on the right; but the French resisted his progress by a heavy fire of artillery, and rushing forward, possessed themselves of the village of Pantin, in advance of their line. It was recovered by the Prussian grenadiers at the point of the bayonet, and the French were driven back on Belleville and Menilmontant, while the allies pushed forward through the wood of Romainville. A fierce conflict ensued, and at length the Russian commander-in-chief, Barclay de Tolly, ordered the front attack on the heights to be suspended until the operations on other points should have taken effect. The French re-possessed themselves of the village of Pantin. Blücher, who was opposed to their left, had not received his orders until late in the morning: he directed the columns of Langeron by the road of Clichy against the extremity of the heights of Montmartre, while the division of Kleist and York attacked in flank the villages of La Villette and Pantin. These points were obstinately defended; but the latter was carried with impetuosity by the guards of Prussia and Baden. Meantime the prince royal of Württemberg, on the extreme left of the allies,

[Movements of Bonaparte and rapid march on the capital.]

had forced his way to Vincennes, and threatened the right of the French battalions posted at Belleville. Rayefski renewed his attack in front, and drove the French from the heights of Romainville. The whole line of defence occupied by the right wing of the enemy was soon in the possession of the allies. The French centre, which had hitherto stood firm, now gave way, and a body of cavalry sent against the assailants, was destroyed by a charge of the black hussars of Brandenburg. The right wing of the Silesian army advanced to the foot of Montmartre, and Langeron was preparing to storm it, when a flag of truce appeared, to demand a suspension of hostilities. It was sent by Marmont, whom Joseph left to obtain terms for the city, while he himself and his attendants decamped. An armistice was granted, on condition that Montmartre, the only defensible part of the French line, should be given up to the allies. The French regular troops were permitted to retire from Paris unmolested, and on the following day the allied sovereigns made their entry, amidst the acclamations of the people.

Bonaparte had the fortune to avoid a battle for the preservation of the French capital. He was at St. Dizier on the 23d, where Caulaincourt joined him and announced the rupture of the conferences at Chatillon. He directed his march to the southward, and halted the next day at Doulevant. On learning that his rear guard under Macdonald had been attacked by the hostile cavalry, he countermarched upon Vassy and returned to St. Dizier on the 26th. His light horse were at this time making excursions in various directions for the purpose, as it was said, of securing the person of Monsieur, who was known to be in Franche Comté without any escort. <sup>a</sup> They did not penetrate to Vesoul, whither that prince went, and they failed to surprise the emperor Francis, who made a forced march of thirteen leagues from Bar sur Aube to Chatillon sur Seine, and thence retired to Dijon. At St. Dizier Bonaparte found Winzingerode with his cavalry, posted on the other side of the Marne. He ordered Oudinot to attack their right in the town, and forded the river to turn their left. They retreated hastily upon Bar sur Ornain with the loss of some men and a few guns. Bonaparte then presented himself before Vitry, and again summoned the Prussian commandant, whom he found as intractable as ever. While preparing to batter the town with his artillery, he was informed that the allied armies had united, and were marching on Paris. He broke up from Vitry; but instead of hastening to pursue them, he went back to Doulevant. On the 29th, however, he marched at day-break with all his army upon Troyes, where he arrived with his van-guard about midnight. At the bridge of Doulancourt he had received the first intelligence which for ten days had reached him from Paris, and it announced that a battle with the allies was hourly expected. Ordering his army to follow by forced marches, he pushed forward through Sens to Fontainebleau, and thence to Suvissy, within four leagues of the capital. He thence despatched an aid de camp to Paris, and, exhausted by fatigue, lay down on a bed in the village inn and slept soundly. Before dawn on the 31st he set out in a carriage and four with some attendants, on the road to Paris, and travelled until he met the returning messenger, who informed him that the capitulation was signed. He then returned

[Decree of the provisional government.—Abdication of Napoleon.]

to Fontainebleau to collect and embody his scattered army, and to unite it with that which had evacuated the capital, and was falling back on the line of the Loire.

On the 1st of April the senate appointed a provisional government, consisting of Talleyrand, Bournonville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the Abbé de Montesquiou. On the following day a decree was issued, declaring that Bonaparte had violated the compact which united him to the French people, by levying imposts and taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law; by suppressing as criminal a report of the legislative body, whose share in the national representation he disputed; by infringing the provisions of the constitution relative to declarations of war; by issuing various unconstitutional decrees; by annulling the responsibility of ministers; by destroying the independence of judicial bodies; by subjecting the press to the arbitrary control of the police, employing it in disseminating doctrines favourable to despotism, and insulting to foreign governments; by refusing to treat for peace on conditions which the national interests required him to accept; by abusing all the means entrusted to him in men and money; by the abandonment of the wounded, without surgical aid and without subsistence; and by various measures, the consequences of which were, the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases. For all these causes, the senate in this decree declared that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne; that the hereditary right established in his family was abolished; and that the French people and the army were released from their oath of fidelity to him.

On the 4th of April Bonaparte abdicated, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy. A treaty was signed on the 11th by the ministers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and by Ney and Caulaincourt; according to which the island of Elba was to be possessed by him in full sovereignty; an annual revenue of two millions of francs was assigned to him, with the reversion of one million to his consort, Maria Louisa, to whom were assigned the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, and a revenue of two millions and a half of francs was assigned in various proportions to his mother, brothers, and sisters. These revenues were charged on the great book of France.

Joseph and Jerome Bonaparte fled from Blois, after endeavouring to compel their sister-in-law to accompany them to Orleans. Next day count Schouwalow arrived to take her under his protection, and to conduct her to the head-quarters of the emperor of Austria. At Paris the members of the provisional government were occupied in preparing a constitution for the acceptance of Louis XVIII.

Bordeaux had already declared in favour of that monarch, and on the 12th of March had opened its gates to the British under marshal Beresford. Leaving there the earl of Dalhousie with a garrison of 4000 men, he marched with the rest of his army to rejoin the duke of Wellington, who was waiting at Aires on the Adour for reinforcements from Spain. On the 17th the duke resumed his operations against Soult, and compelled him to retreat through Tarbes, upon Toulouse. That ancient town having a rampart flanked with round towers, and being bounded on three sides by the canal of Languedoc and the river Garonne, presented a formidable position, which in the



## [Battle of Toulouse.—Sortie from Bayonne.]

course of a few days the French marshal improved by strong field works. On the ridge extending from the canal to the eastward as far as the river Ers, he established five redoubts, connected by deep lines of entrenchment, and completely mounted with artillery; while by breaking down the bridges on the river, he rendered it impossible by a movement on the flank to turn the town on the west side and avoid this line of defence.

On the 10th of April the duke of Wellington made his dispositions for the attack. Messengers had been sent to inform both him and marshal Soult of the change in the government; but they were arrested at Montauban, ten leagues from Toulouse, by Bouvier Doumoulart, acting under orders sent from Joseph Bonaparte at Blois. It was by some suspected that Soult was apprized of the dethronement of Bonaparte through other channels, and that, while waiting for official information, he was not unwilling to risk a battle, in the hope of retrieving his former defeats by a splendid victory. Marshal Beresford crossed the Ers below the enemy's position, and marched up the river to turn the heights, and attack them on the right flank, while the Spanish division, under don Manuel Freyre, assailed them in front. General Picton engaged the attention of the enemy in the suburbs of St. Cyprian, while sir Rowland Hill threatened those on the left of the town. The Spaniards commenced their front attack on the heights as soon as they saw the columns of marshal Beresford advancing on the right flank; but they were repulsed. When they again presented themselves in front, the marshal, who had now established himself on the ridge, moved forward, storming fortified houses, trenches, and redoubts, under a furious fire of musketry, which, though severely destructive, did not check his progress for an instant. As the Spaniards were again repulsed from the two centre redoubts, the 42d regiment, Royal Highlanders, were ordered to the assault. They marched up, against a most galling fire, without leveling a musket, leaped into the trenches, and carried them with the bayonet. Three of the redoubts were now in the hands of the British, and the two on the left were speedily reduced by general Beresford's division. In the meantime, sir Rowland Hill seized the outworks before the suburb of St. Cyprian. Soult withdrew his troops into the town, where he began to loop-hole houses, and barricade the streets, as if intending to make an obstinate defence. Lord Wellington made preparations for a general assault, and summoned the French marshal to surrender the place. He replied, that he would sooner bury himself in the ruins: but he retreated during the night, unmolested by the cannon of the British, who were unwilling to occasion any injury to the citizens. On the following day the victorious army entered amidst general acclamations; the white flag was hoisted, and during the festivities which ensued, the duke of Wellington received despatches, announcing the revolution at Paris. This intelligence did not reach Bayonne in time to prevent another superfluous effusion of blood. The garrison made a desperate sortie before day-break on the 14th, and gained some temporary advantages over the piquets in front of the British position. Major-general Hay was killed, and major-general Stopford wounded. The commander of the besieging army, sir John Hope, received two wounds, had his horse

[Reduction of Genoa.—Bonaparte's journey to the coast.—Embarks for Elba.]

killed under him, and was made prisoner. The enemy were speedily repulsed, and the positions recovered. Hostilities soon afterwards ceased; marshal Soult, as well as marshal Suchet, who had now entered France, sent to intimate to the duke of Wellington that they recognised the new government, and desired to avail themselves of the suspension of hostilities. Thus ended a series of campaigns, in which the British army, under the guidance of lord Wellington, confronted the legions of Bonaparte in their career of conquest and plunder; drove them from the peninsula which they had invaded; led the Spaniards and Portuguese to vindicate their national honour by victories on the fields of France; and aroused the powers of Germany and the north to unite in breaking the sceptre of that tyranny which presumed to dictate the law to Europe.

Meantime an English force was co-operating in the emancipation of Italy. Leghorn having fallen into the possession of Murat on his advance northward, an army of 8000 British and Sicilians, commanded by lord William Bentinck, landed at that port, and soon afterwards proceeded to undertake the reduction of Genoa. Having occupied Spezzia as a point of retreat, the British general advanced rapidly, and, on the 17th of April, after driving the enemy under the walls of the city, seized the strong forts which covered their left wing, while general Montresor's division threw their right into confusion, and drove it from its position. To avoid the horrors of a bombardment, the inhabitants sent deputies to request a suspension of arms for a few days, during which the rumors of peace might be confirmed; but lord William Bentinck replied, that it was the part of the French general to abandon a town which he could not defend. A capitulation was soon afterwards signed, by which the city and fortress were surrendered to the British and Sicilians, and every article belonging to the French marine was delivered up to the former. Besides a great quantity of stores, two ships of the line and some small vessels were found in the harbour. In a proclamation to the Genoese, lord William Bentinck held out to them some hope that their former independent government, with its ancient rights and privileges, would be restored; and under this expectation a provisional government was established.

The Austrian army of Italy under Bellegarde obtained some advantages over Beauharnois, and drove him back on the line of the Adige. He was there placed in a critical situation by the advance of the Neapolitans under Murat; and on receiving intelligence of the treaty of Paris, he concluded a military convention with Bellegarde, by which the French troops under his command were to be sent back to France, and the fortresses of Osopo, Palma-nova, Venice, and Legnano, were to be delivered up to the Austrians. To them also his Italian troops were transferred, and were sent to reinforce their garrisons in Germany. This convention terminated the hostilities in Italy.

On the 20th of April, Bonaparte having taken leave of the officers and soldiers of the old imperial guard at Fontainebleau, set forth on his journey to the southern coast, accompanied by four commissioners from the allied powers. In some of the towns through which he passed, he was hailed with shouts of "Long live the emperor!" in others, the cry was, "Down with the tyrant!" At Valence, he had an interview with Augereau, who, like most of his brother marshals,

[Return and charter of Louis XVIII.—Treaty between France and the allies.]

had conformed to the new order of things, and whom he abruptly charged with treason. "Tis thou art a traitor:" replied Augereau, "to the army and to France."—"Thou hast chosen thyself a new master," rejoined Bonaparte.—"I owe thee no account of my conduct," retorted the marshal.—"Thou art void of courage," said Bonaparte. "'Tis thou thyself art void of courage; begone!" answered Augereau; and turning on his heel, concluded the interview. This was not the only mortification to which he was exposed on his journey; at Avignon and La Calade the populace threatened him with personal violence. He embarked on the 28th at Frejus, on board the *Undaunted*, an English frigate, commanded by captain Usher, and setting sail for Elba, quitted the shores of that France which he had ruled by means of a standing army and a host of spies, and which he had almost unfitted for any other mode of government.

Louis XVIII. having quitted his rural retirement in England was conducted into London by the prince regent with royal honours, and was hailed by all ranks of people with enthusiastic greetings. On the 24th of April he embarked at Dover, and was joyfully welcomed at Calais. A less gratifying reception awaited him in the capital, where the acclamations of the people scarcely drew forth a response from the soldiery. One of the first acts of Louis was, to issue a declaration, forming the basis of that constitutional charter by which the liberties of the French nation were to be secured. The representation was to be vested in two bodies, the chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies; the taxes to be freely granted; public and individual liberty to be secured; the liberty of the press, saving necessary precautions for public tranquillity, to be respected; liberty of worship allowed; property to be inviolable, and the sale of national estates irrevocable; the ministers responsible; the judicial power independent; the public debt guaranteed; the pensions, ranks, and honours of the military, and the ancient and new nobility, to be preserved; the legion of honour maintained; all Frenchmen to be admissible to employments, civil and military, and no individual to be molested for his votes or opinions. This declaration, recognising the fundamental principles of a free government, was received with satisfaction, except by those royalists who wished to see France restored to the state in which she stood before the revolution, and by those republicans who considered that the provisions for securing liberty and property should emanate directly from the will of the people.

Peace was concluded on the 30th of May, between France and the allied powers, Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and Prussia. The continental dominions of France were, generally speaking, restricted to the limits which bounded them on the 1st of January, 1792. She received some small additions on the side of Germany and Belgium, and on that of Savoy a very considerable annexation, including Chamberi and Annecy, together with Avignon, the Venaissin, and Montbeliard. The navigation of the Rhine was declared free, and the regulation of the duties reserved for a future congress. Holland, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, was to receive an increase of territory, the sovereignty in no case to devolve on a prince wearing, or intended to wear, a foreign crown. The German states were to be independent, and united by a federal league; Switzerland to be independent



[Hamburg evacuated by the French.—Parliamentary affairs.]

under its own government: Italy beyond the Austrian limits to be composed of sovereign states; Malta and its dependencies to belong in full sovereignty to Great Britain. France was to receive all the colonies, settlements, and fisheries, which she possessed on the 1st of January 1792, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, the isle of France, and its dependencies, Rodrigue, and the Sechelles, which were to be ceded to England; and of that part of St. Domingo, ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, which was to revert to Spain. The king of Sweden ceded to France, his claims on Guadaloupe. Portugal restored to her French Guiana. She was to enjoy in British India the facilities granted to the most favoured nations, but not to erect fortifications in the establishments restored to her. The naval arsenals and ships of war, in the maritime fortresses which she surrendered in the late convention, were to be divided between her, and the countries in which such fortresses were situated; Antwerp in future to be only a port for commerce. Plenipotentiaries from the contracting powers were to assemble at Vienna to complete the dispositions of the treaty. The king of France engaged to co-operate with his Britannic majesty, to obtain at a future congress the total abolition of the slave trade by the powers of Christendom. Moreover Great Britain generously consented to remit, after the private claims of her subjects on France should have been satisfied, the whole amount of the excess in her favour for the maintenance of prisoners of war. Shortly after the signature of this treaty the allied forces began to evacuate France. The garrisons which Bonaparte had left in Germany, Holland, and Belgium, had already begun to surrender the fortresses entrusted to them, and were marching homewards. Davoust, who had signalized his occupation of Hamburg with the harshest cruelty to its inhabitants, was one of the last of Bonaparte's generals who submitted to the new government. He at length acquiesced in the orders sent for the evacuation of that city; and the garrison, reduced by slaughter, disease, and desertion, from 40,000 to 20,000 men, marched out on the 16th of May, leaving 4000 convalescent in the hospitals. They were conducted to their own country by Girard, who succeeded Davoust in the command. By the release of these troops, and of the prisoners of war in Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Germany, and Spain, the army of France received powerful reinforcements, which rendered it more than ever an object of anxiety to the new government.

Having traced to its close the campaign which gave peace to Europe, it may be proper to revert to the domestic affairs of Great Britain. Parliament met on the 1st of March; but in consequence of a message from the prince regent, a farther adjournment took place until the 25th, when the business of legislation was resumed. One of the first proceedings was the enactment of a bill introduced by Mr. Goulburn for preventing the grant of any patent office in the colonies, for any longer term than during such time as the grantee should discharge the duties of the office in person, and behave well therein. A bill introduced by sir Samuel Romilly, for taking away corruption of blood in cases of felony and high treason, underwent an amendment, proposed by Mr. Yorke, purporting that "no attainder of felony not extending to high treason, petty treason, and murder, do lead to cor-

[Lord Cochrane.—The sovereigns of Russia and Prussia visit England.]

ruption of blood," and was passed. The opening of foreign ports, in consequence of the peace, rendered necessary some regulations respecting the corn trade. On the 5th of May, sir Henry Parnell moved a resolution for permitting at all times the exportation of grain from any part of the United Kingdom. This being carried, a second resolution was proposed for regulating the importation of grain by a schedule, according to which, when the home price of wheat was 63 shillings per quarter, or under, foreign wheat should be liable to a duty of 24 shillings; when the home price was 86 shillings, it should be duty free; and at all intermediate prices, the same ratio should be preserved. A third resolution was passed for the importation and warehousing of foreign corn, duty free, for re-exportation. A bill, founded on the first resolution, was passed; but in consequence of the unexampled number of petitions, deprecating any alteration in the corn-laws, the farther consideration of measures for regulating the importation was postponed to another session. A grant of 35,000*l.* per annum, was made to the princess of Wales; and soon after the close of the session, her royal highness quitted England, to make a tour on the continent. On the 13th of June, the budget for the year was laid before the house of commons, when the supplies were stated at 75,624,572*l.*; of which the share for Great Britain was 67,708,545*l.* Among the ways and means, were two loans, amounting to forty millions and a half, and a vote of credit for three millions. Parliament was prorogued on the 30th of July.

During this session, the public curiosity was strongly excited, by a prosecution against lord Cochrane, and some other individuals, for a fraudulent conspiracy to raise the price of the public funds. A verdict having been given against them, lord Cochrane was sentenced to pay a fine of 500*l.* and to be imprisoned twelve months. His name was erased from among the knights of the bath; and to this disgrace was superadded his expulsion from the house of commons. He was re-elected for Westminster.

In the beginning of June, the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia visited England, attended by marshal Blucher, the hetman Platoff, prince Metternich, generals Barclay de Tolly, Czernicheff, Woronzoff, York, Bulow, and many other distinguished officers. On arriving in London, their majesties were welcomed by the prince regent with the honours and hospitalities which were due to such illustrious allies, and which his royal highness was so well qualified to administer. They were hailed with enthusiasm by all ranks of persons, and when they appeared in public, the recollections of the two last years seemed embodied in one long peal of acclamation. In the festivities which ensued, the affable and animated manners of the emperor Alexander diffused additional gaiety in the circles around him; while a deep sympathy was excited towards his brother monarch, whose calm, but dejected mien, showed that the recent triumphs of his subjects could not efface the remembrance of his amiable consort, who had died of grief during the evil days of Prussia. Count Platoff and the other warriors shared the general applause; but the main interest centred in marshal Blucher. All were eager to behold the brave veteran who had hunted Bonaparte from Silesia into the heart of France. His determined aspect fully accorded with the notions

[Return and rewards of the duke of Wellington.]

pre-conceived of his character; and there had been something so direct and thorough-going in the zeal with which he had fought for his country, that Englishmen delighted to regard him as one of themselves. He bore with an unassuming spirit the honours that were showered upon him; but there must have been no small mirth concealed under his solemn surprise and exultation on receiving in the university of Oxford the degree of a doctor of the civil law. After a residence of some weeks, these renowned strangers departed, highly gratified with their visit to the country which alone had resisted the fiery deluge of war, and whose resources had been so nobly employed in extinguishing it throughout the rest of Europe.

The duke of Wellington's return was hailed with no less joy than the arrival of the allied sovereigns. On the 28th of June, he took his seat for the first time in the house of lords, when his various patents of honour, as baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, were successively recited; and the thanks of the house, which had been voted on the evening before, were addressed to him by the lord chancellor. In his reply, the duke modestly expressed his acknowledgments for the approbation bestowed on his conduct; and observed, that the entire confidence which government had been pleased to repose in him, the ample means entrusted to his disposal, and the cordial assistance which he had received from the gallant officers who shared his campaigns, had contributed powerfully to those successes which their lordships had noticed in a manner so gratifying. He added, that he should ever be found ready to serve the king to the utmost of his abilities, in any capacity in which his majesty might think proper to employ him. To support the high honours which he had so justly merited, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds was voted for the purchase of a palace and domain suitable to his dignity; and an additional grant was made, which augmented his parliamentary allowances to 17,000*l.* per annum. Proportionate honours and emoluments were assigned to his gallant companions in arms; generals Graham, Hill, and Beresford, were raised to the peerage; and farther acknowledgments were made for the eminent services of lords Combermere and Exmouth. From one gallant officer, however, who, in the cause of his country, had sought danger in every form, these distinctions were withheld; and the public were concerned to observe, (although the omission might arise from deference to public opinion) that the services of sir Thomas Picton, were acknowledged only in the general vote of thanks to the army.



## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

Transfer of Norway to Sweden.—Fate of Saxony.—The Netherlands united to Holland.—Hanover erected into a kingdom.—Federal union of Switzerland.—Genoa annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia.—Acquisitions of Austria in Italy.—Return of the pope to Rome.—Proceedings in Sicily.—Conduct of Ferdinand VII. in Spain.—Expedition from Cadiz to South America.—Surrender of Montevideo.—Pacification in Chili.—Affairs of the United States.—Congress at Ghent.—Capture of the Essex frigate.—Operations in Canada.—Expedition to Washington.—Attack on Alexandria and Baltimore.—Failure of general Provost's expedition.—Close of the campaign in Canada.—Peace signed at Ghent.—Expedition against New Orleans.—Capture of the President frigate.—Cessation of hostilities.—Meeting of parliament.—Debate on the militia.—Committee on the corn laws.—Extension of trial by jury in civil cases to Scotland.—Bank restrictions continued.—Message from the prince regent on the return of Bonaparte to France.

WAR had not yet ceased on the continent. In the treaty concluded at Kiel, on the 14th of January, between Great Britain, Denmark, and Sweden, his Danish majesty engaged to cede the kingdom of Norway to the latter power, in exchange for Pomerania and the isle of Rugen. The Norwegians, who were at this time governed by Christian Frederic, duke of Sleswick Holstein, and hereditary prince of Denmark, chose him as their regent, and publicly asserted their independence. They refused to admit the Swedish commissioner, who arrived at Christiania in February, to carry the treaty into execution; and, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the king of Denmark, they sent an envoy to propitiate the good will of the British government. This application proved fruitless; and in April, a notification was made to the ministers of friendly powers in London, that necessary measures had been taken for a blockade of the ports of Norway by the British navy. Various parties arose in that country; but at a general diet the majority concurred in placing the crown on the head of prince Christian, and in resolving to secure it to him and his posterity. For some time the attempts of the allied powers failed either to persuade or intimidate this brave people; and it was not until the end of July, when Bernadotte passed their frontier with an overwhelming force, that they acquiesced in a compromise, by which the king of Sweden agreed to maintain the free constitution which had been established under the monarch of their choice. At a general diet, held on the 20th of October, the union of Norway with Sweden was voted, on condition that the rights of her people should be recognised.

The fate of Saxony was to be decided at Vienna; but before the meeting of the congress, it appeared very evident that Prussia would obtain Upper and Lower Lusatia, while Russia appropriated the grand duchy of Warsaw.

The Netherlands were united to Holland, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange; and before the close of the year, all the strong fortresses in that country were occupied by British, Hanoverians,

[Federal union of Switzerland.—Proceedings in Sicily.]

Dutch, and Belgians. In August, an arrangement was concluded between the prince regent of England and the sovereign of the Netherlands, by which Great Britain retained the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, and restored all the other colonies which she had conquered from the Batavian republic.

Hanover was elevated to the rank of a kingdom under the rule of his Britannic majesty. On the 15th of December, a general diet of the States was opened by the duke of Cambridge, on behalf of the prince regent, and a representative system was established, analogous to that of the sister kingdom.

In Switzerland, the nineteen sovereign cantons availed themselves of the great crisis in the affairs of Europe, to improve their constitution by introducing a proportional equality into the representation, the levies, and the administration of the confederacy, by abating or abolishing particular taxes, and by giving to the vassal districts, hitherto called *subjects*, the rights enjoyed by the provinces to which they were attached. This federal compact was accepted by the diet in the beginning of July; but it was strongly opposed by the canton of Berne, which possessed more subjects than the others, and was hostile to the equalising principle. The dissensions which ensued had almost occasioned an appeal to arms, when a timely remonstrance of the allied powers occasioned a revisal of the constitution at a general diet held in September, in which the disputed points were adjusted. A full equality of rights was recognised among all the cantons and their inhabitants, and the name and incapacities of the subjected districts was abolished for ever. About this time the Helvetic league received an increase of strength by the accession of Geneva.

Genoa was annexed to the dominions of the king of Sardinia, conformably to a resolution of the allies in congress, who judged that this would be the best mode of ensuring the tranquillity of that city.

For the cession of Savoy, Austria richly indemnified herself in Italy. She annexed to her empire, Lombardy, Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona. She regained Tyrol and Vorarlberg, Venice, Carniola, and the whole coast of the Adriatic, from the Po to the mouths of the Cattaro. These acquisitions could not fail to be viewed with uneasiness by Murat in his insecure throne of Naples.

Pope Pius the seventh signaled his return to the Holy See by restoring the order of the Jesuits, which one of the ablest of his predecessors had abolished forty years before. He also announced his intention of reviving all the monastic institutions, and invited the dispersed members of those fraternities to repair to Rome, where all the vacant convents should be prepared for their reception.

In Sicily, a system of representation had been established on the model of the English parliament. Of the proceedings instituted in the deliberative council during this year, one of the most remarkable was, a bill or project for alienating all landed property, whether dominal or feudal, held by churches, pious foundations, orders of knighthood, episcopal sees, and universities, on condition of an annual payment to the actual titulars, calculated on the basis of their emoluments. The executive government evinced a hostile disposition towards Murat, by prohibiting all Neapolitan vessels from entering their harbours.

[Conduct of the king of Spain.—Expedition to South America.]

Spain was but ill requited for her brave and successful struggle against an odious usurpation. Ferdinand VII. ought to have learned in France, that no man living deserves to be entrusted with an absolute monarchy; but the lessons of adversity seemed to be lost upon him. On the 4th of May, he issued a manifesto at Valencia, declaring his royal intention not only not to accede to the constitution, or to any decrees of the cortes, derogating from his prerogatives as a sovereign, but to pronounce that constitution and those decrees as null and of no force. The manifesto concluded by ordaining that the cortes should cease their sittings, that their place of meeting should be shut up; their books and papers be placed in the town-hall of Madrid, and those persons be held guilty of high treason who should oppose this mandate. The people, strange to say, applauded the decree with enthusiasm, and viewed with apathy the arrest and incarceration of many distinguished patriots. Ferdinand entered his capital in triumph on the 14th of May, and having named an administration, at the head of which was the duke de San Carlos, he directed his vengeance against the regency. The venerable cardinal of Bourbon was banished to Rome, Agar to Carthage, and Ciscar to a Catalonian fortress. Arguelles, one of the most eloquent of the liberal party, was condemned to serve as a common soldier, and other able advocates of a free government were exposed to similar indignities. Every measure tending to a reform of old abuses, was indiscriminately annulled, and the despotic system revived in all its odious absurdity. The council of the *Mesta*, under whose authority the royal flocks ranged throughout Spain, to the infinite detriment of agriculturists, resumed its functions; the liberty of the press was annihilated, and the inquisition re-established. Though the people in general submitted passively to these encroachments on their rights, yet the spirit of freedom was not wholly extinct among them. At Cadiz, some commotion took place, which the captain-general, don Juan de Villaviciosa, found it difficult to suppress. In September, a conspiracy was discovered at Madrid, and ninety persons, supposed to be implicated in it, were arrested on suspicion. In various parts of the country the guerrillas were still in arms; and it was found necessary to direct the royal forces against them, with orders to execute all prisoners by martial law. Among the leaders of these enterprising bands, the gallant Espoz y Mina became peculiarly obnoxious to the suspicions of the government. Orders were issued for him to live in retirement, and the troops whom he had so often led to victory, were placed under the command of the captain-general of Arragon. After the disclosures at Madrid, he resolved to try the fate of arms, and advancing to Pampluna, succeeded in scaling the walls of that fortress. Finding, however, that his followers were not to be relied on, he suddenly dispersed them, and retired into France, accompanied by his nephew. At the instance of the Spanish chargé d'affaires, they were arrested by the police; but on application to Louis XVIII. the good monarch ordered them to be instantly set at liberty, and permitted them to fix their undisturbed residence in his capital.

From the arbitrary measures pursued in Spain it was evident that Ferdinand would be disposed to reduce by force rather than reclaim by conciliation, the revolted colonies. A compulsory loan, imposed



[Surrender of Montevideo.—Chili.—United States.]

on the merchants of Cadiz, enabled him to equip 8000 troops, the command of which was entrusted to general Murillo; and the expedition sailed toward the close of the year for South America.

In the Spanish colonies the struggle for independence was still undecided. Montevideo held out for the mother country, though blockaded by land and sea, and reduced to great extremities. The naval force of Buenos Ayres was commanded by commodore Brown, an Englishman, against whom Vigodet, the governor of Montevideo, sent out a flotilla, consisting of four corvettes, three brigs, and several smaller vessels. Brown succeeded in decoying them to some distance from the harbour, where he attacked them, and obtained a complete victory. Montevideo soon afterwards surrendered. In Chili the contending parties, through the mediation of captain Hillyar, of his majesty's frigate *Phœbe*, agreed upon terms of pacification, by which that province consented to send deputies to the cortes, for the purpose of sanctioning the constitution, and acknowledged the authority of Ferdinand VII. and of the regency, with a proviso that the internal government of Chili should be maintained in all its powers and privileges, and be permitted to trade freely with allied and neutral nations, especially with Great Britain. In Venezuela the royalists obtained a decisive victory on the plains of Azuaza, which enabled them to regain possession of the province of Caracas.

War still subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, although a correspondence had taken place between the two governments, in consequence of which commissioners were appointed to meet at Ghent, for the purpose of adjusting terms of pacification. Of the few naval actions during this year, the most important was that of captain Hillyar of the *Phœbe* frigate, who took the American frigate *Essex*, captain Porter, at Valparaiso, and thus relieved the British traders in the South Seas, from a most formidable enemy. The military operations were pursued with that inveterate hostility, which had characterized the former campaigns. Early in February the American general Wilkinson was compelled to retreat from his position on the Salmon River, to Sackett's Harbour, with considerable loss. An expedition was undertaken in April, by general Drummond and sir James Yeo, against the American fort Oswego, on the lake Ontario. The British drove out the garrison in less than ten minutes, destroyed the fort with its barracks and defences, and re-embarked. On the 3d of July a large American force, under general Brown, crossed the Niagara, and advancing into Canada, encountered an inferior body of British troops, under general Riall, and compelled them to withdraw from their lines at Chippewa to a position near fort Niagara. On the 25th, general Drummond, having received a reinforcement of veterans from Bordeaux, advanced to the support of general Riall, whom he found retreating upon fort George, and who soon after the junction of their forces was wounded and taken prisoner in the sharp action which ensued. The enemy, after losing 1500 men, retreated precipitately to Chippewa, and thence to fort Erie. An assault upon that fort was frustrated by the explosion of a mine, which spread such a panic among the troops and their Indian allies, that it became necessary to withdraw them.

On the 19th of August, an expedition was undertaken by admiral

[Expedition against Washington and Baltimore.]

sir Alexander Cochrane, and major-general Ross, against the city of Washington. They entered the Patuxent; and the army, on disembarking, immediately commenced its march, while admiral Cockburn, with a flotilla of armed boats, proceeded up the river on its flank. As these boats opened the reach above Pig-point, they perceived the Baltimore flotilla, under commodore Barney, which had taken refuge in the Patuxent. Those vessels were soon afterwards discovered to be on fire, and sixteen of them blew up in succession. The seventeenth fell into the hands of the British, and about thirteen merchant schooners were either captured or destroyed. On the 24th, when the land forces came within five miles of Washington, they encountered about 9000 Americans, whom they completely routed, and by this victory obtained possession of the new metropolis of the United States. They set fire to the capital, including the senate-house and the house of representatives, to the arsenal, the dock-yard, the treasury, the war-office, the rope-walk, the president's house, and a great bridge over the Potomac. All private property was respected, except some houses from which guns had been discharged at the British troops; and when it was represented that the burning of one of these would endanger the dwellings adjacent, the order for setting fire to it was immediately recalled. The destruction of public buildings not designed for military purposes was resented by the Americans as an insult, which one free people ought not to inflict on another. In his speedy retreat from Washington, general Ross was obliged to leave behind him colonel Thornton, and other wounded officers and soldiers, who were treated with great humanity by the enemy. This enterprise was followed by an attack on the town of Alexandria, situated lower down the Potomac. On the 29th, fort Washington, by which the river is there protected, surrendered to captain Gordon of the Seahorse, accompanied by other vessels; and the common-council of Alexandria capitulated on condition that private property should be respected. All naval and military stores and merchandise being delivered up, were shipped on board twenty-one vessels which were found in the harbour, and the British departed, laden with spoil, without sustaining much injury from the batteries on the river, by which the Americans attempted to annoy their retreat.

The next object of attack was Baltimore; and on the 12th of September the forces under general Ross effected a landing near North Point, about thirteen miles distant from the town. Having forced an intrenchment which had been drawn across the peninsula, they advanced, and while their van-guard was engaged with the riflemen in the woods, a bullet pierced the breast of general Ross, who expired on the spot. He was deeply lamented by the army as one of the brightest ornaments of the profession. Colonel Broke, who succeeded to the command, attacked and dispersed a force of 6000 Americans, supported by cavalry and artillery. Advancing on the next day, he found the town defended by a chain of fortified redoubts, and by a force which, according to information, amounted to 15,000 men. He, however, determined upon a night attack; but as the precautions taken for the defence of the harbour prevented the co-operation of the naval force, he was compelled to relinquish the enterprise, and the troops were re-embarked. Among the losses sustained at this period,

[Attack on Plattsburg.—Canada.—Peace signed at Ghent.]

was that of captain sir Peter Parker, commanding the *Menelaus*, who was mortally wounded while leading a body of 100 seamen against an American force stationed near Bellair. This gallant young officer had commenced his career in a manner which justified the fondest hopes of the brave veteran from whom he was descended.

An expedition, which sailed from Halifax in July, under general Pilkington, had reduced Moose island, and two others in the bay of Passamaquoddy. In September, this advantage was followed up by an expedition, which caused the enemy to burn a fine frigate called the *John Adams*, and compelled them to leave the whole district, from that bay to the Penobscot river, in possession of the British.

These successes were counterbalanced by the disastrous issue of an expedition against the state of New York, undertaken by sir George Prevost, the governor-general of Canada, at the head of 14,000 men, some of whom were veterans from the peninsula. His first operation was directed against Plattsburg, a fortified place on lake Champlain, in conjunction with a British flotilla, consisting of a frigate, a brig, two sloops, and some gun-boats, under captain Downie. The enemy's flotilla, consisting of about the same force, was anchored in the bay of Plattsburg. On the 11th an engagement took place between them; and captain Downie being killed in the onset, the British vessels were thrown into confusion and defeated. This disaster induced sir George Prevost to desist from the land attack, and he commenced his retreat to the Canadian frontier, leaving behind him his sick and wounded, as well as some stores and ammunition.

Meantime, general Drummond was blockading fort Erie, which the Americans obstinately maintained as a sally port on Canada. On the 17th of September he was suddenly surprised by a sortie of some troops from the garrison, which, after a severe loss, he succeeded in repelling, and took a considerable number of prisoners. Soon afterwards the union of the troops of general Izard with those of general Brown, presented so superior a force, that he was obliged to raise the blockade and retreat upon Chippewa. The Americans followed, and were preparing to execute their intended invasion, when they ascertained that the British, having launched a vessel of one hundred guns, again commanded the navigation of the lake Ontario, and were advancing with their fleet to the support of general Drummond. On this intelligence they hastily retreated, and without making a stand at fort Erie, blew up the fortifications, and retired to the other side of the river. Thus ended the campaign on the frontier of Canada.

The negotiations at Ghent were conducted on the part of the Americans by Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russel, and Gallatin; the British commissioners were, lord Gambier, Mr. Goulborn, and Dr. Adams. On the 24th of December, a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States was signed, and was afterwards ratified by both governments. Various points had been conceded on either hand; but as no mention was made of the maritime rights which had been alleged as the cause of the war, the question was considered as tacitly decided in favour of Great Britain, especially since America renounced her demand of satisfaction for the captures made under the orders in council. The British, restoring their other conquests, retained the islands in Passamaquoddy bay.



## [Expedition against New Orleans.]

The Americans were excluded from our fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and from trading to our settlements in the East Indies. The Indians were to be restored to the rights and possessions which they held in 1812. It was reciprocally agreed, that commissioners should be appointed for settling the disputes respecting boundaries; and both parties engaged to continue their efforts for the entire abolition of the slave trade.

This treaty could not immediately put an end to hostilities between the two countries. An expedition had been for some time in preparation against New Orleans, on the Mississippi, which the Americans used every effort to fortify, having collected for its defence an army of 30,000 men, under general Jackson. In the beginning of December admiral Cochrane's squadron arrived at the scene of action, with a considerable body of troops, commanded by major-general Keane. The first object was to reduce a flotilla of gun-boats on Lac Borgne, and on the 14th this service was gallantly performed by captain Lockyer with the boats of the squadron. On the 23d, the first division of troops, amounting to 2400 men, were transported across the lake, and landed within six miles of the city. In the night they were surprised in their bivouac by a heavy fire from some vessels which had dropped down the river and anchored near their position. Scarcely had they withdrawn beyond reach of the guns, when they found themselves exposed to a considerable body of the enemy's troops. A singular conflict ensued; for when the 95th regiment approached the point of attack, the Americans, favoured by the darkness, concealed themselves under a high fence which traversed the field, and calling to the British as friends, offered to assist them in getting over. Having crossed the fence, they found themselves exposed to considerable numbers, who summoned them to surrender. The answer was an instantaneous attack; and the conflict, which was maintained hand to hand by both officers and men, ended in the repulse of the enemy. A similar stratagem was practised on another regiment, and was attended with the same result. About midnight, the enemy made a general attack, and drove in the advanced posts; but colonel Thornton, rallying the troops, moved forward to the charge, and repulsed them with considerable loss. On the 25th, the second division joined, and the whole army took up a position. Majors-general Packenham and Gibbs arrived, and the former took the command of the army. From this time until the 8th of January, preparations were made for a general attack. The British army was posted on a piece of flat ground, with the Mississippi on the left, and a thick wood on the right. The enemy were stationed behind an intrenchment, extending from the river on their right to the wood on their left, a distance of about a thousand yards. This line was strengthened with flank works, and had a canal in front, about four feet deep. On the farther bank of the Mississippi, the Americans had a battery of twelve guns, which enfiladed the whole front of their position. In the night, colonel Thornton crossed the river with a body of troops to attack this battery; he was impeded by unforeseen difficulties, and did not effect a landing until five o'clock in the morning, when the British, having commenced their advance, were assailed by volleys from every part of the enemy's line, and exposed to a destructive fire on their flank. Colonel Thornton

[Capture of the frigate *President*.—Parliament.]

at length reached the battery, and stormed it in the most gallant manner; the enemy fled in confusion, leaving sixteen pieces of cannon and the colours of the New Orleans regiment of militia. Unhappily, this service was performed too late to be of use in the main attack. The gallant general Pakenham had reached the crest of the glacis, and was in the act of cheering his men with his hat off, when he was struck by two balls, one in the knee and the other in the breast. He fell into the arms of his aid-de-camp, and almost instantly expired. Nearly at the same moment generals Gibbs and Keane were both borne off wounded. The troops became disheartened; and the resistance of the enemy in their strong position was so effective, that every man who reached the ditch was either drowned or obliged to surrender. The main column fell back on the reserve under general Lambert, on whom the command now devolved. He restored order among the troops, and placed them in position; but judging it improper to renew the attack, he led the forces to the entrance of Lac Borgne, where, on the 27th of January, the whole were re-embarked. All the artillery, ammunition, and stores were brought away, except six guns, which could not be removed from the position in which they were placed. The Americans treated the prisoners and wounded, who fell into their hands, with much kindness and humanity. The whole loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 2000 men. The last operation of this armament was the taking of fort Mobile on the coast of Louisiana, which surrendered on the 11th of February.

Before the cessation of hostilities, the British obtained one more naval triumph, which, however, did not redound to the dishonour of their brave enemy. A squadron stationed off New York fell in with the American frigate, the *President*, commanded by commodore Decatur, who was attempting to get to sea. After a long chase, the *Endymion* came up with him, when a sanguinary action was maintained for two hours and a half, in which the American, having crippled his adversary in the rigging, was enabled to get a-head. The British frigate *Pomone* now came up, and after exchanging a few shots, the *President* struck. The loss was considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Americans. The relations of peace and amity were soon afterwards entirely re-established between the two kindred nations; and it was the wish of their wisest patriots that the reconciliation might be lasting.

The session of parliament opened on the 8th of November. The leading topics of the prince regent's speech were the pending negotiations at Ghent, for bringing the war to a conclusion on just and honourable terms; and the intended congress at Vienna, for establishing an equilibrium among the powers of Europe. His royal highness adverted to the supplies for the ensuing year; and after regretting the necessity of so large an expenditure, added, that the circumstances under which the long and arduous contest on the continent had been carried on, had unavoidably led to large arrears, and that the war still subsisting with the United States, rendered the continuance of great exertions indispensable. The prince regent concluded by observing, that the peculiar character of the late war, and the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the internal

[Debate on the militia.—Committee on the corn-laws.]

situation of all the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly subsisted between them; and he recommended that parliament should proceed with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might be necessary for the purpose of extending the trade of Great Britain, and securing her commercial advantages. The usual addresses were carried without a division.

One of the most important questions which engaged the early attention of both houses, related to the continuation of certain militia regiments in service. On the 11th, earl Fitzwilliam submitted to the lords, a motion on this subject, and observed that great care had been taken by the legislature to prevent the burthen of the militia ballot from pressing more heavily on the public than the exigencies of the service required; that the prerogative of the crown had been restrained, and the establishment of this species of force had been regulated by various acts of parliament. Of the four specific cases in which the militia might be called out, he contended that not one of them then existed, and that, therefore, the ballotted men were legally entitled to return to their homes. Lord Sidmouth observed, that the acts of parliament which had been cited were not to be construed narrowly, and that while the country remained at war, the service of the militia might be continued so long as the crown should judge it to be of public advantage. The counties and towns upon which any hardship was imposed by such a measure, might be considered as having an equitable claim for reimbursement. This question was afterwards discussed in the house of commons, on a resolution moved by sir Samuel Romilly, that as peace had been concluded for more than six months, and the country enjoyed internal tranquillity, the measure by which part of the militia force was still kept embodied, was contrary to the act of the 42d of the king, and at variance with the principles of the constitution. The solicitor-general admitted, that ministers would act illegally if they advised the king to call out the militia, except in one of the cases mentioned in the act; but as no specific period had been assigned at which it was to be disembodied, he would maintain, that having been once legally embodied, it might legally be so continued. Mr. Charles Grant observed, that the existing state of Europe, where our regular army was still required, sufficiently justified the policy of maintaining part of our domestic force. A division took place, and the resolution was negatived. On the eve of the recess, a bill introduced by Mr. Peel, to amend the act for preserving the peace in Ireland, was passed; and it received the royal assent at the close of the session.

Parliament re-assembled on the 9th of February, and resumed the consideration of various measures of domestic policy. On the 17th the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, to examine the state of the corn-laws. The right hon. Frederic Robinson, vice-president of the board of trade, proposed a series of resolutions, of which the three first related to the free importation of grain to be warehoused, and afterwards exported, or to be taken for home consumption, when importation for that purpose was allowable. The fourth stated the average price of British grain, at which that of foreign growth might be admitted, and below which it must be prohibited: this maximum was fixed at 80s. per quarter for wheat, and



[Trial by jury.—Bank restrictions.—Message on the return of Bonaparte.]

proportionally for other corn. By an exception in favour of the British colonies, the wheat grown in them was admissible when that of home growth was at 67s. These resolutions having been agreed to, a bill framed on them was introduced by Mr. Robinson, on the 1st of March, and after encountering a strong opposition in its progress through both houses, was passed on the 20th by the lords. Numerous petitions against it were presented from the commercial and manufacturing districts; and in the metropolis the apprehension of dearth as the immediate consequence of this law produced alarming riots, which were not quelled without military aid.

One of the most important acts passed during this session was that introduced by the lord chancellor, for extending the trial by jury in civil causes to Scotland. Its provisions differed in several particulars from those of the English law respecting juries. The Scottish jury-court is merely subsidiary to the court of session, and it takes cognizance only of questions of fact, which the judges of that court may refer to it at their own discretion. When a question of fact has been tried before the jury-court, the verdict is returned to the court of session, where the judges, in the further progress of the cause, proceed upon the fact so established, in the same manner as if it had been established in evidence before themselves. Thus the process of the jury-court is a substitute for the old method of taking proofs by commission. Another peculiarity in this new institution is, that if a jury cannot agree on their verdict within twelve hours, they are dismissed, and a new trial is granted. These modifications of the law of jury-trial, as established in England, were judged necessary, in the first instance, to render it acceptable in a country on whose forms of judicial procedure it made so great and sudden a change.

As the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank of England, were to expire on the 5th of April, it became necessary to enquire whether or not those restrictions should be renewed. On the 2d of March, lord Archibald Hamilton moved for the appointment of a committee to examine and state the total amount of outstanding demands upon the bank of England, and of the funds for discharging them; also to enquire into the effect produced upon the currency and commercial relations of the United Kingdom, by the different acts passed since the year 1797, for continuing the restriction on cash payments; and lastly, to report their opinion how far, and under what limitations it might be expedient to continue them. This motion was negatived, and a bill, introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, was soon afterward passed, to continue the act of the 44th of his majesty, restricting the cash payments of the bank of England until the 5th of July, 1816.

On the 6th of April, a message from the prince regent was delivered to both houses, communicating information, that the events which had recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the engagement concluded with the allied powers at Paris in the course of the last year, and threatening consequences highly dangerous to the tranquillity and independence of Europe, had induced his royal highness to give directions for the augmentation of his majesty's sea and land forces; and that he had deemed it incumbent upon him to lose no time in entering into communications with his majesty's allies, for the

purpose of forming such a concert as might most effectually provide for the general and permanent security of Europe. The events alluded to in this message were the return of Bonaparte from Elba, and his resumption of imperial authority in France. The corresponding addresses were voted, and vigorous preparations were made for the renewal of hostilities.

## CHAPTER XC.

State of parties in France.—Conspiracy.—Landing of Bonaparte at Cannes.—Defection of Labedoyere.—Bonaparte enters Grenoble.—Proclamation of the king.—Events at Lyons.—Defection of Ney.—Bonaparte arrives at Paris.—Failure of the royalists in the provinces.—Overtures of Bonaparte to the allies.—Declaration of the congress.—Treaty of Chaumont renewed.—Factions in Paris.—Reports of the ministers.—Additional act to the constitution.—Enterprise of Murat in Italy defeated.—Champ de Mai.—Assembly of the chambers.—Bonaparte departs for the army.—Hostilities on the frontier of Flanders.—Battle of Ligny.—of Quatre Bras.—of Waterloo.—Abdication of Bonaparte.—Advance of the British and Prussians.—Capitulation of Paris.—Return of Louis XVIII.—Bonaparte brought to England in the *Bellerophon*—conveyed as a state prisoner to St. Helena.

WHILE Louis XVIII. was endeavouring to secure to his people the blessings of peace under a free constitution, he found it a hopeless task to reconcile the conflicting interests of the parties into which they were divided. The royalists, by their imprudent zeal and high pretensions, excited the jealousy of the constitutionalists, who felt little attachment to a dynasty so long estranged from them, and inclined, as many of them feared, to disturb the possessors of the national domains; while the republicans made common cause with the imperialists in fomenting a new revolution. The army, reinforced by 150,000 prisoners from England, Russia, and Prussia, entered willingly into their projects for recovering its former glories; and a conspiracy was formed in the capital, which, through the connivance or aid of the police, spread rapidly in the different departments of France. A secret correspondence was carried on with the exile of Elba, and the soldiers were so well assured of the result, that they commemorated him over their cups by the name of corporal *Violet*, in allusion to the approaching spring, when his return was expected.

On the 26th of February, in the dusk of evening, Bonaparte sailed from Porto Ferrajo, on board a brig called the *Inconstant*, accompanied by six smaller vessels, having on board about nine hundred men. Sir Niel Campbell, the British commissioner appointed to reside in Elba, was at this time in Italy; and his absence might have had some share in determining the moment of embarkation, though indeed he had neither authority nor efficient means to control the movements of the sovereign of Elba. The commissioner shortly afterwards returned, and, on landing, found the mother and sister of Bonaparte in a well-feigned agony of anxiety respecting the adventurer, of whom they pretended to know nothing, except that he had steered toward the coast of Barbary. Colonel Campbell immediately put to sea; but he was too late to overtake the flotilla ere it reached the French coast. On the 1st of March, Bonaparte found himself off Frejus, in the gulf of St. Juan. He landed about five in the afternoon at Cannes, with the whole of his small force, except a party of five-and-twenty men, who had disembarked, to possess themselves of Antibes, but were arrested by general Corsin, the commandant of the place. From Cannes, the invaders advanced to Grasse, and leaving there the six



[Progress of Bonaparte.—Labeledoyere.—Proclamation of the king.]

field-pieces which retarded their march, pressed forward to Cerenon, where they halted on the 2d, after a march of twenty leagues. It is a remarkable circumstance, that at this period large bodies of troops had received orders from Soult, the minister at war, to move towards Grenoble. The cause of these movements was alleged to be, a request from Talleyrand, then at Vienna, that an army of 40,000 men should be formed in the south, and that the kingdom might be placed in a state of military array, which would authorise the high tone he had begun to assume in the congress. The fate of Bonaparte's enterprise seemed to depend on the temper of these troops; if they remained steadfast in the royal cause, they might instantly overwhelm him; but if they abjured it, they might afford him the surest presage of success. There was a strong garrison at Grenoble under general Marchand, and another at Chamberi under camp-marshal des Villiers. Bonaparte marched on the former place, and at the village of Mure found the outposts of the garrison opposed to him. Accompanied by two or three officers, he advanced, and presenting himself before their ranks, said, "He that would slay his emperor, let him now act his pleasure!" The soldiers threw down their arms, and rushed forward, shouting "Vive l'empereur!" They then joined the troops from Elba, and the march was resumed. While the commandant at Grenoble was preparing for defence, two battalions of the 7th regiment, commanded by Labeledoyere, left the place without orders, and took the road for Gap, by which Napoleon was advancing. Des Villiers overtook them, and conjured Labeledoyere, in the name of his family, king, country, and honour, to return to his duty; but he replied only by declaring his determination to join Bonaparte. Returning alone to Grenoble, Des Villiers assisted Marchand in his unavailing efforts to reclaim the soldiery, who were preparing to follow the example of Labeledoyere. Bonaparte soon afterwards entered, amidst the shouts of the soldiers and the populace; the garrison joined him, and general Marchand became his prisoner. Aware of the advantage which might accrue to his cause from a show of clemency, he dismissed this officer with a compliment to his fidelity. He now found himself at the head of three thousand men, with a considerable train of artillery.

Meanwhile the enterprise of Bonaparte, which at first appeared contemptible, began to create great alarm at Paris. Monsieur, with the duke of Orleans, set out for Lyons, and the duke of Angouleme, who was at Bordeaux, received instructions to repair to Nismes. The king issued a proclamation denouncing Bonaparte an outlaw; the chambers hastened to testify their loyalty, the foreign ambassadors and envoys assured him of the friendship of their respective sovereigns, the national guards declared themselves decidedly in his favour, and addresses expressing devoted attachment to him poured in from all quarters. In consequence of the mistrust excited by the defection at Grenoble, Soult tendered his resignation, and was succeeded in the ministry of war by Clarke, duke of Feltre. For the defence of the capital, a camp was ordered to be formed at Melun. In the north of France the schemes of the conspirators for exciting an insurrection among the troops were happily frustrated. Their principal agents in that quarter were Lefebvre Desnouettes, and general Lallemand, with his brother. On the 10th of March, Lefebvre, arriving from Lille at

[Bonaparte enters Lyons.—Ney.—Arrival in Paris.]

Cambray, announced to his regiment of chasseurs the royal orders that they should advance to Compeigne. On arriving there, the officers insisted on knowing his real intentions, and after disclosing them, he was obliged to make a hasty escape from the arrest with which they threatened him. General Lallemand, acting in concert with Lefebvre, had put in motion six thousand men of the garrison of Lille, under pretext of an insurrection at Paris. Marshal Mortier, who met them on the march, detected and defeated this part of the conspiracy, and the two Lallemands, who fled, were afterwards taken by the police.

At Lyons the Bourbon princes were joined by marshal Macdonald; but their efforts failed to awaken a spirit of loyalty among the troops and people. Macdonald marched with two battalions to oppose the enemy, who were approaching the suburbs: his troops broke their ranks, and abandoned him as soon as they saw the eagles and the tricoloured cockades of Bonaparte's followers; and their leader, returning to the princes, announced to them the loss he had sustained, and accompanied them in their flight. Bonaparte entered Lyons in triumph, and the submission of this important city was followed by that of Maçon, Chalons, Dijon, and of almost all Burgundy. He now resumed the title of emperor, and issued a series of decrees annulling all changes in the tribunals which had taken place during his absence, sequestering the property of the Bourbons, dissolving the chambers of peers and deputies, and convoking the electoral colleges, to hold in the ensuing month of May an extraordinary assembly, named, in allusion to the usages of the ancient Franks, the *champ de Mai*. The objects of this convocation were declared to be, first, to make such alterations and reforms in the constitution as circumstances should render advisable; and, secondly, to assist at the coronation of the empress and the king of Rome.

Louis placed great trust in the loyalty of marshal Ney, whom he appointed to the command of about 14,000 men, posted at Lons le Saulnier. Ney quitted Paris on the 7th of March, after assuring the king that he hoped to bring Bonaparte to him in a cage of iron. He arrived at Besançon on the 11th, and in three days afterwards he issued a proclamation to the soldiers under his command, informing them that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever, and that he was now about to join the immortal phalanx whom their emperor was conducting to Paris, to establish the happiness of France. This proclamation excited disgust in the superior officers, several of whom quitted the army; but it was received with enthusiasm by the soldiers, who marched under the colours of Napoleon to join their comrades. The defection of Ney and his corps showed how little dependence could be placed on the regular troops; and Louis, deeming it no longer prudent to remain in Paris, departed at one o'clock in the morning of the 20th, escorted by his household troops. He proceeded to Lille; but as the troops of the line in that place could not be relied on, he went to Ostend, and from thence to Ghent, where he established his court.

The army at Melun, commanded by Macdonald, under the directions of the duke of Berri, was drawn up on the 20th to oppose Bonaparte, who was reported to be approaching from Fontainebleau.

[Failure of the royalists in the provinces.—Declaration of the allies.

About noon he appeared in an open carriage, escorted by a party of cavalry; his officers leaped from their horses, and embracing their ancient comrades, implored them to unite once more under the authority of their emperor. The soldiers instantly threw down their arms, left their ranks, and crowded round the carriage with shouts of "*Vive Napoleon!*" Their superior officers, who remained loyal, were compelled to provide for their own safety by a hasty flight. Bonaparte proceeded to Paris, and at nine in the evening alighted at the Tuilleries, having completed his extraordinary journey in eighteen days from the time of his debarkation at Cannes.

Following the example of the capital, the principal cities of France successively declared in favour of the new government; and the efforts of the royalists to excite a re-action in the provinces proved abortive. The Duke of Bourbon failed to raise an army in La Vendée, and sailed from Nantes, accompanied by about forty officers. In the south, the duke and dutchess of Angouleme were equally unsuccessful. At Bordeaux, the dutchess endeavoured to rouse the officers of the garrison to a sense of their duty; but perceiving their coldness and indecision, she turned from them with disdain, exclaiming, "You fear; I pity you, and release you from your oaths." She soon afterwards embarked on board an English frigate, followed by Lynch, the mayor, and other loyalists. The duke, at the head of a small army, obtained some temporary advantages near Valence; but being menaced by Grouchy and Piré from different points, he negotiated a convention, by which he agreed to dismiss his army, on condition that the officers and soldiers should not be molested, and that he should be safely escorted to Certe, there to embark for Spain. Grouchy detained him as a prisoner until Bonaparte's pleasure should be known; and the latter sent orders that the duke should be released, on condition of his promising to use his endeavour for procuring the recovery of the crown jewels which the king had carried with him to Ghent. The duke sailed for Barcelona.

On resuming the government, Bonaparte sent letters to the principal potentates of Europe, acquainting them that he had been restored by the unanimous will of the French people, and expressing his desire to maintain peace on the terms which had been settled with the Bourbons. These letters were in general referred to the congress; and it was the determination of that assembly that no answer should be returned to them. The plenipotentiaries, soon after the landing of Bonaparte, had issued a manifesto, declaring, that by breaking the convention which established him in the isle of Elba, he had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended; that he had placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They also declared the firm resolution of the contracting powers to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 30th of March, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty. They expressed their hope that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, would annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; and added, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result any real danger, all the sovereigns of Europe would be ready to give to the king of France, to the French



[Treaty of Chaumont.—Factions in Paris.—Reports of the ministers.]

nation, or to any other government that should be attacked, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity. This manifesto was followed, on the 25th of March, by a treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, renewing and confirming the league contracted at Chaumont. They agreed each to maintain in the field an army of 150,000 men complete, with the due proportion of cavalry and artillery, and not to lay down their arms until the purpose of the war should be attained, or until Bonaparte should be rendered incapable of disturbing the peace of Europe. The other powers of the continent were to be invited to accede to the treaty; and by the 8th article it was agreed, that the king of France should be particularly called upon to become a party to the league. On its ratification by the prince regent, a limitation was annexed, declaring that the 8th article should not be understood as binding his Britannic majesty to prosecute the war with the view of forcibly imposing on France any particular government. The other contracting powers agreed to accept the accession of his royal highness with this limitation.

Having failed to conciliate the allies, Bonaparte soon found that the apprehension of danger was likely to produce discord rather than union among the French people. He had deluded them with an assurance that Austria favoured his enterprise; and had announced the speedy arrival of his wife and child as pledges of reconciliation. A plot had been laid to carry them off; but it was discovered, and frustrated by the police at Vienna. To sustain his popularity, he found it necessary to cultivate the good will of the republicans, and they were disposed to exact from him the entire fulfilment of his promise to respect the liberties of France. The freedom of the press, which he reluctantly conceded, enabled the royalists to circulate in Paris the proclamations issued by the king at Ghent, forbidding the payment of taxes to the usurped government, announcing the hostile preparations of the allies, and inviting his subjects to avert the dangers which threatened them by returning to their allegiance. Pamphlets of the same tendency were industriously dispersed, and when the police interfered to suppress them, the republicans resented such control as an infringement on public rights. If the two opposite factions agreed in any thing, it was in a determined resistance to the despotic authority of Bonaparte; while he, unable to reconcile the functions of a generalissimo with those of a limited monarch, sought, but did not find, consolation in the clamorous applauses of the multitude. Those applauses were mingled with the Marseilles hymn, the *Carmagnole*, the *ça ira*, and other revolutionary songs, as well as with familiar expostulations concerning the absent empress and her son. His only safe support was the army; and even there he missed some of his most celebrated generals, as Oudinot, Macdonald, Augereau, Clarke, Mar-mont, Victor, and Gouvion St. Cyr.

It now became necessary to sound the alarm which had produced such wonderful effects during the revolution, by proclaiming the country in danger. A report from Caulaincourt announced that the allies were about to enter the French territories, to wage war against the monarch who was willing to accept the treaty of Paris. and to deprive the nation of all that it had acquired during twenty-five years of suffering and glory. To meet these dangers, a levy was ordered of

[Additional act.—Enterprise of Murat.]

two millions of men, to be effected by calling out all from sixteen to sixty years of age throughout the kingdom. Preparations were again made for fortifying the heights of Montmartre; strong measures were adopted for defending the frontiers; and commissioners were despatched to the different military departments of France, to give the necessary impulse to the minds of the people, and to subdue all opposition by persuasion or violence. Another report was presented by Fouché to Bonaparte, respecting the state of the interior; and the publication of it at this crisis was highly prejudicial to the cause which its author professed to serve. In the northern departments and in Brittany, the national guard refused to come forth on the summons, and if compelled, took the earliest opportunity to desert the standard. In the department of Garde, a band of royalists had openly taken the field. Armed bodies of refractory recruits traversed the departments of the Maine and Loire, and of the lower Loire. Committees of royalists in the principal towns corresponded with Ghent; La Vendée threatened a general rising; and in many districts the disposition of the public was such as to obstruct the measures adopted for the defence of the kingdom.

Harassed by contending factions, perplexed with doubts, and annoyed by the daily gratulations of the Parisian populace, who hailed him as *Père la Violette*, Bonaparte suddenly withdrew from the Tuilleries to the palace of Elysée Bourbon, summoned around him his military adherents, and once more assumed his imperial state. On the 22d of April, he published a document under the singular title of *An Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire*, closely resembling in all its essential provisions, the charter of Louis XVIII., to which it was intended as a substitute. Neither the republicans nor the constitutionalists relished this anticipation of the solemn national compact, for which he had appointed the *champ de Mai*; and the very objections which they had raised against the edict of the king, applied with greater force to that issued by the emperor of the republic. The royal charter, subsisting as a fundamental law, could not be innovated upon; but the additional act in some measure confirmed the mass of contradictory laws already prescribed by Bonaparte, and was liable to be modified, limited, and controlled by the old imperial decrees embodied in the constitutions to which this act was proffered as a supplement. They began to apprehend that the object to be attained in this revolution would be no increase of national liberty, but only the exchange of a pacific king for an ambitious conqueror, against whom almost all Europe was in arms.

Meantime, Murat, by an enterprise against the Austrians in Italy, had lost the crown of Naples. When the expedition from Elba reached France, he assembled his cabinet and declared his resolution to support the allies; but on learning that Bonaparte had entered Lyons, he demanded leave of the pope to march a force through his territories. Pius VII. refused; on which two Neapolitan divisions penetrated to Rome, and his holiness, hastily retiring, placed himself under the protection of the English at Genoa. Murat himself advanced to Ancona, and his army marched in four columns on the routes of Bologna, Modena, Reggio, and Ferrara, while a fifth division drove the Austrian garrisons from Cesena and Rimini. He then issued a proclama-

[Takes refuge in France.—Champ de Mai.]

tion, calling on the Italians to assert their independence, and to erase every vestige of foreign domination from their country. It obtained for him a few partisans among the students of Bologna; but the mass of the people evinced no disposition to join his standard. His force, however, was sufficiently formidable to obtain a victory over 10,000 Austrians, under general Bianchi, on the Panaro; and he soon afterwards occupied Modena and Florence. Flushed with success, he rejected the advantageous offers made to him by Austria; in consequence of which that power declared war against him, and the British equipped an armament for the invasion of his territories. Having failed in a movement against the Austrians, on the lower Po, he abandoned all his acquisitions in the north of Italy, and retreating with his dispirited army, imprudently determined to make a stand in the Roman territory. The Austrians, having received reinforcements, adopted a combined plan of operations against him. General Neipperg was instructed to make demonstrations for the purpose of detaining him in the north-east; while Bianchi, proceeding by forced marches to Foligno, intercepted his march toward his own kingdom; and Nugent, advancing from Florence, recovered Rome, and proceeded to Capua and Naples. Having in vain solicited an armistice, Murat, on the 3d of May, made a desperate attack on Bianchi, near Tolentino; but, notwithstanding the personal valour which he displayed, his troops gave way, and this defeat was soon followed by the total ruin of his army. After a disastrous retreat of ten days, in which he lost his artillery, ammunition, baggage, military chest, and royal treasure, he found on approaching Naples, that the inhabitants had declared for the king of Sicily wherever the Austrians appeared; that colonel Church, an English officer, was raising against him an army of his late subjects; that both the Calabrias were in a state of insurrection; that the Lazzaroni of the capital had mutinied, and that an English fleet, escorting a Sicilian army, had appeared in the bay. Leaving his followers, who were now reduced to 4000 men, to make their way toward Capua, and obtain such terms as the victors would grant, he hastened to Naples, and entering the city after sunset with an escort of four lancers, arrived at the palace exhausted with fatigue. His first salutation to the queen was, "Madam, I have been unable to find death!" As there was no hope of redeeming his fortunes, and as his stay might compromise her safety and that of their family, he escaped in disguise with a few adherents to the isle of Ischia, and embarking thence for France, landed on the 25th of May, at Cannes. A courier was sent to court, to announce his arrival; but Bonaparte refused to see him in his distress, and would not permit him to come to Paris. Instead of sending consolation to his unfortunate relative, he is said to have asked with bitter scorn, whether Naples and France had made peace since the war of 1814.

The assembly of the Champ de Mai was held on the 1st of June, in a temporary amphitheatre erected on the exercising ground in front of the Hospital of Invalids. It was not the *wittena-gemote* of a free and mighty people; but a showy and gorgeous pageant. There was a stage upon which appeared Napoleon, Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome Bonaparte, dressed in the Roman costume, attended by cardinal Fesch and other courtiers. Subscriptions had already been collected for the



[Assembly of the chambers.—Bonaparte departs for the army.]

additional act, and a report was made announcing its acceptance by 1,288,357 affirmative, against 4,207 negative votes. Napoleon took an oath to observe the constitutions of the empire, and to cause them to be observed; and this was followed by an oath of obedience to the constitution and fidelity to the emperor, pronounced by the arch-chancellor, and repeated by the whole assembly. Napoleon then descended from his throne, and distributed eagles to the troops of the line and the national guards as they marched by him, adjuring them at the same time to defend those ensigns at the hazard of their lives, and never suffer foreigners to dictate laws to their country. They very readily swore; for some of them had witnessed the effect of the laws which he had dictated to Prussia, Holland, and Spain. Thus ended the ceremony.

The constitution being accepted, the next point was to assemble the chambers. The peers were tractable, but the representatives were so tainted with jacobinism, as to elect for their president Lanjuinais, who in the preceding year had drawn up the reasons which proved that Bonaparte was unworthy to reign. It was necessary to have this election confirmed, and when application was made for that purpose, an intimation was given that the emperor's pleasure might be known next day on enquiry of the chamberlain or page in waiting. The chamber suspended their sitting until a categorical answer should be returned; and this answer was communicated in the laconic phrase, "I approve." On the 7th of June, Bonaparte surrendered, in the presence of both chambers, the absolute power with which circumstances had invested him since his return, and professed himself a friend to liberty. He mentioned the coalition of monarchs against France, the commencement of war in the capture of the *Melpomene* by an English ship of war, and the internal divisions of the country. He urged the strong necessity for regulating the freedom of the press, requested financial aid, and demanded a general example of confidence, energy, and patriotism. An obedient address was carried by the peers; but the representatives, in promising unanimous support against a foreign enemy, intimated their intention to amend the constitution, and declared that the nation indulged no schemes of ambition, nor should even the will of a victorious prince draw it beyond the limits of just defence. In reply, Bonaparte observed, that the nation had not to dread the seductions of victory; it had to struggle for existence. "Let us not imitate," he added, "the conduct of the Roman empire, which, pressed on all hands by barbarians, became the laughing stock of posterity by occupying itself with the discussion of abstract questions, while the battering ram shook the gates of the metropolis." After delivering this admonition he prepared to place himself at the head of his brave and devoted army, in the hope that a splendid victory would soon enable him to awe these oligarchs into submission, and enforce their obsequious homage to the empress and the king of Rome.

The allies were menacing the French frontiers with immense forces; and a loan of thirty-six millions, effected in England, gave a potent stimulus to their exertions. The emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, had again taken the field. An army of 150,000 Austrians was advancing from Italy, and another of equal

[Amount of the allied forces.—Battles of Charleroi and Ligny.]

strength, under Schwartzberg, approached the higher Rhine; 200,000 Russians were pressing toward the frontiers of Alsace; 150,000 Prussians under Blücher occupied Flanders, and were united with about 80,000 troops in British pay, under the orders of the duke of Wellington. The contingents of the different German princes might swell this force to upwards of a million of men; but the different corps were necessarily distributed over a wide range of country, and were at various distances from the probable scene of action. The regular forces of France amounted to about 440,000 men; and the national guards numbered nearly a million, but their capacity and zeal for the public service could not be confidently relied on.

Bonaparte determined to attack the English and Prussians before they should be joined by their allies, and placed himself at the head of a select army of 150,000 men, on the frontier of Flanders. The allied generals had made every disposition for the concentration of their forces, either for offensive, or defensive operations. Three of the Prussian divisions occupied Charleroi, Givet, and Namur, and defended the left bank of the Sambre. The fourth, under Bülow, about 30,000 strong, was posted between Liège and Hanaut. The duke of Wellington had his head-quarters in Brussels. His first corps under the prince of Orange, with two divisions of British, two of Hanoverians, and two of Belgians, occupied Enghein, Brain le Comte, and Nivelles, forming a reserve to the Prussian division under Ziethen, which was at Charleroi. The second division under lord Hill, including two British, one Belgian, and two Hanoverian divisions, was cantoned at Halle, Oudenard, and Grammont. The reserve, under sir Thomas Picton, consisting of the remaining two British divisions, with three of the Hanoverians, was quartered at Brussels and Ghent. The cavalry occupied Grammont and Nineve. The proportion of British, in the army under the duke of Wellington, amounted to about thirty thousand men.

On the 15th of June, at day-break, the French drove in the Prussian outposts on the Sambre, attacked general Ziethen at Charleroi, and compelled him to retire with his division through Fleurus, to unite himself with the main Prussian army, which lay in the vicinity of St. Amand and Ligny. Towards evening they caused an advanced corps of Belgians to retire from Frasnes to Quatre Bras. Intelligence of their movements reached the head-quarters at Brussels about midnight; the troops were immediately ordered under arms; regiment after regiment formed, and marched out of the city, headed by their respective officers, some of whom came in full dress from a ball given by the dutchess of Richmond. The duke of Wellington directed the whole army to advance upon Quatre Bras, where the division under general Picton arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps under the duke of Brunswick, and by the contingent of Nassau. The prince of Orange had recovered part of the lost ground, so as to regain the communication with the Prussians.

On the 16th Blücher was attacked by Bonaparte, with his whole force, except two corps under Ney, which were detached against the British and Belgians, and the first corps under d'Erlon, posted at Marchiennes to act as a reserve. A furious conflict ensued, in which the villages of St. Amand and Ligny finally fell into the possession of

## [Battle of Quatre Bras.]

the French. The combatants displayed the most determined animosity, and no quarter was asked, offered, or accepted. A desperate attack of the Prussians, led by marshal Blücher in person, suddenly recovered St. Amand and a height in its vicinity, and the fortune of the day seemed to turn in their favour. Bonaparte instantly despatched orders to bring up the corps under d'Erlon, but ere its arrival the French had recovered the village. Wellington meantime was desirous to relieve the Prussians, but he was himself attacked; and as the fourth corps under Bulow had not arrived, Blücher was obliged to withdraw from his position at Sombref, and retire upon Tilly. The retreat was effected with the same steadiness and precision which had marked the retrograde movement on Chalons in the preceding campaign. In one of the charges of cavalry the gallant marshal had his horse struck down by a cannon shot, and was himself prostrated on the ground. His aid-de-camp determined to share his fate, fell down beside him, and had the precaution to fling a cloak over him, to prevent his being recognised by the French. Their cuirassiers rode over him; and it was not until they were repulsed, and pursued by the Prussian cavalry, that he was raised and re-mounted. The French did not continue the pursuit beyond the heights which their antagonists had been constrained to abandon.

At Quatre Bras the French commenced their main attack early in the afternoon, advancing nearly at the same moment on the causeway leading from Charleroi to Brussels, and on the intersecting cross-road from Namur to Nivelles. The division under general Foy, which was foremost, was compelled to retreat in disorder, and his first brigade was charged and routed by the Highland regiments. The 42d Highlanders pushed forward in a line after the fugitives; but from the nature of the ground, covered with high corn, they exposed themselves unawares to a body of hostile cavalry, and nearly two companies were cut off before the hollow square could be formed. The rest of the regiment, supported by their gallant countrymen of the 92d, repelled the repeated charges of cavalry, and completely maintained their ancient renown. Ney directed two regiments of cuirassiers to advance in a solid column against the centre of the British position. They went at a hand gallop down the causeway towards Quatre Bras; but a part of the 92d, protected by a cottage and its enclosures, received them with so severe a fire, that joined to the discharge from a battery of two guns opposed to them, it threw their entire column into confusion. The road was strewn with killed and wounded; and the remaining horsemen fled to the rear of their army. The battle was not decided, as the French were still superior in force, especially in cavalry and artillery. About three o'clock the duke of Wellington came on the field with the British guards. At this period the French had dispossessed the Belgian sharpshooters from the Bois de Bossu, which enfiladed the British position. General Maitland, with the guards, was instantly ordered to recover this wood; and the service was speedily effected; the French were driven into the open field beyond it, from whence a large body of cavalry advanced against their pursuers. The guards retired into the wood, and the French, in attempting to penetrate, were again repulsed; but the advantage could not be followed up against the strong force of cavalry which protected



[Blucher retreats to Wavre.—Retreat and position of the British.]

them. The enemy was steadily repulsed in all his attacks, and the British remained masters of their position. In this obstinate conflict they lost many excellent officers; and they had particularly to deplore their gallant ally the duke of Brunswick, who, with his brave followers, had borne the brunt of the action; he was shot through the heart in a desperate charge, which he headed in person. Ney, perceiving no chance of victory, but by an accession of numbers, sent to order up the reserve from Frasnes, conceiving it to be placed at his disposal; on finding that it had been marched to the right, to support Bonaparte's attack on St. Amand, he confined himself to the efforts necessary to maintain his position.

Blucher, continuing his retreat, concentrated his army on the Dyle, near Wavre, about six leagues to the rear of his former position, and considerably farther disjoined from the line of the duke of Wellington's operations. His march was followed and observed by Grouchy with the third and fourth corps, and by the cavalry under Pajol. Bonaparte, with the rest of his army, made a movement to the left, to unite himself with Ney, and attack the English at Quatre Bras.

The duke of Wellington, finding it necessary to make a movement corresponding with that of Blucher, retired upon Genappes, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock. The enemy did not attempt to molest his march, though made in the middle of the day, except by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the earl of Uxbridge. Near the village of Genappes they attacked the rear of the retiring army, when lord Uxbridge ordered the 7th hussars to charge their Polish lancers. The charge was gallantly made; but it proved ineffectual against a force well secured on each flank, and supported by a mass of cavalry in the rear. Lord Uxbridge then ordered up the 1st life guards, and these powerful men, with their long swords and strong horses, bore down the ranks opposed to them, both lancers and cuirassiers, who fled in the greatest disorder, and did not again molest the retreat.

The position occupied by the British, called the field of Waterloo, from a village of that name, two miles in the rear, traversed the high roads leading to Brussels from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, the British occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre they occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By their left they communicated through Ohaim with the Prussian army at Wavre. The chain of heights forming this position, of which the extent was about a mile and a half, corresponds with a similar, but somewhat higher chain, running parallel, and separated by a valley of unequal width, but rarely exceeding half a mile. The two roads above mentioned cross the valley, and unite at the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean, considerably in the rear of the British position; the farm of Mont Saint Jean, which must be distinguished from the hamlet, is much closer in the

[British order of battle.—Position of the French.]

rear. Fronting this point, on the opposite eminence, and on the road to Charleroi, is the little inn called La Belle Alliance.

On the 17th the British were on their ground for the night long before their enemies appeared. They were drawn up in two lines: their right consisted of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first Belgians, under lord Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the prince of Orange, with the Brunswickers and troops of Nassau, having the guards under general Cooke on the right, and the division of general Alten on the left. The divisions of Picton, Lambert, and Kempt formed the left wing. The second line was formed in all instances of the troops least tried in service, or which had suffered too severely in the action of the 16th, to be again exposed to extremity. They were placed on the slope of the heights in the rear, to be safe from the cannonade of the enemy; but this situation could not shelter them from shells thrown over at a venture. The cavalry was distributed throughout the line; but the greater proportion was placed in the left of the centre, to the east of the main causeway from Charleroi. The farm of La Haye Sainte, serving as the key of the centre, was garrisoned by Hanoverians. The house and garden of Hougomont were occupied by a detachment of the guards under lord Saltoun and colonel Macdonell; the wood or park by the sharpshooters of Nassau. The British passed the night under arms, exposed to a tempest of lightning, thunder, and rain; from which, however, their adversaries suffered more than themselves, as they had to march from Quatre Bras with their artillery. It was nearly twilight when Bonaparte arrived with his advanced guard at the farm house of Caillou, about a mile in the rear of La Belle Alliance. Most of his troops remained in and near Genappes, and were not again marched until the morning. Thus the British troops had time to take some food, and prepare their arms for duty, while the French divisions, as they arrived, were disposed along the heights in front of them. Bonaparte despatched an aid-de-camp to Grouchy, whose corps of observation amounted to about 35,000 men, to cross the Dyle, and compel the main body of the Prussians to a general action, hoping that Blücher, being thus engaged, would be prevented from interfering with the operations which he meditated against the British. On reconnoitring their position, he is said to have expressed unusual surprise and satisfaction on finding that they had not retreated during the night, and to have exclaimed, while stretching out his arm, "I have them then at last, these English!" His line occupied an extent of about two miles; the left wing was commanded by Jerome, the centre by generals Reille and d'Erlon, the right by count Lobau. Soult and Ney acted as lieutenants-general, Bonaparte himself directing every manœuvre. The division under Lobau was kept in reserve to oppose the Prussian corps as soon as they should make their appearance on the British left.

About ten o'clock in the morning he commenced a furious attack on the post of Hougomont, on the right of the British centre, accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon their whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks with cavalry and infantry, sometimes mixed and sometimes separate, which he directed against it until seven in the evening. This mode of onset comprehended no

## [Battle of Waterloo.]

profound combination of movement or ingenious display of tactics, but it was calculated to put to the test the courage and strength of the combatants; and it showed that, in aiming at victory, Bonaparte paid no regard to the waste of life by which it might be purchased. The French brigade under general Foy, which attacked Hougoumont, drove the sharp-shooters of Nassau out of the wood in its front; but their utmost efforts failed to penetrate the court-yard, orchard, and garden. At one place they dashed through a hedge, which they conceived to be the only boundary; but they found beyond it a garden-wall, loop-holed and scaffolded for the use of the defenders, who marked and shot down those that had passed the hedge. The gate of the court-yard was for a moment forced open, and four or five of the assailants entered; but they were instantly shot or bayoneted. Howitzers were employed against the buildings, which soon took fire, and the garrison went forth into the garden. The fire communicated to a hay-stack, and, dreadful to relate, many of the wounded perished in the conflagration. The attack and defence were obstinately continued, and, in a small space of time, upwards of two thousand men lay dead around this position. While the conflict was raging here, the rest of Jerome Bonaparte's division made a furious assault on the British right. Under the fire of the artillery and sharp-shooters, heavy bodies of cuirassiers and lancers advanced, supported by close columns of infantry, ready to deploy into line when the desired impression should be made. To resist this formidable mode of attack, the duke of Wellington had formed his battalions into separate squares, each side of which was four men deep. These squares were arranged alternately, so that each of those in the rear covered the interval between two of those in front. The artillery was placed on suitable positions in the intervals, and light troops were detached in front to oppose the desultory but destructive fire of the French tirailleurs. The guards and Brunswickers, disposed in this order of battle, presented so small a surface to the eye, that the enemy's cuirassiers went to work with them with the fullest confidence; they were received with a steady fire at the distance of ten yards, which threw them into confusion. Some, recovering from their surprise, rode up to the bayonets, cut at the soldiers, and fired their pistols at the officers, in the hope of creating some confusion, by which their comrades might profit. Others rode at random in the open spaces, and were mowed down by the crossing fires. In no instance could they make an impression; and at length the enemy were compelled to convert their attack on the right into a fire of artillery. The British, to diminish its destructive effect, deployed into line and lay down on the ground, forming squares again with the greatest coolness and promptitude when new charges of cavalry were attempted. The repulse of these attacks enabled them to throw succours into Hougoumont.

Meantime Bonaparte had organized a combined attack on the centre and left of the duke of Wellington's position, with columns of infantry and cavalry. The post of la Haye Sainte was stormed, and finally carried by the enemy, who bayoneted the Hanoverians stationed to defend it; these gallant men, having expended their ammunition, fought with their swords until they were exterminated. The French cavalry now renewed their efforts to break the British centre, and were for a mo-



[Repulse of the French cavalry.—Imperial guard.]

ment partially successful, having cut down some Dutch troops ere they could form the hollow square. At this crisis sir Thomas Picton, instead of awaiting the charge, led on his division to attack with the bayonet the advancing columns of infantry and cavalry. They were driven down the causeway in mingled disorder; but a ball through the head here terminated the career of the gallant Picton. The British heavy cavalry rushed from their station in the rear, to attack those of the enemy who were advancing against the British infantry. In this assault the Scots Greys greatly distinguished themselves, and the life guards, by the weight and fury of their charge, hurled a regiment of cuirassiers over a broken and precipitous bank into the causeway, where they lay rolling over each other, exposed to a destructive fire of musketry and artillery. Reinforcements were sent forward by Napoleon, and, while the infantry continued engaged, a general cavalry action took place, in which the British dragoons proved themselves superior to the brass-breasted cuirassiers of the French, and repulsed them, taking two eagles, and nearly three thousand prisoners, who were immediately sent off, under an escort, to Brussels. Following the pursuit too far, however, the British sustained considerable loss, and, among other gallant officers, had to deplore sir William Ponsonby, who was slain by the Polish lancers. It was now five o'clock, and while the battle still raged in every part of the field, the advanced troops of the Prussians under Bulow, consisting of two brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, began to emerge from the woods of Saint Lambert, on the British left, and threatened the flank and rear of Bonaparte's right wing. They were immediately opposed by the French reserve under count Lobau, and seemed to slacken their advance, as if waiting for the coming up of their main army. The British continued to sustain alternate charges of cavalry and infantry, and destructive cannonades, along their whole line. Hougomont was again closely pressed and invested; the farm of La Haye Sainte was obstinately maintained by the enemy, notwithstanding the shower of shells which the English threw into it from the heights. The duke of Wellington, regardless of personal danger, hastened to every point where the varying tide of battle demanded his presence; he rallied the regiments which appeared to give ground, animated by his example those which stood firm, and repeatedly threw himself into the squares when about to be charged by the enemy's horse. At one moment the fortune of the day inclined in favour of the French. The whole cavalry of Napoleon's guard, in a furious onset, drove back not only the sharpshooters, who skirmished in front of the squares, but also the artillerymen, and seized thirty pieces of cannon. Before they could secure their prize, the duke charged them in person with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them to abandon the artillery.

Judging, from the havoc made among them, that the British must now be weary of resistance, and being anxious to strike a decisive blow before the Prussians should arrive, Bonaparte, about seven o'clock, brought up the infantry of his celebrated guards, to break, by a furious and sustained charge, through the centre of the British at Mont St. Jean. He himself moved from la Belle Alliance to a spot in the causeway, about half way down the height, and, as the men

[Advance of the British army.—Bonaparte quits the field.]

marched past him, pointed to the ridge which they were to assault, and said, "There, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels." He assured them that the hostile infantry and cavalry were destroyed, and that the artillery defending the heights might be easily carried by a *coup-de-main*. The advanced division of this formidable body consisted of four regiments of the middle guard; it was sustained by four regiments of the old guard, all veteran grenadiers, the flower of the French army. Led on by Ney in person, they marched up confidently amidst strains of warlike music and shouts of *Vive l'empereur!* while the Brunswick sharpshooters, acting as skirmishers, retired before them. From the resistance which they encountered, as well as from eagerness and precipitancy in their progress, the columns lost their interval, and became confounded in one mass as they approached the ridge of the hill. Here they were received by lord Wellington in person, who called out to the foot-guards, then stretched on the ground to avoid the artillery, "Up, guards, and at them!" This welcome call was answered with loud acclamations; the order was instantly obeyed, and not a Frenchman opposed to them waited to cross bayonets. The assailing columns turned and fled in utter confusion; general Friant was killed, and Ney, struck from his horse, endeavoured, sword in hand, to rally them; but all in vain. The old guard preserved their squares to cover the retreat; they were charged by the British cavalry, and entirely cut to pieces. At this time, when the thickening cannonade on the French right, and the appearance of squadrons and battalions emerging from the woods announced that the Prussians were coming up in full force, the British army was ordered to advance to the charge, the centre being formed in line, and the battalions on the flanks in squares for their security: the duke of Wellington, with his hat in his hand, led on the whole. Reanimated with the hope of victory, the men seemed to have forgot all their former toil and hardship; and the accidental circumstance of a bright sunset after a day of clouds and rain, cheered their spirits as they moved onward; while the enemy, exhausted by their own repeated and unsuccessful attacks, scarcely waited the charge. Their first line was thrown back upon and mingled with the second; all attempts at order and regularity were abandoned; the panic spread rapidly; and the whole army, pressed by the British in front, and by the Prussians on the right flank and in the rear, gave way at all points, and fled in irretrievable confusion.

Bonaparte had already left the field. While watching the progress of his guards in their last attack, he was informed that the troops under Lobau were giving way before the Prussians; but he persisted in affirming that Grouchy must be so close in the rear of these assailants as to prevent their attack from becoming formidable; and he directed his whole attention to the movement on the British centre. On seeing the columns recoil, he observed hastily, "They are mixed together;" and when their confusion and rout became more apparent, he said to his attendants, "It is finished now; we must save ourselves." Attended by five or six officers, and a peasant who acted as guide, he galloped across the field of battle to the left, and hastened through Charleroi to Philippeville, which he reached next day, and having there

[Decisive operation of the Prussians.—Loss sustained in the battle.]

given directions to rally his broken army at Avesnes, he travelled post to Paris.

The victory was rendered complete by the decisive operation of the Prussians on the enemy's left flank. On the 17th, Blücher had stationed general Thielman at Wavre with one division of his army to oppose Grouchy, and thus mask his own lateral movement through Ohain and the defiles of Saint Lambert with the other three divisions. Thielman obstinately defended his post until next day, and then gradually fell back, while his opponent, exulting in a victory gained within six leagues of Brussels, prepared to follow it up, and did not discover his mistake before night, when news arrived of the total defeat of his master. Having debouched near the village of Frischermont, rather in the rear than on the flank of Bonaparte's army, the Prussian columns came into action about half past seven. General Ziethen charged the enemy's right flank near the village of Smouhen; it was speedily broken: the rest of the Prussians rushed forward, and at the same time the whole English line advanced. The victorious allies speedily approximating, hailed each other with loud cheers; and by a singular coincidence, the duke of Wellington and the prince marshal exchanged their congratulations near the post of La Belle Alliance. As the British and Prussians were now on the same road, and the former, after a conflict of twelve hours, were much fatigued, the duke readily relinquished the charge of pursuit to his gallant colleague, who declared that he would continue it throughout the night, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man after the enemy. In this pursuit the Prussians took about 150 pieces of cannon, Bonaparte's travelling equipage, and the whole *materiel* and baggage of the army. An equal number of artillery had been taken by the British.

In a battle fought with such bravery and determination on both sides, the loss could not fail to be severe. On the side of the victors nearly one hundred officers were killed, and more than five hundred wounded. The total of killed and wounded exceeded 13,000 men, exclusive of the Prussians. The loss of the French must have been tremendous, though it could not be exactly calculated. It is supposed that they left at least 20,000 men dead on the field. The prisoners did not exceed 7000, among whom were count Lobau and general Cambrone. Being pursued after the battle by a fresh and inveterate enemy, their numbers must have been greatly thinned, not only by slaughter, but desertion; and to this circumstance it must be owing, that of the 150,000 men with whom Bonaparte commenced this campaign of four days, not a third part remained in arms. This decisive victory was mainly owing to the valour of the British troops, and to the well merited confidence which they reposed in the skill and judgment of their heroic commander. They resisted with lion-hearted intrepidity the furious attacks incessantly made upon them; their ardour heightened as the danger increased, and when the word of onset was given, they charged and overthrew the chosen legions of France in the presence of the distinguished captain who had so often conducted those veterans to conquest. The final triumph was secured by the cordial co-operation of the Prussians, and it led to more important consequences than have resulted from any battle in modern times.



[Abdication of Napoleon.—Advance of the allies.]

Bonaparte arrived at Paris on the night of the 20th, and the extent of his disaster was soon made known. The two chambers hastily assembled, and after some discussion declared their sittings permanent, denouncing all attempts to dissolve them to be chargeable with high treason. Many of the members, especially those of the republican party, made no scruple to avow that Napoleon was the sole obstacle between the nation and peace. In this critical juncture his adherents suggested various projects, and even proposed that he should dissolve the mutinous assembly with an armed force, and assume the dictatorship. Exhausted by bodily fatigue, mental anxiety, and loss of sleep, he displayed little of his wonted energy, and his vacillation was such as to cause Lucien to say, that the smoke of the battle of Mont Saint Jean had turned his brain. On the morning of the 22d the chamber of representatives assembled to receive his act of abdication, as a measure which all now considered indispensably necessary for the salvation of the country. They were informed that in half an hour they would receive such a message as would be agreeable to their wishes. A long interval of feverish impatience elapsed, during which Crochon, one of the members, proposed, that to soften the allies, France should disclaim all views of foreign conquest; a proposal, which, even in this period of awful suspense, disturbed the gravity of the assembly. At length the minister of police appeared with a declaration in which Bonaparte announced that his political life was terminated, and proclaimed his son, emperor of the French, by the title of Napoleon the Second. The representatives voted to him an address of thanks for the sacrifice which he had made, and it was presented by the president Lanjuinais at the head of a deputation. Eluding any express recognition of the young Napoleon, both chambers proceeded to nominate a provisional government, of which the members were Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette. Bonaparte issued a kind of farewell proclamation to the army; soon after which he was required to take up his abode at Malmaison, where he occupied himself in preparing for a voyage to America. On the 29th of June he set out for Rochefort, accompanied by general Beker, a member of the chamber of deputies, whose orders were to see him speedily embarked on board a small squadron which the provisional government had assigned for his conveyance.

The victorious generals were meantime advancing rapidly on Paris, without giving time for their antagonists to recover from the tremendous shock which they had sustained. The French found it impossible to make a stand at Avesnes, and it was only at Mezieres that Soult was enabled to collect about 4000 stragglers, with whom he withdrew under the walls of Laon. He was there joined by about 20,000 men, under Grouchy and Vandamme, who had effected their retreat from Wavre by sacrificing their rear at Namur. On the second day of the battle, Blucher was under the walls of Avesnes, which he carried by escalade, taking 45 pieces of cannon. He continued his march upon Laon, taking St. Quentin in his route. The duke of Wellington, keeping the more northern road to Paris, entered the French territory on the 20th, having issued a general order, apprizing the soldiers that in marching through the dominions of an ally to the respective sovereigns of the union, they were to observe the strictest discipline.

[Overtures from the French government.—Capitulation of Paris.]

This order was so well obeyed, that the inhabitants of the country on the route acknowledged that the British paid more respect to public and private property than had ever marked the conduct even of their own troops. Cambray surrendered on the 24th to a detachment under general Colville; soon afterwards the king of France made his public entry there, and was received with great rejoicing. The strong fortress of Perone was reduced on the 26th by a force under general Maitland. In the delay occasioned by the capture of these two towns, Blucher gained a day's march in advance. At Villars Coteret, the corps under Soult and Grouchy made a desperate attack on the Prussian centre, in the hope of breaking through and forcing their way to Paris. The attack miscarried, with the loss of six guns and a thousand prisoners; but the French generals, by a rapid movement to the right, eluded the attempts made to intercept them, and crossing the Marne, gained the road to Paris through Méaux. About this time commissioners were sent from Paris by the provisional government, to announce to the Prussian and English generals the abdication of Bonaparte, and to solicit an armistice. They were directed to repair to Haguenau, where the allied sovereigns, at the head of a large army, held their head-quarters. Three Austrian armies had crossed the Rhine, at Mannheim, Philipsberg, and Grenzach; a fourth had crossed the Arve near Geneva, and a part of the forces which had defeated Murat, were advancing from Italy, under general Bubna. The grand Russian army, with many Prussian, Austrian, and other German troops, at the head of which were the emperors of Austria and Russia and the king of Prussia, had crossed the Rhine at Spire, and were advancing by the route of Haguenau and Saarebourg. The duke of Wellington crossed the Oise on the 29th and 30th, and marshal Blucher, passing the Seine at Saint Germain, advanced to the heights of Meudon, having his left wing at St. Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles. By a combined movement, the duke of Wellington also passed the Seine near Argenteuil, and thus Paris was completely invested on its defenceless side. He might have increased the alarm and distress in the capital by intercepting provisions; but to the grateful astonishment of the Parisians, the usual supplies for their markets reached their destination in safety, after having been permitted to traverse the hostile camp. The corps of Vandamme and Girard, consisting of about 25,000 infantry, and 10,000 cavalry, lay in the plain of Montrouge, the cavalry occupying the Bois de Boulogne. Grouchy, with a part of the troops brought from Laon, continued to garrison Montmartre. By a combined operation of generals Excelman and Piré, the French obtained possession of Versailles; but they were speedily expelled by a superior force of Prussians. A general council of war was held in Paris on the night of the 2d of July; the result of which was, that a deputation was sent the next day to St. Cloud, to treat with the commissioners of the allied generals for the surrender of the city. It was agreed that the capitulation should be a military convention without any reference to political questions. Its principal terms were, that the French army should on the following day commence its march to take up a position behind the Loire, and completely evacuate Paris in three days; that all the fortified posts and the barriers should be given up; that public property, with the exception of that relating to

[Return of Louis XVIII.—Bonaparte conveyed a state prisoner to St. Helena.]

war, should be respected; that private persons and property should be equally respected; and that all individuals in the capital, should continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account, either as to situations held by them, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

On the 7th of July, the national guards at the several barriers of Paris delivered up their posts to the allies, and their various forces of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to the number of about 50,000 men, were distributed with all the precautions necessary to prevent insurrection in a captured town. The chambers, which had continued to deliberate after the signature of the convention, were obliged to separate, and their hall was closed by order of the commander of the national guard. On the 8th, Louis XVIII. made his public entry, attended by a large body of the national guard, and the royal volunteers, as well as by his household troops. In the rear of these soldiers came a numerous *état major*, among whom were marshals Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, Oudinot, Gouvion, St. Cyr, Moncey, and Lefebvre. The monarch was received with acclamations by a great concourse of citizens, and was once more installed in the palace of his ancestors. He had now to enter upon the difficult task of conciliating a people, who, however disposed to venerate his mild and amiable qualities, could not forget the humiliating disasters which preceded his restoration.

On the same day, Bonaparte, urged by general Beker to hasten his departure, embarked at Rochefort, on board La Saale, a small French frigate, which with the Medusa was destined to convey him to America. The wind was fair, but a British man of war, the Bellerophon, lay in sight, and rendered escape impossible. After devising and relinquishing various schemes to get to sea, he sent a flag of truce to the commodore of the British squadron, requesting permission to pass, which was positively refused. He then sent two officers of his suite, Las Casas and Lallemand, to make proposals to captain Maitland, whose reply was, that he had no authority to grant terms of any sort, and that all he could do was to convey Bonaparte and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as his royal highness the prince regent should deem expedient. On the morning of the 15th, Bonaparte left the isle of Aix, and presented himself, with his suite, on board the Bellerophon, which immediately sailed for Torbay. The decision of the British government in concert with the allies was, that the captive should be conveyed to the island of St. Helena in the Southern Atlantic, to reside there as a state prisoner under the inspection of commissioners appointed by each of the confederate powers. He and his attendants were accordingly transferred on the 7th of August to the Northumberland, and next day that ship proceeded on her destined voyage.



## CHAPTER XCI.

Parliamentary proceedings.—Subsidies to the allies.—Budget.—Parliamentary and national rewards for the victory of Waterloo.—Marriage of the duke of Cumberland, and rejection of the bill for increasing his income.—Prorogation.—Works of art and other trophies at Paris reclaimed by the allies.—Conditions of peace granted to France.—New ministry on the restoration of Louis XVIII.—Ordinance against officers guilty of defection.—Change in the cabinet.—Execution of Marshal Ney.—Fate of Murat.—Suppression of revolt in Martinique and Guadaloupe.—Constitution of the kingdom of the Netherlands.—Great Britain protectress of the Ionian republic.—Dutchy of Warsaw united to Russia.—Acquisitions of Prussia from Saxony and Denmark.—German confederation.—Affairs of Spain.—Unsuccessful revolt of Porlier.—Change in the cabinet of Madrid.—East India affairs.—War in Nepaul.—Annexation of Ceylon to the British dominions.

IN reverting to the proceedings in parliament, we find that little opposition was made to the measures rendered necessary by the sudden renewal of war. On the 22d of May, a message was delivered to both houses from the prince regent, followed by documents relative to the engagements concluded with the allies. When the subsidies came under the consideration of the house of commons, lord Castlereagh stated that Austria, Russia, and Prussia, were all prepared to contribute to the common cause a much larger force than they had engaged for, and that several of the inferior powers were also to furnish very considerable contingents. The proportions were: Austria, 300,000; Russia, 225,000; Prussia, 236,000: states of Germany, 150,000; Great Britain, 50,000; Holland, 50,000: making a total of 1,011,000 men. As we only furnished 50,000, we were to pay for 100,000, which would require 2,500,000*l*. An equal sum was to be applied in aid of the confederacy, in such manner as would be calculated to produce the most general satisfaction. To make good the engagements with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, he moved for a grant of five millions, which was carried by a majority of 160 votes to 17.

On the 14th of June, when the budget was produced, the amount of supplies for the year, exclusive of the Irish proportion of 9,760,814*l*. was stated at 79,968,112*l*. To meet this enormous demand, the property-tax and other war-taxes were continued, and were taken at twenty-two millions; the other principal ways and means being a vote of credit for six millions, and two loans for forty-five millions.

Immediately after the glorious victory of Waterloo, a message from the prince regent recommended an additional provision for the duke of Wellington, as a proof of the opinion entertained by parliament of his transcendant services, and as a mark of the gratitude and munificence of the British nation. This call was unanimously answered by a grant of 200,000*l*. in addition to the former rewards by which his extraordinary merits had been acknowledged. The thanks of both houses were afterwards voted to his grace, and to many officers of distinction in his army; to marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, and to the allied troops under the duke's command. In addition to these parliamentary acknowledgments, the services of the British

[Waterloo subscription.—Trophies of arts, &c. claimed by the allies.—Treaty.]

troops were commemorated with various honourable marks of distinction. All the regiments of cavalry and infantry engaged in the battle, were allowed to bear on their colours and appointments, the word WATERLOO; an extensive promotion took place among the officers, and the men were permitted to account two years for that victory, in reckoning their services for increase of pay, or for pension when discharged. But the most splendid and substantial monument of national gratitude was the public subscription for the relief of the wounded, and of the relatives of those who fell in the battle, which very speedily rose to the amount of half a million sterling. This magnificent fund was employed in securing life annuities to the widows of the killed, and to soldiers disabled by loss of limbs; and in annuities for limited periods, for the maintainance and suitable education of orphan children. In cases where annuities were not applicable, donations were given to the wounded officers and soldiers, and to the parents and other dependent relatives of the killed who had left no children.

On the 27th of June, a message from the prince regent announced to both houses, the marriage of the duke of Cumberland with the relict of the prince of Salms Braunfels. A motion was made in the house of commons for an addition to the duke's income; but as it appeared in the subsequent debates, that the queen had expressed strong objections to the union, an amendment tending to throw out the proposed bill was carried by 126 votes against 125. Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July, by a speech from the throne, in which the prince regent, after recapitulating the events which had led to so glorious a termination of the war, trusted that there would be no relaxation in the exertions necessary to establish the permanent peace and security of Europe.

While the negotiations for that object were in progress, those states which had suffered from the depredations of Bonaparte, lost no time in reclaiming the national monuments and works of art, of which he had deprived them. Blucher recovered the spoils, not only of Berlin and Potsdam, but of Aix la Chapelle and Cologne. Through the support of the British government, the king of the Netherlands obtained the restitution of the valuable paintings belonging to the Belgian churches. The Austrians carried back to Venice the celebrated Corinthian horses; the pope received the products of art and literature which had been taken away from Rome; and the other Italian states recovered their lost treasures.

The terms of peace were settled in October, in four treaties or conventions, founded on those of Chaumont and Vienna; but including stipulations of a nature to restrain France from disturbing the tranquillity of the continent, and in some degree to indemnify the victors for the expenses of the campaign. France ceded to the allies Landau, Saar-Louis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, with certain portions of territory. She ceded Versoy to the Helvetic confederation, engaged to demolish the works of Huninguen, and to erect no others within a distance of three leagues from Basle. She relinquished her rights to the principality of Monaco. She retained Avignon, the Venaissin, and the county of Mont Belliard. She engaged to pay to the allied powers, by way of indemnity for the expense of their last armaments,

## [Retrospect of French affairs.]

the sum of 700 millions of francs. She gave up, for the temporary occupation of an allied army of 150,000 men, the fortresses of Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, Mézières, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Buche, and the *tête-de-pont* of fort Louis. The army, occupying these fortresses, under the command of a general chosen by the allied powers, was to be maintained solely at the expense of France. The duration of the military occupancy was fixed at five years, with an understanding that, at the expiration of three years, the allied sovereigns, having considered the situation of affairs, and the advances made in the restoration of order and tranquillity in France, might come to a common decision with its sovereign, whether the term might not be shortened. Of the pecuniary indemnity of 700 millions of francs, the sum of 187 millions was set apart for fortifying the north-eastern frontier of the Netherlands and Germany. Twelve millions and a half were to be divided among the states of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland, which, though prevented by the rapid course of events from bringing up their troops, were, nevertheless, parties to the league. For the corresponding reason, the sum of fifty millions was specially assigned to be divided between Great Britain and Prussia, upon whom the burthen of the war had chiefly fallen. Of the residue, being about 500 millions, Prussia, Russia, Austria, and England, were each to receive one-fifth; and the other states, which had acceded to the treaty of the 25th of March, were to receive the remaining fifth, to be divided among them according to the number of troops supplied by each power. The sum of fifty millions was fixed for the pay and other necessities of the army of occupation, which was placed under the command of the duke of Wellington as generalissimo.

The affairs of France may now demand a brief retrospect. On the day after his restoration, Louis XVIII., anxious to form a ministry which might inspire confidence in all parties, appointed Talleyrand secretary for foreign affairs; baron Louis minister of finance; Fouché secretary of state for the department of police; Pasquier for that of justice; St. Cyr for that of war; and the duke de Richelieu for that of the household. On the 24th of July he issued an ordinance, declaring that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted seats in the chamber summoned by Bonaparte, had forfeited their dignity. Another ordinance of the same date contained a list of generals and officers who betrayed the king before the 23d of March, or who attacked France and the government by force of arms: they were all ordered to be arrested and brought before courts-martial. In a second and more numerous list were inserted the names of persons who were ordered to quit Paris within three days, and reside in the interior under inspection until the chambers should decide whether they were to depart from the kingdom, or be prosecuted. Measures were at the same time adopted for suppressing the factious disorders which still subsisted in the provinces, and various restrictions were imposed on the public press. A proclamation was issued on the 11th of August for disbanding the army, and for organizing it on such principles as might render it a truly national force. It was long ere a semblance of tranquillity could be restored in some of the departments; and that of the



[Change in the cabinet.--Execution of marshal Ney.--Fate of Murat.]

Garde in particular continued to be agitated by furious dissensions between the catholics and protestants until a late period of the year. At Nismes a sanguinary scene took place, which threatened to revive the horrors of St. Bartholomew.

The rising influence of the royalists soon produced a change in the cabinet; and on the resignation of Talleyrand, Fouché, and some of their adherents, the duke de Richelieu was placed at the head of administration; Des Cazes was appointed minister of police; Barbé Marbois, minister of justice; and Corvetto, minister of finance. The proclamation of the 24th of July, which had already been acted upon in the instance of Labedoyere, was now enforced against marshal Ney, who, having been accidentally discovered in his retirement, was tried for high treason, found guilty, and sentenced to be executed. He died with firmness, much regretted by numbers of his countrymen, who had hoped that, since Bonaparte was *permitted* to escape, the royal clemency might have been exercised in favour of this brave but misguided soldier.

His fall had been preceded by that of a man no less distinguished for personal valour, who had once held a pre-eminent rank among the marshals of France. Murat had resided in obscurity near Toulon, until the events succeeding the battle of Waterloo rendered that retreat no longer safe; when, after encountering many perils, he made his retreat in an open boat to Corsica. The Austrians and the English had reinstated Ferdinand IV. in the throne of Naples, and, after obliging Caroline the ex-queen, to surrender the property of the crown of Sicily, had afforded her a residence in the Austrian dominions. In September, proposals were made to Joachim, that he should assume the name of a private person; that he should choose his abode either in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper Austria; that he should engage not to quit those states without the express consent of the emperor; and that, on these conditions, he should receive passports to proceed to Trieste, for the purpose of joining his wife and family. He rejected this overture, and undertook, in imitation of Bonaparte, an expedition for the recovery of his kingdom. Having collected about 400 followers, and purchased five small vessels with a quantity of arms and ammunition, he put to sea, with the intention of disembarking at Salerno. His flotilla was dispersed by a storm; and, when he landed at Pizzo, on the 8th of October, he could only muster about thirty officers. Disappointed in his hope of exciting a revolt among the people, he collected horses and proceeded towards Monteleone. He was overtaken half way by a very strong party, and, after fighting desperately, broke through his pursuers with about twelve of his party, and hastened to the beach, expecting to regain his felucca; but its commander, alarmed at the firing, had put to sea. He was seized by some fishermen, and conveyed before general Nanziano, the commandant of Calabria. On the 15th, pursuant to orders from Naples, he was tried by a court-martial, and found guilty of having attempted to excite rebellion and civil war. Sentence of death was pronounced upon him, and executed on the same day. He behaved on this occasion with his wonted courage; placed on his breast a picture of his wife, refused to have his eyes bandaged, received six balls through his head, and expired without a groan. It has been observed,

[Suppression of revolt in Martinique, &c.—Constitution of the Netherlands.]

that if his conduct at Paris in the revolutionary massacres, and at Madrid after the usurpation, could be forgotten, he might deserve from posterity a fairer fame than his patron. As a king he conferred many benefits on his subjects, and was generous and hospitable in his intercourse with strangers; as a warrior, he led his men in person against the cannon to which he exposed them; and as a general, he never forsook his army until it abandoned him.

In the French West India islands, the intelligence of Bonaparte's successful usurpation excited among the military great enthusiasm in his favour. At Martinique this feeling was so openly manifested, that count Vaugirard, the governor, who remained faithful to the royal cause, found it necessary to assemble the troops, and to release from their obligations those officers who desired it, informing them at the same time, that they must quit the island, and that any attempt to raise the standard of rebellion would be repelled by force. On learning the precarious state of this valuable colony, sir James Leith, commanding officer in the Leeward islands, sent to the aid of count Vaugirard a strong auxiliary force, which landed there on the 5th of June. All the French soldiers of the line, except about 450 men, who remained loyal, were disarmed, and suffered to leave the island. In gratitude for this aid, the government published a decree, admitting British vessels into their harbours on the same terms as those of their own country.

At Guadaloupe, the revolt of the military in favour of Bonaparte was much more decisive. Admiral Linois, the governor, affecting great loyalty, had declined the aid of a British force, and offered to be responsible for the good behaviour of the garrison. On the 18th of June, having, for the sake of appearance, remained a few hours under arrest, he complied with the demands of the soldiers by displaying the three-coloured flag, and proclaiming the restoration of Bonaparte. Sir James Leith assembled a strong military and naval force at the small islands called the Saintes; and, having learned that Linois and Boyer intended to unite their forces, amounting to about 6000 men, between Grande-terre and Basse-terre, he resolved to disembark in three different places, and attack the troops in detail on their march. The preliminary operations having been judiciously executed, the French governor was reduced to the necessity of proposing a capitulation; and the terms which he obtained were, that he and general Boyer, with the troops of the line, and those militia who were still in arms, should surrender as prisoners of war, and be sent to France, there to remain at the disposal of the duke of Wellington.

While the effects of Bonaparte's resumption of power were thus successfully counteracted in the colonies, the affairs of Europe, which had been disturbed by that event, were again placed in a train of adjustment. The union of Belgium with Holland, and the establishment of those countries as a limited monarchy, under the prince of Orange, were confirmed by a constitution, unanimously accepted in an assembly of the states-general of the united Netherlands. It was framed after that of Great Britain, with certain modifications, adapted to the condition and circumstances of the people for whom it was destined, and whose approbation it obtained. The catholic clergy of Belgium alone degraded themselves by protesting against that article which

[Ionian republic.—Poland.—German confederation.]

granted general toleration to all modes of religious belief. Soon after the promulgation of this constitution, a matrimonial alliance was negotiated between the hereditary prince of Orange and the grand dutchess Anne of Russia.

In the conferences at Paris, Great Britain obtained the ratification of her authority, as protectress of the seven Ionian islands. By a special treaty, signed on the 5th of November, to which all the allied powers acceded, these islands were recognised as an independent state, to be governed by a constitution such as should be adopted with the consent of a lord high commissioner, nominated by Great Britain, the protecting power.

The congress at Vienna decided the fate of Poland, or of the dutchy of Warsaw, by uniting it to Russia with a constitution of its own, in which some of the ancient Polish laws were preserved. Cracow was acknowledged a free and independent city. The rest of this once important monarchy was added to the dominions of the emperor Alexander, who assumed the title of king of Poland.

Prussia obtained from Saxony, Thuringia, Upper and Lower Lusatia, and Henneberg. She also recovered the Polish provinces, consisting of the grand dutchy of Posen, the cities and territories of Dantzic and Thorn, and the circles of Culm and Michelan. In the course of the year her territory was enlarged by another accession. The king of Denmark, who had received Swedish Pomerania in exchange for Norway, finding his new acquisition too much detached to be of any advantage, gave it, together with the isle of Rugen, to Prussia, in consideration of a certain sum of money, and of the dutchy of Lauenburg, ceded to Prussia for that purpose by Hanover. By these acquisitions the Prussian monarchy once more regained its rank among the sovereign states of Europe.

By an act of confederation, signed on the 8th of June at Vienna, the German states confided the management of the general affairs of the empire to a diet, composed of representatives of all the princes and free cities, including the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, for those of their possessions which formerly belonged to the empire; the king of Denmark for Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands for the grand dutchy of Luxemburg. All the members of the confederacy were to be represented in the diet by their plenipotentiaries, either singly possessing one vote, or several of the smaller states joining to form one, the total number of votes being seventeen. Frankfort-on-the-Maine was named as the place of assembly, and the presidency of the diet was assigned to the representative of Austria. Each member engaged to assist in protecting not only all Germany, but every separate state of the league, against any attack; and they reciprocally guaranteed to each other the whole of their possessions included within the confederation. They severally pledged themselves to enter into no treaties hostile to the confederation, and not to make war upon one another on any pretext, but to submit their differences to the decision of the diet. By other provisions in the act, this assembly was charged with the formation of rules concerning the general right of Germans to enjoy landed property, or to enter into military service, in any state of the empire without distinction, as well



[Affairs of Spain.—Unsuccessful revolt of Porlier.—East India affairs.]

as concerning the freedom of the press, and general toleration throughout Germany.

In the advantages accruing from the deliverance of Europe, Spain was doomed to take no share. Ferdinand continued to requite with disgrace, exile, and imprisonment, the patriots who had laboured for the salvation of his kingdom; and persevered in his tyrannical misrule, as if he had secretly determined to alienate the colonies for ever, and goad the Spanish people to rebellion. Except in a solitary instance, however, his subjects remained apparently insensible to such a stimulus. Porlier, a guerrilla chief, who had distinguished himself in the late war, under the familiar appellation of the *Marquesito*, had been imprisoned in the castle of St. Antonio since the autumn of the preceding year. Having obtained leave to visit the baths of Artigo, he conceived the project of exciting a spirit of resistance among the soldiery. He assembled the troops which lay at St. Lucia, took possession of Corunna on the 18th of September, about one in the morning, arrested the captain-general of the province and other functionaries, and published a proclamation addressed to the armies in Galicia. The restoration of Ferdinand, he said, had disappointed the hopes of the nation; and the only remedy to the evils which his pernicious counsellors had occasioned, was to re-assemble the cortes, and let them determine the system by which Spain was to be governed. In the meantime he proposed the formation of a provisional junta of government in Galicia; but his patriotic call failed to produce the desired effect. After maintaining possession of Corunna and Ferrol for four days, he received intelligence that the wealthy chapter of St. Jago had distributed money among the soldiers quartered there, to induce them to declare for Ferdinand. He marched his forces against that place, leaving 300 men in Corunna: but he had not been long absent when a counter-revolution was begun, chiefly at the instigation of the clergy. The spirit of defection became contagious; Porlier was abandoned on his march by the greater part of his men, and those who remained, at length suffered their general and officers to be arrested in the midst of their ranks, and imprisoned in the dungeons of the inquisition. Porlier was condemned and executed four days after the miscarriage of his enterprise; of one hundred officers arrested at the same time, several were severely punished; but Romain, Porlier's second in command, had the good fortune to escape to England. On the first alarm of the insurrection, a sudden change took place in Ferdinand's cabinet; the duke of San Carlos was sent ambassador to Vienna, and Escoiquiez, the bigoted preceptor of the king, was disgraced and removed to Cordova. No beneficial effects resulted from this change, and the liberales were persecuted with as much inveteracy as ever. In the colonies the cause of independence was slowly gaining ground, notwithstanding the force which had been sent out under Murillo.

In the East Indies, the British arms, toward the close of 1814, were directed against Nepal, a mountainous and intricate country, which bounds, to the north-eastward, the provinces of Oude and Bahar. The hardy and adventurous tribes called *Ghoorkahs* which inhabit it, had made encroachments, and committed depredations on the frontier, not to be tolerated without detriment to the high reputation on which the

## [Operations against Ameer Sing.]

authority of the British in India is principally founded. War was consequently determined upon by lord Moira, the governor-general, and the armies of Madras and Bengal were directed to advance to their respective lines of frontier. A chosen force of thirty thousand men was ordered to penetrate into Nepaul under the command of major-generals Gillespie and Ochterlony. The former officer secured with great ability and promptitude the passes leading from the west into the Deyra Dhoon, or Sacred Valley; while the latter by a corresponding movement, marched against the principal army of the Ghoorkahs, under their gallant and experienced leader, Ameer Sing Thappa, occupying an entrenched camp at Irkea, on the Sutledge river. General Gillespie encountered a formidable obstacle in the strong mountain fort of Kalunga, and made several gallant attempts to carry it by storm; in one of which he was slain. Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, ordered up a battering train from Delhi, which he employed with such effect as to ruin the defences, and at length compel the enemy to evacuate the place. Meantime general Ochterlony was operating against Ameer Sing, who occupied a formidable position on a chain of heights called the Malown mountains, supported by several hill forts, and by numerous redoubts, and stockades. The troops which defended this strong line, were in a higher state of discipline than had hitherto been observed among the natives of India. They were arranged in regular battalions; some of their chosen men wore red uniforms, and used muskets and bayonets like the British sepoys. They defended their stockaded posts with great determination, and made several successful assaults on the positions of the British. Their chief even succeeded in foiling an attack of the British general, by evacuating two of the points on which it was directed, and by concentrating such a force on the third, as to render an attempt to storm it highly imprudent. Having received reinforcements from head-quarters, general Ochterlony persevered in his operations against this skilful and adventurous enemy, and gradually cut off most of his communications with the rest of the Nepaulese territory. By reducing the fort of Rhamgur, he compelled the rajahs of Bellaspore to set the example of submission; and as other British detachments had now obtained a footing in Nepaul, the chief rajah sent instructions to Ameer Sing to open a negotiation with the British. This patriotic chieftain sent an answer, representing his own situation as by no means desperate, and pointing out various resources by which the war might still be protracted, and perhaps brought to an honourable termination. He conjured his sovereign to maintain the independence of the country, and at all events, not to treat with the British, but rather to invoke the protection of the emperor of China, and acknowledge himself tributary to that monarch. This answer, which was fortunately intercepted, showed the necessity of redoubled exertions for bringing the contest to a successful issue. A division under general Nichols, which had penetrated into Kemaon, reduced the strong fortress of Almora, and compelled the Ghoorkah chiefs to evacuate the whole province. By this success, and by the well combined movements of general Ochterlony, Ameer Sing was at length completely insulated. Having collected his forces for a desperate effort, he attacked the reserve of the British, on the 15th of April,

[British obtain possession of Ceylon.]

and after an obstinate conflict of two hours, was repulsed and defeated with severe loss. Farther resistance being hopeless, he entered into a convention for evacuating the forts and provinces which he had so long and so bravely defended. The most honourable terms were granted to so gallant an enemy; and after a campaign of unusual hardship and difficulty, the whole country from Kemaoon to the river Sutledge was ceded to the British.

An important revolution took place at this period in Ceylon. The king of Candy, who possessed the interior of the island, had alienated the hearts of his subjects by a series of the most atrocious and unparalleled cruelties, and had driven them to solicit the aid of the British in freeing themselves from so odious a despotism. He had already provoked the hostility of his powerful neighbours by various acts of malevolence, particularly by the treacherous massacre of a detachment under major Davie, after its surrender, and in a more recent instance by the barbarous mutilation of ten natives in the British province of Columbo. Early in the year, general Brownrigg, the governor, prepared an expedition against the inland districts of Candy, and issued a proclamation, declaring that he made war on the tyrant and offered peace and security to his oppressed subjects. The invading force, consisting of several divisions, penetrated by various routes to the capital, which they occupied without opposition, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The king, deserted by all but a few Malay attendants, was taken in his flight by some soldiers belonging to one of the adikars or nobles, and was delivered up to the British, who took measures for his safe custody at Columbo. Thus, without the loss of a single man, they acquired complete possession of the whole island of Ceylon. On the second of May a treaty was signed in a solemn assembly of the adikars and other chiefs of the provinces, by which the dominion of the Candian empire was vested in the king of Great Britain, with a reservation to those chiefs of their rights and immunities. The family of the deposed rajah was for ever excluded from the throne. All torture and mutilation was abolished, and no sentence of death was to be executed except by the written warrant of the British governor, founded on a report of the case. Subject to these conditions, the administration of justice over the inhabitants was to be exercised according to established forms, and by the ordinary authorities, saving always the inherent right of government to redress grievances and reform abuses in all cases where such interposition should become necessary. The religion of Buddha was declared inviolable. These were the principal articles of the treaty by which this fine and fruitful island was delivered from the cruel caprice of a tyrant, and placed under the dominion of Great Britain. The acquisition was not the less estimable or glorious because it was made without bloodshed, and was secured by the general consent of the people.



## CHAPTER XCII.

Meeting of parliament.—Regent's speech.—Mr. Brougham's motion on the Christian treaty.—Financial measures.—Repeal of the property tax.—Budget.—Affairs of the bank.—Restriction act renewed.—Marriage of the princess Charlotte to the prince of Cobourg, and of the princess Mary to the duke of Gloucester.—Motion for abolishing the office of third secretary of state.—Sir John Newport's motion respecting Ireland.—Catholic question.—Slave registry bill.—Parliament prorogued.—Expedition to Algiers.—East India affairs.—Depredations of the Pindarees.—Java restored to the Dutch.—Affairs of France—the Netherlands—Spain and South America—Germany—Prussia—Austria—Russia—the United States.—Domestic affairs.—Distresses of the people.—Riot in London.

PARLIAMENT assembled on the 1st of February, and the speech of the prince regent was delivered by commission. It began with adverting to the glorious results of the late campaign, and to the arrangements made for securing the repose and tranquillity of Europe, according to several conventions and treaties, of which copies were to be laid before both houses. The extraordinary situation in which the powers of Europe had been placed by the circumstances of the French revolution, had induced the allies to adopt precautionary measures, in which his royal highness had concurred, relying on the co-operation of parliament for carrying them into effect. The commons were then congratulated on the flourishing condition of the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the kingdom, and assured of his royal highness's disposition to concur in such measures of economy as would be found consistent with the security of the country, and with its station and high character among the European powers. The speech concluded with expressing the prince regent's determination to maintain that character, by the justice and moderation of his conduct, in the sincere and earnest hope that the same internal union and confidence, by which so many dangers had been surmounted, might still continue to strengthen the public prosperity, and prolong the tranquillity of Europe. The usual addresses were voted, but not without a division in the house of commons, on an amendment moved by Mr. Brand, tending to censure ministers for not having, without unnecessary delay, convened parliament for the purpose of communicating those important treaties which were now to be laid before them, after having been acted upon for several months; and to assure his royal highness, that the house would speedily undertake a revisal of the civil and military establishments, and would, at an early period, take into serious consideration the state of the country. This amendment was rejected by 90 votes against 23, and the original address was carried.

When the various documents relative to the late political arrangements on the continent had been submitted to the inspection of both houses, Mr. Brougham, on the 9th of February, took occasion to move for a copy of a treaty concluded at Paris on the 26th of September, between the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and since denominated *The Christian treaty*. By the tenor of this compact the

[Christian treaty.—Financial exposition.]

three potentates, members of three different Christian churches, declared their resolution, both in the administration of their own states, and in their political relations with other governments, to take for their guide the precepts of the holy religion taught by our Saviour. They declared that all the powers who should choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which had actuated them, would be received with equal ardour and affection into this holy alliance. Mr. Brougham observed, that there was nothing in the circumstances of the times which required those sovereigns to put themselves ostentatiously forward as the defenders of that Christianity which no danger menaced, or of those principles which all good men must be ready to sustain. There was something so singular in the language of the treaty, as to warrant no little jealousy. In the very first article the contracting parties pledged themselves, on all occasions, and in all places, to lend each other aid and assistance, and declared that they would lead their subjects and their armies in the same spirit of fraternity which animated them, to protect religion, peace, and justice. He could not think that the treaty referred to objects merely spiritual. On a former occasion, these very powers, after professing great regard for truth, religion, and justice, had made war against an unoffending country; the partition of Poland had been prefaced by language very similar to that now used; and the proclamation of the empress Catharine, which wound up that fatal tragedy, was couched in almost the same words. The treaty had been concluded by these great military sovereigns without our participation, and it bore their own signatures, and not those of their ministers, according to the established rules of diplomacy. A suspicion might be entertained that the whole was meant as a prelude to some crusade against the Ottoman Porte. Lord Castlereagh vindicated the motives of the emperor of Russia, in seeking the only glory now left him to acquire, by the establishment of a beneficial and lasting peace. He stated that the prince regent, whose accession to this alliance had been solicited, had expressed his satisfaction in its tendency, with an assurance that the British government would not be one of the least disposed to act up to its principles. He opposed the production of the document itself, on the ground that it was contrary to the practice of parliament to call for copies of treaties to which this country was no party.

In a committee of supply, on the 12th, the chancellor of the exchequer commenced his financial exposition by announcing that provision was to be made for the payment of outstanding exchequer bills, for the years 1814 and 1815, which he estimated at 35,600,000*l.* The different branches of the revenue for 1815 yielded an amount of 66,443,802*l.* exceeding by more than a million that of 1814. In the application of this sum, 21 millions had been employed in the payment of arrears, by which the whole unfunded debt had been brought down from 64½ millions to 47,700,000*l.* In reference to the commerce of the country, he stated, that in the three quarters ending on the 10th of October, 1814, the value of exports had been 37,167,294*l.*; in the parallel period for 1815, they had been 42,425,357*l.* Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, it was not to be denied that the community were labouring under many embarrassments, arising chiefly from the depreciation of agricultural produce. The remedies

[Property-tax.—Budget.—Affairs of the bank.]

which he proposed were, first, a diminution in taxation, by reducing the property-tax from ten to five per cent., and by remitting some minor taxes which particularly affected the agricultural interest; and, secondly, a system of measures for the support of public credit, to consist chiefly in avoiding a loan, and in throwing into the money-market a capital of fourteen millions for the sinking fund. Of the public expenditure the principal heads were the army and navy. The number of seamen to be voted was 33,000, of whom 10,000 might be set down to the account of squadrons on foreign stations, which it had not yet been in the power of government to recall. The whole expense of this department was estimated at seven millions. The army estimates would likewise be greater for this than for subsequent years. Twenty-five thousand men would be requisite for Great Britain, and an equal number for Ireland; which force, added to the quota necessary for colonies and garrisons, would form an aggregate of 90,000. The 20,000 requisite for India would be paid by the India company; and 30,000, forming part of the allied force in France, would be supported at the expense of that country. The charges for this branch of expenditure, and for that of the navy, were necessarily high at the conclusion of so long a war. Of the ways and means, the first article was a surplus of three millions of the unapplied grants of the preceding year; and the next was that of the consolidated fund, estimated at two millions and a half. The ordinary annual taxes were taken at three millions; the 5 per cent. property-tax at six millions; and the last item was an advance from the bank of six millions at 4 per cent. The resolutions founded on these statements were agreed to without a division.

In consequence of numerous petitions presented against a renewal of the property-tax, the chancellor of the exchequer was obliged to abandon the measure; and, as this change in his arrangements required him to have recourse to loans, he also gave up the war malt-duties. On the 27th of May, when the budget was produced, the supplies for the year, after deducting the Irish proportion, were stated at 27,279,295*l*. The additional ways and means were, first an advance from the bank of three millions at three per cent. interest, on condition of being permitted to increase their capital by one fourth; and, secondly, an issue of exchequer bills to the amount of two millions and a half. The surplus grants, which had been calculated at three millions, were found, on accurate enquiry, to amount to 5,663,755*l*.

Several interesting debates occurred during the session, respecting the public transactions with the bank. On the 14th of March, Mr. Grenfell entered into an examination of the advantages gained by that corporation, and of the corresponding losses sustained by the public, from the balances possessed by the bank since 1806, assuming their aggregate amount, during the subsequent period, to have been about eleven millions and a half. In concluding this examination he observed, that instead of borrowing six millions from the bank, at four per cent., we ought, in consideration of the extravagant profits lately made by that company, to *borrow* the sum without interest at all. The motion which he made for a select committee to enquire into this subject was lost.

Of the subsequent measures relative to finance, the most important



## [Marriages of the princesses Charlotte and Mary.—State of Ireland.]

were, the extension of the restriction act on cash payments until July, 1818; the consolidation of the English and Irish exchequers; and an act for a new silver coinage.

On the 14th of March, a message was sent from the prince regent to both houses of parliament, announcing the marriage contract of his daughter the princess Charlotte Augusta, with his serene highness the prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, and expressing his persuasion of the concurrence of parliament, in enabling him to make such provision in regard to that marriage, as might be suitable to the honour and dignity of the country. On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, an annual sum of 60,000*l.* was voted to the illustrious pair, of which 10,000*l.* was to form a sort of privy-purse for her royal highness, and the remainder to defray the domestic expenses of the prince of Cobourg; this sum to be granted to them during their joint lives. If the prince should die first, the whole sum was to be continued to her royal highness; if he should be the survivor, the sum of 50,000*l.* was to be continued to him. On a subsequent motion, the sum of 60,000*l.* was granted by way of outfit, and a bill was passed for the naturalization of the prince of Cobourg. The marriage ceremony was performed on the 2d of May, at the Queen's palace, in the presence of the prince regent, the queen, and the rest of the royal family; and the event called forth the sincere congratulations of the nation. In July, another royal marriage took place, between the princess Mary, fourth daughter of his majesty, and her cousin the duke of Gloucester. They framed their establishment upon such a scale, as to render unnecessary any application to the public purse.

Among the attempts made for the reduction of public expenses, was a motion by Mr. Tierney, for abolishing the office of secretary of state for the department of war and colonies, which was lost by a majority of 82. On the bill for regulating the civil list, the same gentleman moved an amendment that the expenditure should not exceed the revenues, and that the several remaining charges heretofore borne upon the civil list expenditure, or made good by applications of the droits of the crown, should in future be made a charge upon the consolidated fund; or, that the amount of such expenditure, not provided for by parliament, if exceeding the revenue arising from the droits of the crown or other resources, should every year be submitted to parliament. This amendment was rejected by a majority of 114.

The state of Ireland was brought before the consideration of parliament, on the 23d of April, by sir John Newport, who, after an historical view of the mode in which that country had been governed, moved for an address to the prince regent, praying for documents to explain the extent and nature of those evils which rendered it necessary to maintain there an army of 25,000 men, in a period of profound peace. This motion was superseded by an amendment, proposed by Mr. Peel, who, in defending the measures pursued by government, entered into an explanation of the actual condition of Ireland. The north, the extreme west, the south, and the east of that kingdom, were comparatively tranquil; the disturbed districts were, Tipperary, King's county, Westmeath, and Limerick. Nothing was more difficult than to characterize the precise nature of the disturbances; they seemed to be the effect of a general confederacy in crime, a systematic opposi-

[Catholic question.—Slave registry bill.]

tion to all laws and municipal institutions. An animated debate ensued, which terminated by a division in favour of the amendment. The discussions on the catholic question were attended with the same result as on former occasions; but an expectation was entertained, that they would be renewed in the ensuing session with happier success. A strong impression was produced by an opinion which the bishop of Norwich expressed, respecting the objection made against the emancipation of the catholics, on the score of danger to the church of England. The only way, he observed, to secure permanently the existence of any establishment, civil or ecclesiastical, was to evince liberal and conciliatory conduct to those who differed from us, and to lay its foundation in the love, affection, and esteem of all within its influence. This was the true foundation of our church; with this it was secure from all danger; without this, every other security was futile and fallacious.

A bill, relative to the registry and regulation of slaves, which had been introduced by Mr. Wilberforce toward the close of the last session, was again discussed, and became the subject of warm debates, in consequence of a calamitous insurrection, which had taken place at Barbadoes. A petition against the proposed measure was presented on the 22d of May, on behalf of the merchants of Bristol, who deprecated it as disclosing a spirit of interference with the local legislation of the colonies. On the suggestion of lord Castlereagh, who alluded to the negotiations pending with certain foreign powers relative to the slave trade, Mr. Wilberforce postponed his intended motion, and in the meantime moved for papers on the subject. Mr. Palmer, on behalf of the planters, entered into a general explanation of the state of the colonies, followed by an account of the insurrection, in which he adduced facts to prove that it arose from expectations among the slaves, of entire emancipation, fostered by the proposed registry bill. He moved an amendment on the address proposed by Mr. Wilberforce, praying that the prince regent would order effectual measures for discountenancing these unfounded and dangerous impressions, and would recommend to the colonial authorities to promote the moral and religious improvement, as well as the comfort and happiness of the negroes. The amendment was carried, and a similar address was voted in the house of lords, with this additional clause;—to make every necessary provision against any violation of the abolition acts under the facilities which may be afforded by the restoration of peace. Parliament was prorogued on the 2d of July, after a speech delivered by the prince regent, in which he testified his satisfaction in the pacific and friendly dispositions evinced by all the powers engaged in the late war, and expressed his deep regret at the distresses sustained by many classes of his majesty's subjects, which he hoped would be found to have arisen from causes of a temporary nature.

A naval expedition was this year undertaken, in the success of which every civilized state was interested. After the conclusion of the general peace in 1814, the pirates of Tunis and Algiers, availing themselves of the favourable change in regard to the freedom of commerce, had carried their depredations to such an extent, as to demand the prompt interference of the British government. Early in the spring, lord Exmouth was sent to Algiers, and sir Thomas Maitland,

[Expedition to Algiers.]

his majesty's lord high commissioner in the Ionian isles, to Tunis, with a view to procure some amicable arrangement with the respective governments of those states. They obtained, without difficulty, many important concessions; a great number of captives were instantly set at liberty; and though the demand of abolishing Christian slavery was not immediately complied with, assurances were given that an immediate communication should be made on that subject to the Ottoman Porte, and that if the grand seignor expressed his disapprobation, the practice should be for ever discontinued. On the faith of these promises sir Thomas Maitland returned to Malta, and lord Exmouth with his fleet to England. After their departure, the Algerines instantly resumed their predatory system, and consummated their treachery on the 31st of May by a most horrible massacre of Christians engaged in the coral fishery at Bona. When the news of this outrage reached England, it was determined that lord Exmouth should return to Algiers with a formidable armament to take vengeance for the infraction of a treaty so recently concluded. He sailed in his own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, 110 guns, accompanied by the *Impregnable*, 98, three seventy-fours, five frigates, and several smaller armed vessels, and arriving at Gibraltar early in August, was there joined by a Dutch squadron under the command of admiral Van der Capellan. Before proceeding on his enterprise, the British admiral sent the *Prometheus*, captain Dashwood, to Algiers, for the purpose of bringing away the English consul and his family. The captain had an interview with the dey, who informed him that he was well aware of lord Exmouth's designs, and was prepared to resist any armament which might be brought against him. He had already placed the consul in confinement, and positively rejected all applications for his release. Captain Dashwood succeeded in bringing away in disguise the consul's wife and daughter; his infant child was to follow in a basket; but it was discovered by its cries, and carried back to the city; the dey, however, had the humanity to send it to its mother the next morning. On the 27th of August the whole armament came in sight of Algiers, and lord Exmouth sent a flag of truce with a statement of the demands which he was instructed to make. These were, the immediate release of all Christian slaves, without ransom; the restitution of all money which had been received for Sardinian and Neapolitan captives since the beginning of the year; a solemn declaration from the dey, that he would in future respect the rights of humanity, and treat all prisoners taken in war according to the usage of European nations; and lastly, peace with the king of the Netherlands on the same terms as with England. No answer being returned within the time stipulated, orders were issued for the ships to occupy the stations assigned to them. The firing commenced at three in the afternoon, and was continued without intermission until past nine. It was answered from numerous batteries on the mole, and in the higher parts of the city, with such effect as to occasion a loss to the assailants of more than 800 men. Next morning the scene of desolation exhibited by the city and harbour was such as must have considerably lowered the tone of the dey and his council. They had to grieve for the destruction of four large frigates of 44 guns; five corvettes, from 24 to 30 guns, all their gun and mortar-boats, except seven, a



[East-India affairs.—Depredations of the Pindarees.]

great number of small vessels of all descriptions, the magazines, arsenal, and a large quantity of marine stores. Lord Exmouth sent a letter to the dey, in which, after stating that this chastisement was inflicted on him for the massacre at Bona, and for the contempt with which the messenger of the preceding day had been treated, he offered him the same terms which on this last occasion had been so rashly rejected. After an interval of three hours, a signal was made that the terms were accepted; and deputies were sent on board the *Queen Charlotte* to adjust the minor parts of the negotiation. At noon all the Christian slaves in Algiers, except one, whose liberation lord Exmouth afterwards extorted under a threat of renewing the bombardment, were marched to the shore, and delivered up to the allies. Nearly four hundred thousand dollars were paid into their hands, as the amount of the ransom money received from Naples and Sardinia since the commencement of the year. Some other points in dispute being adjusted, and the dey having publicly begged pardon of the British consul in terms dictated by the captain of the *Queen Charlotte*, lord Exmouth departed on the 3d of September with the heartfelt satisfaction of not having left a single Christian captive in Algiers. This honourable achievement was applauded throughout Europe; but it was still doubted whether a more severe visitation might not be necessary to quell those barbarians who had been so long permitted to outrage human nature.

In India, hostilities were resumed against Nepal, in consequence of the refusal of the rajah to ratify the treaty which had been signed. Early in February the British reduced the strong and important fortress of Hurrhupore, and on the 27th obtained a decisive victory over the Ghorkas, which enabled them to advance against Muckwampore. The rajah, trembling for the fate of his capital, acceded to the terms proposed in the former treaty, and on the 4th of March the peace was ratified. For the successes obtained against this formidable enemy the thanks of parliament were voted to the governor-general, and the generals, officers, and troops under his orders. Lord Moira was raised to the dignity of a marquis of the united kingdom, by the title of marquis of Hastings; and sir David Ochterlony, who had been created a baronet, now received the grand cross of the order of the bath.

On the side of Bombay, a force under colonel East was employed in reducing some refractory Arab troops in the service of the petty princes of Guzaret, and afterwards in bringing the state of Cutch under the control of the British government. In April there were some disturbances of an alarming nature at Bareilly in Rohilcand, originating in a small assessment imposed on the inhabitants. Recourse was had to a military force, and many lives were lost ere tranquillity was restored. The state of the provinces possessed by the native powers became daily more deplorable, and many of the inhabitants, no longer finding any security for property, emigrated to the company's territories; while others, who had been ruined by the depredations of the Pindarees, had no resource but to join them. These freebooters had been gradually increasing in force since 1804, and for some time had occasioned serious annoyance to the British. This year they made an inroad into Guntoer, one of the northern cir-

[Java restored to the Dutch.—Affairs of France.—Netherlands.]

cars, ravaged and laid waste that rich district, and committed acts of the most unparalleled barbarity against the inhabitants. The loss sustained by the government was estimated at a million sterling; but the movements of the Pindarees were so skilfully conducted, that our troops could never bring them to action, and they not only escaped with impunity, but carried off most of their booty. Another predatory force, under the rapacious chieftain Ameer Khan, invaded the state of Jugpore, and levied contributions on the rajah, who was prevented from availing himself of the protection of the British, by the jealousy of the neighbouring states.

Toward the close of the year, the valuable island of Java was delivered up to the Dutch. In the treaty of cession, the interests of the native princes had been unfortunately neglected; and it was in vain that Mr. Raffles, the lieutenant-governor, attempted to obtain from the Dutch authorities some stipulations in their favour.

In Europe the restoration of peace left each state at leisure to occupy itself with measures of domestic policy. France, notwithstanding the restraint imposed by a powerful army on the frontier, was agitated by intestine discords, which induced the legislature to suspend the law for securing personal liberty, and to revive for a time the jurisdiction of prevotal courts for the sake of summary procedure against persons guilty of seditious practices. One of the most remarkable events was the trial of comit Lavalette, who was found guilty of treason in facilitating the usurpation of Bonaparte. On the night preceding the day appointed for his execution, he fled from prison, disguised in the dress of his wife; and through the aid of three English gentlemen, sir Robert Wilson, captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, escaped into the Netherlands. For that offence they were condemned to an imprisonment of three months in Paris. A law of amnesty was enacted in favour of persons who had participated in the late rebellion, with certain reservations and exceptions. In September the chamber of deputies was dissolved, and in the elections which ensued, the influence of the ministry was exercised in such a manner as to call forth the severest strictures from their opponents. The session of the new chamber was opened on the 4th of November by a speech from the king. In the course of the summer the hope of a succession in the royal line of Bourbon was strengthened by the marriage of the duke of Berri with Maria Carolina, daughter of the king of Naples.

In the new kingdom of the Netherlands, the government was occupied in various financial reforms, and in certain commercial regulations, rendered necessary by the union of the Dutch and Flemish provinces. A law was passed for restraining the freedom of the press in respect to foreign powers. On the 1st of July, the king announced to the states-general, that, in compliance with the invitation of his powerful ally, the emperor of Russia, he had acceded to the holy alliance. He afterwards laid before them a treaty concluded with the prince regent of Great Britain and Hanover, for the abolition of the imposts exacted when an inheritance passed from the dominions of one party to those of the other. This arrangement was extended not only to duties payable into the public treasury, but to those levied on account of provinces, towns, corporations, and other public bodies.

[Transactions in Spain.—South America.—Germany.—Russia.—United States.]

In Spain, the distressed state of the finances was apparent from various expedients adopted to replenish the treasury, one of which was, that it should be open for receipt, but shut for payment. A royal edict was issued for restoring to the Jesuits all their houses, colleges, funds, and revenues. In September, Ferdinand VII. married his niece Isabel, a princess of Brazil; and his brother, don Carlos, married her sister, Maria Francisca. To commemorate these nuptials, a general pardon was issued for all delinquents capable of receiving it; but a great latitude of exception was taken, and it included those persons who, by their zeal for liberty, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the government. The war in the colonies was still undecided. Murillo had taken Carthagena, and had expelled the insurgents from Santa Fé, the capital of New Granada. His antagonist, Bolivar, was collecting a force at the island of Margarita, for the purpose of recovering the ground which he had lost. In Peru the royal troops obtained some advantages over the army of Buenos Ayres; and the interests of the latter state were materially affected by the conduct of Artigas, who had placed his troops on the left bank of the Plate, and thus afforded to the government of Brazil a pretext for interfering in the affairs of the Spanish colonies. A Portuguese force was accordingly sent into the territory of Montevideo.

In Germany little progress was made in the establishment of those free institutions which the people had been led to contemplate as the reward of their exertions against the tyranny of Bonaparte. The Prussian cabinet, while engaged in framing a representative system, carried its hostility to political discussion so far, as to suppress the *Rhenish Mercury*, a journal which had obtained extensive circulation, and to exercise a strict censorship over all publications of the same kind. The king of Wirtemberg was at variance with his states; and this unhappy dissention terminated only in his death, which happened on the 30th of October. His successor evinced a more liberal spirit, and expressed his conviction that the happiness of his people and of himself could only be obtained by a representative constitution adapted to their various relations. Austria was involved in financial embarrassments, which were but inadequately relieved by the establishment of a national bank for regulating the paper currency. The principal events at court were, the death of the emperor's second wife, and his subsequent marriage to a princess of Bavaria. On the opening of the diet at Frankfort, a declaration was made by the Austrian representative, that his master recognised in the conferred presidency no real political privilege; but merely acknowledged the honourable distinction of being a conductor of its transactions.

In Russia, one of the most important measures adopted by the government was, a decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the two capitals. So far from manifesting a disposition to diminish his military force, the emperor ordained, that all his Polish subjects between the ages of twenty and thirty, without distinction of rank, origin, or religion, should be liable to serve as soldiers under the conscription law. Two corps of reserve were to be formed; the conscripts of the first were destined to complete the troops of the line, and their places were to be filled by those of the second.

The United States of America were engaged in discussions with



[Distresses of the people in Great Britain.]

the Spanish government, concerning a portion of territory in Florida, which had been occupied by the former power in consequence of the Louisiana treaty. In consequence of memorials submitted to the house of representatives, concerning the decline of American manufactures since the renewal of trade with Great Britain, a duty was imposed, *ad valorem*, on cotton goods imported from any foreign country whatever. In the president's message to congress at the close of the year, complaint was made of the operation of the British navigation laws. The British government had prohibited a trade between its colonies and the United States, in American vessels, while it permitted a trade to be carried on in British vessels, thus favouring its own navigation at the expense of the American. The rule of reciprocity had been urged upon the British cabinet; but it had declined any negotiation on the subject.

The domestic affairs of Great Britain were involved in a complication of embarrassments. In the earlier part of the year, the distress was principally confined to agricultural labourers; and in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, a detestable spirit of conspiracy was manifested in the burning of houses, barns, and rick-yards. As the season advanced, an unusual inclemency of weather threatened a general failure of harvest in Europe; and a consequent rise in the corn-market occasioned extensive misery among the manufacturing poor, who began to complain that their reduced wages would no longer supply them with bread. The sudden failure of the war-demand for a vast variety of articles, for which the return of peace had hitherto opened no market, threw thousands of artisans out of employment, and reduced them to a state of extreme penury. These miseries were particularly felt by the colliers of Staffordshire, and the workmen employed in the iron foundries of South Wales; but they pressed with more or less severity upon all the productive classes of the community. Meetings were held in various parts of the country, for the purpose of discussing the causes and remedies of these evils, and they gave rise to innumerable petitions for relief from the burthen of excessive taxation, and for a reform in parliament. Two assemblies of this kind took place near the metropolis, in Spa-Fields, the last of which ended in a riot. A young man, named Watson, after uttering an inflammatory harangue, seized a flag from one of the by-standers, and placing himself at the head of the mob, led them into the city, and attempted to plunder the shop of a gunsmith on Snow-hill. He fired a pistol at a gentleman, named Platt, who was remonstrating with him, and for this offence he was apprehended, but he escaped in the confusion that ensued. The riot, which might have produced incalculable mischief, was checked by the spirited conduct of the magistrates, and was entirely quelled by the appearance of a military force.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Insults offered to the prince regent on his way to parliament.—Speech.—Message on the state of the country.—Reports of secret committees.—Suspension of the habeas corpus act, and other precautionary measures.—Finance committee.—Bill for compensating civil services, and abolition of the office of justices in Eyre.—Issue of exchequer bills for local and temporary relief.—Discussion of Catholic claims.—Mr. Abbot resigns the office of speaker to the house of commons, and is succeeded by Mr. Manners Sutton.—Debate on lord Sidmouth's circular to the lords lieutenants of counties.—Second message on the state of the country.—Renewed suspension of the habeas corpus act.—Budget.—Motion on foreign slave trade.—Prorogation of parliament.—Affairs of India—of France—Spain—Portugal and Brazil—Russia—Sweden—Germany—Netherlands—United States—South America.—Domestic affairs—Trials for high treason.—Death of the princess Charlotte.

THE discontented spirit prevailing among the inferior ranks of people, again broke forth on the first public occasion on which it could be manifested. When the prince regent proceeded to open parliament on the 28th of January, his passage through Westminster was interrupted by a riotous multitude; and in returning, the glass of his carriage was broken by a stone, or other missile, which appeared to have been aimed at his royal person. This outrage was mentioned to the peers by lord Sidmouth, and a conference was held with the house of commons, at which an address was agreed upon, to congratulate his royal highness on his escape. The principal topics of the opening speech were, the late splendid achievement in the Mediterranean, the successful issue of the campaign in India, and the distresses which were felt not only in this country, but throughout Europe, and which had been aggravated by the unfavourable state of the season. His royal highness adverted to the attempts made to take advantage of these distresses of the country for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence; expressed his determination to omit no precaution for preserving the public peace; and testified his reliance on the cordial co-operation of parliament in upholding a system of law and government universally acknowledged to be the best which had ever fallen to the lot of any people.

On the 3d of February, a message was sent to both houses, announcing that orders had been given for the communication of papers respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects from his person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and constitution. The papers were taken into consideration on the following day, and referred by each house to a secret committee. The reports, which were presented on the 18th and 19th, stated in substance, that a traitorous conspiracy appeared to have been formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of a general insurrection, the established government, laws, and constitution of the kingdom, and

[Reports of the secret committees.]

of effecting a general plunder and division of property. Spa-Fields had been chosen for a place of meeting, as affording the greatest facilities for attacking the most important points in the city: and the 2d of December appeared to have been the day fixed for the execution of the design. Among the projects entertained by the conspirators, was that of liberating and arming the prisoners in the different jails, who were to display the tri-coloured cockade, and co-operate, by the most violent and sanguinary means, to ensure success. Attempts were to be made to seduce from their allegiance the soldiers in the different barracks. There was strong reason to believe that the intended rising on the 2d of December was part of a general plan of rebellion and revolution. Of the persons actually assembled on that day, some who had not engaged in the acts of plunder and insurrection which ensued, had adjourned the meeting until the 10th of February; and it appeared, that, according to a plan concerted in London, meetings were to be held at the same period in various parts of the country. After the speedy suppression of the disturbance on the 2d of December, the leading malcontents agreed that it would be expedient for them to wait until the whole kingdom should, according to their expression, be more completely organized. From the papers before the committee, it appeared that the object contemplated was, by means of societies or clubs, established in all parts of Great Britain, under pretence of parliamentary reform, to infect the minds of the people with a spirit of discontent, of insubordination, and of contempt for all law, religion, and morality, and to hold out to them the plunder and division of property as the main purpose of their efforts, and the restoration of their natural rights. Among these societies was noticed that of the London Union, to which various branch unions were affiliated. Another society was that of the Spencean Philanthropists, whose professed objects and tenets were, that there should be a parochial partnership in land, on the principle that the land-holders are not proprietors in chief; that they are but the stewards of the public; that the land is the people's farm, and that land monopoly is contrary to the spirit of christianity, and destructive of the independence and morality of mankind. The country societies were principally to be found in the midland and northern counties of England, and in the west of Scotland. Various arts of seduction were employed to procure converts, and menaces were held out to those who refused to join. In many instances oaths of secrecy, of most atrocious and dreadful import, were administered; and for further security the proceedings were orally communicated, and but rarely committed to writing. Every thing of importance was transacted by managers, delegates, and missionaries. Among the most effectual expedients of this dangerous conspiracy was noticed the active and rapid circulation of seditious and inflammatory publications, marked with a peculiar character of irreligion and blasphemy, and tending to uproot those principles upon which alone any government or any society can be supported. In some of these tracts, all religion as well as loyalty, was disavowed by an assertion in answer to the question "would you live without gods or kings,"—"we abjure tyranny of every kind." Another expedient was to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by public meetings to address the multitude in terms of unprecedented



[Suspension of habeas corpus, &c.—Finance committee.]

license and violence, amounting in some instances to an open declaration, that in case of non-compliance with their petitions, the sovereign would have forfeited his claims to their allegiance. The frequency of these meetings kept the minds of the peaceable and well-disposed in a state of continual agitation and alarm; while the appointment of them in various places at the same time was calculated to embarrass and impede the exertions of the civil power, and to distract the attention of government. The reports concluded by representing this state of things as replete with dangers, which the existing laws had been found inadequate to prevent.

The measures proposed by ministers were, the temporary suspension of the habeas corpus act; the extension of an act, passed in 1795, for the security of his majesty's person, to the prince regent, as the person exercising the functions of royalty; the incorporation into one act, of the provisions of the act of 1795, relative to tumultuous meetings and debating societies; and of the provisions of the act of the 39th of the king, declaring the illegality of all societies bound by secret oaths or extending themselves by fraternized branches over the kingdom; and an act for punishing with the utmost rigour any attempt to gain over soldiers and sailors into any association or set of men, and withdraw them from their allegiance. These measures, especially the act for preventing seditious meetings and assemblies, excited considerable discussion; but they finally received the sanction of the legislature.

At an early period of the session, parliament was called upon to deliberate on a permanent system for a peace establishment. On the 7th of February, lord Castlereagh, after a general statement of the various sums which would be demanded for the service of the current year, moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into and estimate the income and expenditure of the united kingdom, during a period of three years, ending on the 5th of January, 1819; and also to consider what further measures might be adopted for the relief of the country from any part of that expenditure, without detriment to the public interest. The first report of this committee, relating to the abolition of sinecures, was made on the 5th of May, when Mr. Davies Gilbert stated, that, in recommending the suppression of certain offices, it was necessary that some other mode should be pointed out, in which his majesty could reward meritorious services; and a system had been devised, which, under certain restrictions, might answer every purpose. This was, the granting of pensions for services performed, the time or duration of service being one of the criteria by which the crown was to be guided in rewarding the exertions of public officers. A bill, entitled the Civil Services Compensation Bill, was accordingly introduced, together with another, for abolishing the offices of wardens and justices in Eyre, north and south of Trent; and they passed through both houses with little opposition.

To relieve the temporary distresses of the country, recourse was had to a measure which had been repeatedly tried in cases of similar emergency. On the 28th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee of the house, moved that his majesty might be enabled to direct that exchequer bills, to an amount not exceeding 500,000*l.*

[Exchequer bills.—Catholic claims.—Resignation of Mr. Abbot.]

might be issued to commissioners, to be by them applied to the completion of public works in progress, or about to be commenced; to encourage the fisheries, and to employ the poor in different parishes of Great Britain, on due security being given for the repayment of the sums so advanced. He also moved that the lord lieutenant of Ireland might be empowered to advance out of the consolidated fund of that kingdom a sum not exceeding 250,000*l.* for the same purposes, under condition of repayment in a time to be limited. The commissioners entrusted with the money were to be wholly unconnected with government, and in the disposal of it they were especially to consider the influence which the prosecution of any public work might have on the occupation of the unemployed population. These resolutions were agreed to, and a bill framed upon them was passed.

The motion of Mr. Grattan in favour of the catholic claims was rejected by 245 votes against 221; and that of lord Donoughmore on the same subject in the house of peers, by a majority of 52. In the debate which preceded this decision, the earl of Liverpool, on considering the main question, whether the catholics were entitled to enjoy privileges equal to those enjoyed by the members of the established religion, observed, that, in point of abstract principle, no description of persons could complain of unequal privileges, who voluntarily placed themselves in a situation, by which they forfeited their right to equal privileges. In reference not only to the catholics, but to other dissenters, he asked, whether they, on requiring equal privileges, offered equal conditions; and if they did not, whether it could be contended that there was any injustice in distinguishing between them. He had always considered that the civil establishment was necessarily interwoven with that of the church. This was the leading principle at the period of the revolution, and to this he would adhere. Whenever parliament should throw open the door to equal and general concession, and say that the only difference between the churches of the dissenters and that of England was our ecclesiastical establishment, they would cease to possess the means of maintaining what was essential to the security of their establishment. Parliament would cease to be a protestant parliament. Lord Grey considered the danger apprehended from the admission of two or three catholic representatives into the commons, and of as many catholic peers into their hereditary seats in the upper house, to be merely futile and imaginary, and declared that this was the first time he had heard the name of a thing prized beyond the substance.

On the 30th of May, Mr. Abbott, who had held the high office of speaker of the house of commons for five successive parliaments, tendered his resignation on the ground of continued illness. He was called to the house of peers by the title of lord Colchester, and an allowance of 4000*l.* a year was voted to him, as a proof of gratitude for the ability, integrity, and unremitting attention to business, which had marked the whole of his conduct. He was succeeded by Mr. Mannors Sutton.

A debate took place in the house of peers on the 12th of May, respecting a circular letter, written some weeks before, by lord Sidmouth to the lieutenants of counties throughout England and Wales, in which he communicated to them the opinion of the law officers of the crown,

[Message on the state of the country.—Secret committees.]

that a justice of peace might issue a warrant for apprehending persons charged on oath with the circulation of seditious pamphlets and writings, and might hold such persons to bail. Lord Grey, deeming the character of this proceeding unconstitutional, moved that the case submitted to the crown lawyers should be laid before the house. Various authorities were cited by lord Ellenborough to show that the power ascribed to the magistrates was sanctioned by law; and on a division, the motion was negatived. At a later period of the session this question was agitated in the house of commons, and was decided in a similar manner, as were also two resolutions moved by sir Samuel Romilly, declaring it to be highly prejudicial to the due administration of justice for a minister of the crown to interfere with the magistrates, in cases where a discretion was supposed to be vested in them, by suggesting how that discretion was to be exercised; and that it was a dangerous extension of the prerogative for the minister to declare in his official character to the magistracy, what he conceived to be the law of the land, especially where the security of the subject and the liberty of the press were deeply affected.

On the 3d of June, another message from the prince regent was communicated to both houses, followed by papers containing information respecting the continuance of those combinations in different parts of the kingdom, which had already engaged the attention of parliament, and were now carried on to such an extent as to disturb the public tranquillity. Committees of secrecy were again appointed, and on the 12th, their reports were presented; from which it appeared, that the more recent projects of insurrection were confined to the principal manufacturing districts, in some of the midland and northern counties of England, and that Manchester and its neighbourhood might be considered the focus of insurrection. At a numerous meeting, held there on the 3d of March, for the purpose of petitioning against the suspension of the habeas corpus act, an adjournment took place until the 10th, with the professed intention, that ten out of every twenty persons attending it, should proceed to London with a petition to the prince regent. In the interval, various consultations took place, and the people were told, that if their petition was rejected, they must force it; that the large towns in Yorkshire were following the same plan, and that their deputations would march at the same time; that there was reason to believe the Scotch were then on their march, and that when joined by the people of other manufacturing districts on the road, the concourse would be one hundred thousand strong. Those intending to march were exhorted to provide themselves with blankets, shoes, and knapsacks; every ten men were to choose a leader, and one was to be set over every hundred. At the time appointed, about 12,000 persons assembled, and though some of the main agents of the plot were arrested, large numbers marched off towards London, and one party proceeded as far as Ashbourn. Their progress was prevented by the active interference of the magistrates. After this failure, there were various meetings of delegates from the neighbourhood of Manchester, from the borders of Derbyshire, and from the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire. On the night of the 30th of March, it was intended that a general insurrection should commence at Manchester; the magistrates to be seized; the prisoners to be libe-



[*Habeas corpus.*—Budget.—Slave trade.—Affairs of India.]

rated, and a number of cotton mills to be set on fire, for the purpose of drawing the soldiers from the barracks, of which, a party stationed near them, was to take possession. Proclamations were to be issued, declaring the king's subjects absolved from their allegiance, and denouncing death against all opposers. These atrocious designs were defeated by the apprehension and confinement of some of the ring-leaders, a few days before the period fixed for carrying them into execution. In the month of May, another general rising was to have taken place, and Nottingham was fixed upon as the head-quarters of the insurgents; but the plan was again thwarted by the activity of the magistrates, and the ready assistance afforded, under their orders, by the regular troops and yeomanry. The intelligence procured respecting the plans of the agitators, was confirmed by the appearance of bodies of men in arms, at the precise periods stated to have been appointed for the insurrection. The reports concluded by ascribing the preservation of tranquillity to the actual exercise of the powers which parliament had entrusted to the executive government; and by stating that the time was not yet arrived, when the protection of the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects could be allowed to rest upon the ordinary powers of the law. An act was passed for continuing, until the 1st of March, 1818, the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act.

The supplies for the year were stated at 22,137,808*l.*; the ordinary resources of the exchequer amounted to nine millions and a half, and the other ways and means were a sum of 3,600,000*l.* to be raised by Irish treasury bills, and a new issue of exchequer bills, to the amount of nine millions.

On the 9th of July, Mr. Wilberforce called the attention of parliament to the slave trade, which, he lamented to say, was still carried on by the subjects of those powers who had pledged themselves to co-operate in its abolition. America and Holland were not wholly free from this imputation, but the heaviest charge lay against Portugal and Spain, whose flags formed a cover for the illicit traffic of other nations. After expatiating on the evil consequences of these abuses, he moved an address to the prince regent, praying that he would be pleased to pursue, with unremitted activity, the negotiations into which he had already entered on this important subject; and expressing a hope, that if all his amicable endeavours should prove unavailing, the congress of Vienna would deem it their duty to adopt such a course of commercial policy as would tend to annihilate that inhuman traffic. Lord Castlereagh hinted at the difficulty of coming to an understanding with two reluctant powers, without a danger of injuring pending negotiations; but he would not oppose an address which expressed the sentiments of his majesty's government; and after some farther discussion, it was voted without a division. Parliament was prorogued on the 12th by a speech from the prince regent, in which he expressed his determination to make a temperate, but effectual use of the extraordinary powers vested in his hands for the protection and security of his majesty's loyal subjects.

In India, several divisions of the Madras army were occupied in hostilities against the Pindarees, of whom a considerable force was surprised and defeated at Cowah, by major Lushington, at the head

[Transactions in France, Spain, Brazil, &amp;c.]

of the 4th regiment of light cavalry. Captain Caulfield attacked another body of these freebooters, and drove them with great loss beyond the Nerbudda. Some discussions which had arisen with the government of Poonah, terminated in a new treaty between the Company and the Peishwa, explaining and amending the articles of the treaty of Bassein, and containing provisions calculated to improve the alliance, and render permanent the harmony of the two governments.

France was this year relieved from a part of her burthens, by a reduction of the army of occupation, in the proportion of one-fifth from each corps, the amount of the diminution being 30,000 men. In January, the king issued an ordinance, declaring that every vessel, whether French or foreign, which should attempt to introduce purchased negroes into the colonies, should be confiscated, and the captain, if a Frenchman, be deemed incapable of holding a command. In November, a law was framed for preventing abuses of the liberty of the press, and another for abolishing, with certain exceptions, the concordat of 1801. Seven new archbishoprics, and twenty-five new bishoprics, were erected, the endowments to be taken from funds placed at the disposal of the king. Bulls and other acts emanating from the court of Rome, with the exception of indulgences from the penitentiary court, were not to be carried into execution without the royal authority. In the course of the summer, some disturbances took place in the provinces, which were chiefly ascribed to the high price of provisions; and a political conspiracy was detected at Lyons.

Spain remained in a state of reluctant submission to the odious yoke imposed upon her. In January, the city of Valencia was agitated by a tumult, which threatened to spread through the whole province; the people raised the cry of the constitution, and were with difficulty reduced to subjection by the rigorous measures of general Elio. A more formidable conspiracy was discovered in April, at Barcelona, in which generals Lacy and Milans were implicated. The former was transported to Majorca, and was killed in attempting to escape from the soldiers appointed to guard him. Ferdinand signalized his most catholic zeal by an edict, prohibiting all books which impugned the authority of the Roman pontiff, and the holy tribunal of the inquisition, or which contained principles subversive of monarchical government. The principal measure of his foreign policy was, an application to the congress in favour of his sister the queen of Etruria, and of her son, the infant don Carlos Louis, for whom he procured the reversion of the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. In December, he issued a decree for the abolition of the slave trade, to commence north of the line immediately, and south of the line on the 30th of May, 1820.

The government of Brazil, now identified with that of Portugal, continued to maintain a military force in Montevideo, notwithstanding a strong remonstrance from the allied powers of Europe, who regarded this aggression as an act of hostility against Spain. In the spring, considerable alarm was excited by an insurrection in Pernambuco; which, however, was very soon suppressed by the royal forces. A conspiracy was afterwards discovered in Portugal, the object of which was to establish an independent government in that

[Affairs of Russia, Sweden, United States, and South America.]

country. Its principal promoters were, general Gomez Freire de Andrada and baron Eben, who, with several of their adherents, were arrested on the night of the 25th of May, and charged with attempting to seduce the troops, and other classes of the inhabitants, from their allegiance. The continued absence of the court had afforded them a pretext for disseminating a report, that the sovereign intended to abandon Portugal, and degrade it into the rank of a tributary state.

No material change took place in the political relations of the European powers. The emperor of Russia was occupied in strengthening his immense empire, and in ordaining regulations for reducing the public debt of the state, for extending the facilities of mercantile men, by the establishment of a commercial bank, and for encouraging foreign colonists to settle in the country. In Sweden, great sensation was produced by the disclosure of a conspiracy against the life of the crown prince, who received on this occasion the warmest assurances of attachment from the representatives of the nation, and from the citizens of Stockholm. His son Oscar was admitted into the council of state by order of the king, who, in a solemn admonitory speech, exhorted him to respect the rights of the two free nations whom he would one day be called to govern. In Germany, the progress of political improvement was slow and uncertain. The king of Wirtemberg found it necessary to dissolve the assembly of his states, in consequence of their refusal to confirm a constitution which he proposed to them; and he took into his own hands the administration of the finances, for this, and the ensuing year. The dutchy of Saxe Wiemar adopted a free constitution; a proposal of the grand duke to the diet at Frankfort, that this constitution should be placed under the guarantee of the German confederation, was confirmed by the vote of Austria, in which the other powers concurred. In the Netherlands, the government adopted the very popular measure of abolishing the exclusive commercial company which had been established in the northern provinces, and of throwing open the trade to China.

In the United States, Mr. Madison was succeeded in the office of president by Mr. James Monroe. A cheering picture of national prosperity was exhibited in the message to congress, on the 2d of December, from which it appeared, that the revenue arising from imports and tonnage, and from the sale of the public lands, would be fully adequate to the support of the civil government, as well as of the existing military and naval establishments; and not only to the payment of the interest on the public debt, but to the extinction of the debt itself, at the times authorized, without the aid of internal taxes; for which reason, the president considered it his duty to recommend to congress the repeal of those taxes. This speedy relief from the burthens which war had occasioned, was a gratifying proof of the resources of the country, and of the economy with which they were administered.

Few important or interesting events characterized the protracted war in the Spanish colonies. Early in the year, an adventurer, named Gregor Macgregor, entitling himself general of brigade of the armies of Venezuela, and general-in-chief of the armies destined against the Floridas, took possession of Amelia island with a force composed of



[State of England.--Death of the princess Charlotte.]

natives of different countries; but being disappointed of supplies, he quitted it in September. A nephew of the celebrated Mina was captured in Mexico, at the head of a small body of men, whom he had collected to support the cause of independence. The army of Buenos Ayres, under the command of general San Martin, obtained a victory at Chacabuco, on the 12th of February, after which a new government was organized by the patriots at Santiago, the capital of Chili.

In England the pressure of distress was somewhat alleviated by the prospect of an abundant harvest, but the people in the manufacturing districts continued to suffer from the depreciation of wages, consequent on an almost total stagnation of commerce. The public mind was agitated by rumours of plots and conspiracies; the renewed suspension of the habeas corpus act excited strong animadversions, and many persons began to question the necessity of those extraordinary powers with which ministers had armed themselves, for the purpose of maintaining the tranquillity of the country. In the last reports of the secret committees, it had been stated, that some of the intelligence before them rested on the depositions and communications of persons who were either implicated in the criminal transactions which they disclosed, or, who had apparently engaged in them with the view of obtaining information, and imparting it to the magistrates, or to the secretary of state. That jealousy with which Englishmen resent any encroachment on their liberties, was fully awakened when it was known that spies had been employed in the disturbed districts; and a natural suspicion was excited, that these secret agents would be interested in fomenting the plots which they undertook to reveal. The discredit thrown on the testimony of a witness of this stamp, named Castles, was instrumental in causing the acquittal of four factious individuals, Watson, Preston, Thistlewood, and Hooper, who were tried for high treason, at Westminster, in the month of June. To the machinations of another spy, named Oliver, many misguided men in the midland and northern districts, ascribed the criminal acts in which they had been unwarily tempted to participate. In October, a number of persons were tried for high treason, at Derby, by a special commission. Three of them, Brandeth, Turner, and Ludlam, whose offence was attended with circumstances of peculiar aggravation, were found guilty, and underwent the dreadful sentence of the law, on the 7th of November. Nine others were doomed to a lighter punishment, and the hand of mercy was extended to the twelve who remained.

The hopes founded on the happy union of the prince regent's only daughter, with the prince of Cobourg, were fatally blighted on the 6th of November, by the death of that amiable princess, at a short period after her delivery of a still-born male infant, to the unspeakable grief of the royal family, and the general sorrow of the whole nation. All ranks of people mourned for the illustrious lady who had so many claims on their affection, and whom they had cherished as "the expectancy and rose of their fair state."

## CHAPTER XCIV.

Regent's speech on the meeting of parliament.—Repeal of the suspension of the habeas corpus act.—Bill of indemnity.—Inquiry of Mr. Grenfell, respecting the affairs of the bank.—Restriction act continued.—Budget.—Treaty with Spain, relative to the slave trade.—Motion respecting Spanish ships engaged in that trade.—Act for building new churches.—Marriage contracts of the dukes of Clarence, Cambridge, and Kent.—Alien act continued.—Amendment of the regency act.—Mr. Brougham's bill respecting the education of the poor.—Dissolution of parliament.—Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.—Army of occupation withdrawn from France.—Affairs of Spain.—Decree of the king of Portugal, respecting the slave trade.—Death of the king of Sweden, and accession of Bernadotte.—Affairs of the United States.—Operations in Florida.—Policy respecting the Spanish colonies.—East India affairs.—Success of the war.—Rebellion in Ceylon suppressed.—Death of the queen of England.

THE session of parliament commenced on the 28th of January, with a speech delivered by commission, in which the prince regent, after acknowledging the public sympathy in his affliction for the untimely death of his beloved and only child, communicated his satisfaction in the favourable change which had taken place in almost every department of public industry, and added, that the most important branches of the revenue were in a progressive state of improvement. Treaties had been concluded with the courts of Spain and Portugal, on the important subject of the abolition of the slave trade; a copy of that with the former court, was ordered to be presented, and the treaty with Portugal would be produced as soon as the ratifications should have been exchanged. The attention of both houses was especially directed to the deficiency which had so long existed in the number of places of public worship belonging to the established church, when compared with the increased and increasing population of the country; and this important subject was recommended to their early consideration, convinced, as they must be, that the religious and moral habits of the people are the most sure and firm foundation of national prosperity.

One of the first measures instituted by ministers was a bill for repealing the suspension of the habeas corpus act, through which his majesty had been empowered to detain and secure such persons as were suspected of conspiring against his person and government. This bill having passed rapidly through both houses, a series of papers was presented by command of the prince regent, containing information relative to the state of the country. In moving that these papers should be referred to a committee, lord Castlereagh avowed, that a bill of indemnity was necessary, as being naturally connected with the former law, since much of the information on which government had acted, was such as could not be disclosed consistently with the safety of individuals, and with good faith towards them.

In the house of lords, the report of the secret committee appointed to examine the papers, was presented on the 23d of February. It related chiefly to the recent disturbances in the counties of Nottingham

[Report of committee on the state of the country.]

and Derby, and in the west riding of Yorkshire. The progress of insurrection had been considerably checked by the arrests and trials which had taken place; while the improved state of the country, by affording an increase of employment to the labouring classes, had rendered them less disposed to embrace the desperate measures of the disaffected. Some of the conspirators, especially in London, were still active, and appeared determined to persevere, though with decreasing numbers and resources; for which reason, the committee represented that the vigilance of government, and of the magistrates in the several districts which had been most disturbed, would be necessary. In reference to the powers vested in government by the acts of the preceding session, the report stated, that forty-four persons appeared to have been arrested under warrants of the secretary of state, who had not been brought to trial. Of these, seven had been discharged on examination; warrants of detention had been issued against thirty-seven, on suspicion of high treason, one, who was finally committed, was soon afterwards released; another was discharged on account of illness; and a third died in prison. These arrests were stated to have been fully justified by circumstances, and in no case did it appear that any warrant of detention had been issued, except in consequence of information on oath. The persons detained and not prosecuted had been at different times discharged, when the state of the country, and the issue of the different trials, were considered such as to permit their liberation. The committee added their conviction, that the government, in exercising the powers vested in them, had acted with due discretion and moderation; and that the magistrates in the disturbed districts, had materially contributed, by their vigilance, to the preservation of the public peace.

A bill founded on this report was introduced by the duke of Montrose on the 25th, for indemnifying those persons who, since the 26th of January, 1817, had acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody, persons suspected of high treason, or treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies. Lord Lauderdale considered that this proposition involved a constitutional question of considerable difficulty and importance. It was known by the journals of the commons, that papers had also been sent to that house, and had been referred to a committee. That committee had not yet reported, and their report might be such as to render any proceedings of the kind now proposed very improper to be adopted by the peers. On a former occasion they had refused to entertain a certain measure, because it might come before them in a judicial capacity, and for the same reason this bill was not fit to be entertained. This objection was answered by the earl of Liverpool, who observed, that if it were good for any thing, it would be equally good against the committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of ministers, on the papers submitted to them. The committee, after examining the papers inquisitorially, had come to an opinion which was now before their lordships, who were not bound to regulate their proceedings by a measure of which they could know nothing, except through the medium of the votes of the house of commons. Various objections were urged against the bill in its subsequent stages; but it was ultimately passed, and sent to the lower house. In a committee,



[Parliamentary discussions.]

after the second reading, sir Samuel Romilly observed, that there were only three objects contemplated in the proposed measure; first, to protect the ministers in the acts of authority which they had exercised; secondly, to indemnify the magistrates for what they had done to suppress insurrections, or guard against imminent dangers to the state; and thirdly, to protect private individuals, who had given information to government, from any peril which might be apprehended from the disclosure of their names and evidence. In regard to the first object, the ministers could want no indemnity for the exercise of the powers given by parliament; the act which gave those powers indemnified them in their exercise. If such protection were requisite, it must be for conduct which the act did not authorize; not for detaining men in custody under that law, but for committing them to prison against all law. With respect to the magistrates, he asked, whether the country had been in such a state as to call on them for the exercise of any thing more than the legal power with which they were invested. It was of most dangerous consequence, by this bill, to inform magistrates that whenever the habeas corpus act was suspended, they might perform what acts of authority they thought would be most agreeable to ministers, and that every thing would be covered by a bill of indemnity. He adduced Lord Sidmouth's circular, as a strong instance of the mischief arising from the interference of government with those conservators of the peace, for the purpose of prompting them, as to the mode in which it was desired that their judicial functions should be exercised. As to the protection to be afforded to persons who had given information to government, which formed the third object of the bill, he considered it to be a policy entirely new, and unheard of. No apprehension of danger had been expressed by persons who had come forward to give evidence against offenders; no witness, either at Derby, at York, or in London, had shown any reluctance in delivering his testimony; nor had any thing occurred to impede the due administration of justice. He believed that government were not apprehensive of danger, but were desirous of concealing the unworthy means which had been used to obtain information, and of sanctioning the future recourse to this new system of spies and informers. The solicitor general denied that the proposed measure had been supported on the presumption that ministers had been guilty of irregularity; and observed, that in the actual state of the country the utmost vigilance was necessary, as there still existed in the minds of many persons a disposition to disturb the public peace. It would therefore be highly improper to point out those individuals whose information enabled government to check in time those evils which threatened to overrun the country. On a division there appeared a majority of 173 in favour of the bill: it was read a third time on the 13th of March, and passed without farther discussion.

The important subject of finance occupied the attention of parliament at an early period of the session. On the 29th of January Mr. Grenfell inquired of the chancellor of the exchequer whether any event had occurred, or was expected to occur, which, in its consequences, would prevent the resumption of cash payments by the bank on the 5th of July ensuing. He introduced another question of equal moment, by observing that the public stood in the situation of debtor

[Inquiry respecting the bank.—Budget.]

to the bank, for the sum of three millions advanced without interest, and for the sum of six millions, at an interest of four per cent., which would soon become payable. Until these loans should be repaid, the bank had secured to themselves the undisturbed possession of a balance of the public money deposited in their hands, which for the last twelve years had amounted on an average to eleven millions. Considering it highly advantageous that the government should be unfettered by these obligations, he desired to know whether any arrangement was in progress for discharging the loans in question, or for placing them on a better footing. The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the bank had made ample preparations for resuming its payments in cash at the time fixed by parliament; but that pecuniary arrangements with foreign powers were going on, of such a nature and extent as might probably require a continuance of the restriction. As to the loan of six millions, he should ere long have an opportunity to submit a proposition for its payment, but with respect to the three millions without interest, which was to be regarded rather as a gift than a loan, he thought that the house would not be reconciled to any proposition for depriving the public of so important an accommodation. A similar inquiry was instituted in the house of peers, and on the motion of lord Lauderdale, accounts were ordered of the weekly amount of bank notes in circulation during the three past years. On the 9th of April the chancellor of the exchequer, in submitting to a committee of the house of commons certain propositions of which he had given notice, observed that in January 1817 the Bank had tried an experiment in the issue of specie, by giving notice that they were ready to pay off outstanding notes of a particular description. Cash might then have been demanded to the amount of about one million sterling; but so little interest did the public take in the offered payment, that a very inconsiderable sum was called for. At that time gold bullion was reduced to *3l. 18s. 6d.* and silver to *4s. 10d.* the ounce. In October of that year notice had been given that the bank would be ready to pay cash for their notes of every description dated prior to the 1st of January 1817. The result was greatly different from that of the former experiment; cash was demanded to a large amount, not for the purpose of internal circulation, but for that of being remitted to foreign countries. Upwards of two millions and a half had been issued under this last notice, of which sum hardly any part remained in circulation. The difference in the result of the two experiments arose from various circumstances, especially from the large imports of corn rendered necessary by the scarcity, from the migration of Englishmen to the continent, and from the negotiation of a large French loan in this country. In these circumstances it was not advisable for the bank to resume cash payments; and accordingly two bills were passed, the first for continuing the restriction until the 5th of July 1819, and the second for authorizing private bankers in England and Ireland to issue and circulate promissory notes, secured upon a deposit of public funds, or other government securities.

On the production of the budget, the grand total of supply was stated at 20,952,400*l.*; the amount of what might be called the ready money of the ways and means was 7,271,448*l.*; and the remaining

[Treaty with Spain.—Act for building new churches.—Provision for the princes.]

fourteen millions were provided by various arrangements, including the creation of a new species of stock, bearing an interest of three and a half per cent. and the funding of a certain portion of exchequer bills, to effect a considerable reduction in the unfunded debt.

The treaty between England and Spain relative to the slave-trade was laid before the house of commons on the 9th of February, by lord Castlereagh. According to its regulations, no detention under the stipulated right of search was to take place, except in the case of slaves being found actually on board. It was necessary that each nation should have an equal right of discovering the illicit practices which had been carried on by the other; and unhappily the guilt in the present instance was chargeable on certain British subjects as well as on those of Spain. In return for the advantages and concessions obtained, the sum of 400,000*l.* was voted as a compensation to his catholic majesty.

On the 18th of March, a motion relative to Spanish ships engaged in the slave-trade was made by Dr. Phillimore, in reference chiefly to the case of those claimants who were in possession of sentences of restitution from British courts at home, and had not received the amount of the property decreed to be restored to them. On the ground that these claimants were in equity entitled to nothing, and that it was competent for one sovereign to contract with another as to the claims of their subjects with a view to adjustment, the motion was negatived without a division. Various inquiries were afterwards instituted by sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Wilberforce, of which the object was to ameliorate the condition and treatment of slaves in the British West Indies.

To supply the deficiency of places of worship belonging to the established church, a grant of one million sterling was voted, to be raised by exchequer bills, and applied as occasion might require, under the direction of commissioners appointed by the crown. A bill was subsequently introduced, of which the objects were, to empower the king in council, on a representation to that effect, to order the division of a parish, for ecclesiastical purposes, into two or more parochial districts, each of which was to have its church and minister; and to authorize the erection of chapels of ease, of which the ministers were to be respectively nominated by the incumbent of the parish, subject to the approbation of the diocesan, and without deranging the civil or secular rule of such parish. A considerable sum was raised by subscription in aid of this pious work.

On the 13th of April, a message from the prince regent announced the intended marriage of the duke of Clarence with the princess of Saxe Meiningen, and of the duke of Cambridge with the princess of Hesse. An increase of 6000*l.* per annum in the income of each of those princes was voted, the same sums to be settled on the princesses, if they should survive their royal highnesses. In May a similar provision was made for the duke of Kent on his marriage with the widow of the late prince of Leiningen, sister of the prince of Cobourg.

The alien act was continued for two years, on the ground that it was necessary to keep out, as well as to send out of Great Britain, those persons who should avail themselves of the vicinity of France, to foster a spirit menacing to the security of this, and the other



[Alien and regency act.—Bill respecting the education of the poor.]

governments of Europe. A clause was introduced on the motion of the lord chancellor, by which all persons who might have been naturalized since the 28th of April by the purchase of shares in the bank of Scotland, or who might claim to be naturalized by becoming partners in that bank after the passing of this act, should be deemed and taken to be aliens, notwithstanding any existing act of the parliament of Scotland, so long as the provisions of this law respecting aliens should remain in force.

On the 19th of May, a bill was introduced into parliament for varying and amending some of the provisions of the regency act. Its first object was to enable her majesty to nominate additional members to the council appointed to assist in the execution of the trust reposed in her with regard to the care of the king's person; and the second referred to the possible case of a cessation on the part of the queen to hold that charge. In this case the regency act had prescribed that parliament should assemble forthwith; and in the event of a dissolution, the new parliament not having met, the old parliament should be immediately convened. It was now provided that the meeting should take place at fourteen days' notice; and with a view to the possible event of the queen's demise, after the day of the meeting of a new parliament, previous to the day of meeting, or on the day of the dissolution, clauses were introduced for rendering the new writs operative, and for the summoning of parliament to meet within sixty days. The additional members appointed to the queen's council were, the earl of Macclesfield, the bishop of London, lord St. Helen's, and lord Henley.

Early in the year, a committee was formed in the house of commons, to consider of a bill proposed by Mr. Brougham, respecting the education of the poor; and an inquiry was instituted into the state and management of charitable funds. For this inquiry, fourteen commissioners were to be appointed by the crown, six of whom were to have no salaries. The commission was to be empowered to examine upon oath, and to call for papers, persons, and records. In its passage through the house of lords, the bill underwent various changes, which were subsequently noticed by Mr. Brougham. The first was, the limitation of the commissioners to one description of charities, namely, those connected with education. Another practical change was, that the commissioners were precluded by circumstances, over which they could not have control, from investigating the state of the education of the poor generally. Some of the powers originally conferred upon them were altogether abrogated; they were directed to traverse the country and to call witnesses before them; but they were to possess no authority for enforcing attendance, or for demanding the production of any one document. The bill, as it now stood, left every thing to the good will of those who had an interest at variance with the inquiry, yet much good might still result from the exercise of the powers possessed by the house. The means to be used were, that the commissioners should proceed and call witnesses; that they should report occasionally to the house, and make returns of the names of all persons refusing to give the information required, or to produce the documents demanded without alleging any just cause of refusal. The committee, which would be re-appointed next session, might be empowered to call those persons before them. Mr. Brougham con-

[Allied army withdrawn from France.—Affairs of Spain.—Bernadotte.]

cluded by proposing an address to the prince regent, praying for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the state of education of the poor throughout England and Wales, and to report thereupon from time to time, to his royal highness and to the house. Upon this address the previous question was moved and carried, and the same fate attended another proposal that the commissioners appointed under the bill should inquire into the abuses of charities not connected with education. The amendments to the bill, made by the lords, were then read and agreed to. At the close of the session parliament was dissolved.

The state of affairs in France appeared so favourable, that the time seemed to be arrived when that country might be safely relieved from the burthen of maintaining a foreign military force. In the autumn, a congress of European potentates was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which it was determined, that the allied army of occupation should be withdrawn from the French territories. Toward the close of the year a change took place in the cabinet of Louis XVIII. when the marquis Dessolles was appointed foreign secretary; the count Des Cazes, minister of the interior; Portal, minister of marine; baron Louis, minister of finance; and M. Serre, minister of justice and keeper of the seals. The ministry of police was suppressed.

Spain continued to sink deeper in adversity under the sway of Ferdinand, and her finances were thrown into a state of miserable confusion. Among other projects for repairing them, was that of establishing ports of deposit, where native and foreign speculators might obtain a year's relief from the payment of duties. It was decreed, that foreign property should be placed under the guarantee of the laws, and never be liable to any reprisal on account of war between governments, except in cases where the property of Spanish merchants should not have been respected. By another decree, Santander, Corunna, Cadiz, and Alicant, were declared free ports. In a note to the allied powers, transmitted in June, the king explained the principles on which he had determined to act toward the colonies; he proposed a general amnesty to the insurgents, on submission; eligibility of native Americans, endowed with the requisite qualifications, to all offices, in common with European Spaniards; and a regulation of the commerce of the provinces with foreign states according to free principles, and conformably to the political situation of those countries and Europe; and he avowed a sincere disposition to accede to all measures proposed by the allies, which should be consistent with the support of his rights and dignity.

On the 6th of May, the king of Portugal published, at Rio de Janeiro, a royal *alvara*, to enforce the articles of the late convention with the British government, for the abolition of the slave-trade north of the equator. It imposed penalties on those traders who should engage in the prohibited traffic, and established regulations for the protection and support of the slaves, who, in consequence of such penalties, should be declared free. In the ports to the south of the line, where the trade was still permitted, the regulations passed in 1813 were to be observed, with certain modifications.

In Sweden, the death of Charles XIII. which took place on the 5th of February, was followed by the tranquil establishment of the French dynasty, in the person of Bernadotte, who ascended to the throne

[United States.—India.—Death of the queen.]

under the name of Charles John. He was recognised by the other sovereigns of Europe.

The United States were engaged in hostilities against the Seminole Indians, a tribe dwelling almost entirely within the limits of Florida, whom Spain, by the treaty of 1795, was bound to restrain from committing acts of aggression. In pursuit of these savages, general Jackson entered Florida, and found it necessary to take possession of St. Mark's and Pensacola, which were afterwards ordered to be restored to the Spanish authorities. A long correspondence took place on this subject between the two governments. The president adverted to it in his message to congress, in November, and afterwards detailed the information received from commissioners recently returned from the Spanish South American colonies. It appeared that the government of Buenos Ayres, since its declaration in 1816, had continued to act as an independent government; that the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, and Paraguay, were also independent, but unconnected with the former power; that Chili had declared its independence, and was closely connected with Buenos Ayres; that Venezuela was maintaining the conflict with various success, and that the remaining parts of South America, except those held by Portugal, were still in the possession of Spain, or in a certain degree under her influence. Allusion was then made to an intention of the allied powers, in the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, to undertake a pacific mediation between Spain and her colonies; and it was recommended, that the United States should adhere to the course of policy which they had hitherto pursued in regard to this contest. After expatiating on the prosperous state of the public resources, the president announced the accession of the Illinois, as another state, to the Union.

In India, the British were engaged in hostilities, not only against the Pindarees, but against a formidable combination of the native princes, which ended in the capture and deposal of the Peishwa, and the destruction of the Mahratta power. A rebellion broke out in some of the provinces of Ceylon, in favour of a pretender to royalty; but by the prompt and vigorous exertions of the governor, sir Robert Brownrigg, it was effectually suppressed.

At home, tranquillity seemed to be in a great measure restored; in several branches of trade there was a perceptible amelioration; the harvest proved abundant; and the bustle of a general election, by engrossing the attention of the people, caused a temporary suspension in the schemes of the agitators. A disposition to riot manifested itself among the labouring classes in Manchester and its neighbourhood, where the magistrates found that the presence of a considerable military force was necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

The queen of England, after a long and severe illness, was finally removed from this world, on the 17th of November; and the public regrets on her demise, were mingled with a respectful feeling, in consideration of the care and tenderness with which she had watched over the infirmities of her venerable consort.



## CHAPTER XCV.

Care of the king's person entrusted to the duke of York.—Changes in the Windsor establishment.—Mr. Tierney's motion on the circulating medium.—Finance committee.—Consolidated fund produce bill.—Reports on the state of the bank.—Arrangements for resuming cash payments.—Budget.—Sir J. Mackintosh's motion on the state of the criminal law.—Wager of battel abolished.—Discussion of the Catholic claims.—Marquis Camden's tellership bill.—Foreign enlistment bill.—Motion on the state of the nation.—Sir F. Burdett's motion on parliamentary reform.—Reversal of lord E. Fitzgerald's attainder.—Motion on the slave-trade.—Bill for encouraging emigration to the Cape of Good Hope.—Concluding bill of supply.—Close of the session.—Affairs of France—Spain—Germany.—Assassination of Kotzebue, and measures adopted in consequence.—Discussion between Denmark and Sweden.—Cession of Parga by Great Britain to the Porte.—Conduct of the Dutch in the Malayan archipelago.—Acquisition of Florida by the United States.—Affairs of South America.—Domestic events.—Public meetings.—Catastrophe at Manchester.—Addresses to the prince regent on this subject.—Dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam.—Riot at Paisley.—Precautions taken by government.—Meeting of parliament.—Traverse bill.—Seditious libel bill.—Newspaper stamp bill for cheap tracts.—Seditious meetings bill.—Training bill.—Seizure of arms bill.—Lord J. Russell's motion on parliamentary reform.—Decline of his majesty's bodily health.—Death of the duke of Kent.—Death of the king.—Character.

ONE of the first measures which occupied the attention of the new parliament, after its meeting on the 14th of January, related to the royal establishment, in which some changes were rendered necessary by the late mournful event. On the 25th, a bill was introduced into the house of lords by the earl of Liverpool, for placing the custody of the king's person in the hands of the duke of York, subject to the assistance of a council. A message was sent to the house of commons on the 4th of February, by the prince regent, in which he informed them that the sum of 58,000*l.* per annum, appropriated to the establishment of her late majesty, having become disposable for the general purposes of the civil list, his royal highness placed that sum at the disposal of parliament; stating, at the same time, that there existed certain claims, founded on the faithful services of persons belonging to that establishment, which he recommended to the justice and liberality of the house. When this message had been communicated, lord Castlereagh, referring to the bill brought down from the lords relative to the care of the king's person, observed, that the sums now to be disposed of by parliament were 100,000*l.* which had been appropriated to the Windsor establishment, 58,000*l.* which had been assigned to the maintainance of the queen, and 10,000*l.* which had been granted to her majesty to defray the additional expense to which she had been subject, in the discharge of her duty as custos of the king's person. He proposed that this last sum should be continued to the duke of York as custos. Out of the remaining 158,000*l.*, the sum of 50,000*l.* was in future to be appropriated to the Windsor establishment; the saving would therefore be 50,000*l.* on this establishment, and 58,000*l.* on that of the queen; but this last sum would be burthened with the

[Motion on the state of the currency.--Finance committee.]

salaries of the servants of her late majesty. On the report of a select committee, two resolutions, conformable to the above proposals, were adopted, and the amount of the salaries was stated to be between 18,000*l.* and 19,000*l.* a-year. On the third resolution, a discussion arose respecting the fund from which the guardian of the king's person was to be remunerated; and lord Castlereagh stated that he was authorized to declare, that the duke of York would in any event be happy to discharge the duties which his situation rendered necessary towards his royal father and his country; but that no consideration could induce him to accept of any sum from the privy purse of his majesty. The resolution, as originally framed, was at length agreed to, that the annual sum in question should be issued out of the civil list revenues; and the bill for the regulation of the household was passed. A vacancy, which had occurred in the assistant council by the death of lord Ellenborough, was filled up by the nomination of the marquis Camden.

On the 2d of February, Mr. Tierney moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the effects produced on the exchanges with foreign countries, and the state of the circulating medium, by the restriction on cash payments by the bank, and to report whether any reasons existed for continuing those restrictions beyond the period fixed by law for their termination. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed, as an amendment, that the committee should be appointed to consider the state of the bank of England with reference to the expediency of the resumption of cash payments at the fixed period, as well as into other matters connected with it, and to report such information as might be disclosed without injury to the public interests. This amendment was carried, and a select committee was accordingly appointed.

On the motion of lord Castlereagh another select committee was appointed to inquire into the income and expenditure of the country. He anticipated a most favourable result from this inquiry, and entered into a statement of the income, comparing the quarter ending on the 5th of January, 1818, with that ending at the same period in 1819. The receipts on the former were 51,665,458*l.*; those of the latter 54,062,000*l.*, showing an increase upon the last quarter of 2,397,000*l.* It was material to observe, that upon the sum first named there were certain arrears of war duties on malt and property, exceeding two millions, which reduced the income of 1818 to 49,334,927*l.*, while the arrears of the same taxes up to January, 1819, amounted to only 566,639*l.*; so that the produce of the permanent taxes for the last quarter was in fact 53,497,000*l.*, being an improvement in the whole of 4,163,000*l.*, deducting from both the amount of the arrears of each. With respect to the expenditure, the finance committee of last year had stated it at 51,062,000*l.*, but the estimates before the house showed that it was less by about 650,000*l.*, than was expected. Adding this reduction to the improved revenue, it appeared that the country was now in a better situation by 2,145,000*l.* than the former finance committee had ventured to anticipate; and adding also to that sum the 1,413,000*l.*, on which that committee had calculated, the result was a total surplus of 3,558,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the national debt. Allowing one million for the interest on the loan, there remained two mil-

[Consolidated fund.—Reports on the state of the bank.]

lions and a half of a surplus revenue. Mr. Tierney observed that in drawing this happy conclusion his lordship had altogether thrown out of view the sinking fund. There was an old debt upon that fund of 8,300,000, which must be liquidated before one farthing of the surplus in question could be made available for the expenses of the current year. The various taxes taken together exceeded seven millions, but this was the extreme of the amount applicable to the army, the navy, the ordnance, and miscellaneous services. He inquired how it could be possible that with an income of only seven millions, and an expenditure of twenty millions, both ends should be made to meet, and a surplus be left; and whether it would not be a gross delusion to speak of the sinking fund as applicable to the public service while government were obliged to borrow a sum of thirteen millions a year to support it. The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that this statement included certain particulars which could not be admitted in making a fair comparison. By taking the whole charge of the consolidated fund and the sinking fund, it had been shown, that our expenditure considerably exceeded our receipts. This must necessarily be the case since so great a part of the war taxes had been abolished. Parliament had thought fit to relieve the country from fifteen millions of taxes, and thus they unavoidably prevented the effect which would have been produced in the redemption of the debt by these fifteen millions annually. With respect to any plans of finance for the present year, he should reserve to himself the power of adopting that which the situation of public affairs rendered most expedient.

An important financial measure was proposed by ministers in a committee on the exchequer consolidation acts. By the practice of the exchequer the revenue received for the purposes of the consolidated fund, accumulated until the end of the quarter; and as the sums were not made immediately applicable to the public service, the bank had the advantage of the interest of them. These accumulations the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to render available until required for their original purpose, that the public might benefit by them, instead of the Bank. A resolution was agreed to by the committee, declaring it expedient that the growing produce of the consolidated fund should be made applicable in each quarter to an amount not exceeding six millions on the whole at any time for such services as should be voted by parliament, until it should be required for the services to which it was appropriated. A bill founded on this resolution was passed.

The first report of the secret committee on the state of the bank, represented that the execution of any plan for the resumption of cash payments would be obstructed by a continuance of the drain of treasure consequent on an engagement to pay off all notes of a certain date, and to give specie for fractional sums under five pounds. A bill was consequently passed to restrain the issue of sovereigns for such fractional payments, in consequence of notices in which the Bank had undertaken to pay in specie all notes dated previously to the 1st of January, 1817. The second report was presented on the 5th of May, and it led to the enactment of two bills founded on a plan recommended by the committee for a gradual return to cash payments, of which the following were the principal provisions:—that after the 1st of May,



[Budget.—Motion on the criminal law.]

1821 the bank shall be liable to deliver a quantity of gold, not less than 60 ounces of standard fineness, to be first assayed and stamped in the mint, at the established mint price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per oz. in exchange for such an amount of notes presented to them as shall represent at that rate the value of the gold demanded; that this liability of the bank to deliver gold in exchange for their notes shall continue for not less than two nor more than three years from the 1st of May, 1821; and that at the end of that period cash payments shall be resumed; that on a day to be fixed by parliament, not later than the 1st of February, 1821, the bank shall be required to deliver gold of standard fineness, assayed and stamped as before mentioned, in exchange for their notes, (an amount of not less than sixty ounces of gold being demanded) at 4*l.* 1*s.* per oz. that being nearly the market price of standard gold in bars, on an average of the last three months.

The supplies for the year were stated at 20,477,000*l.* Of the ways and means, the annual malt, and temporary excise duties added to the minor sums arising from the lottery and the sale of old naval stores, amounted to 7,074,000*l.*: a loan of twelve millions by competition, and another of the same amount derived from the sinking fund, joined to the above sum, produced a total of 31,074,000*l.* leaving a surplus of 10,597,000*l.* to be applied to the reduction of the unfunded debt, of which five millions would be payable to the bank of England, and the remaining 5,597,000*l.* to the individual holders of exchequer bills.

The state of the criminal law was brought before the consideration of the house of commons, on the 2d of March, by sir James Mackintosh, who stated, that the main part of the reform contemplated by him, was to transfer to the statute book, the improvements which the wisdom of modern times had introduced into the practice of the law. He divided into three classes, the crimes against which capital punishment was denounced by the existing penal code. The first comprehended murder, and other atrocious offences with a view to the malicious destruction of human life, on which the law was invariably executed; the second related to arson, highway robberies, piracies, and crimes of similar magnitude, to the number of nine or ten, on which the law was carried into effect in many cases; and he admitted, that on these two divisions, it would for the present be unsafe to propose any alteration. The third class comprised frauds of various kinds, with other offences, some of which were of the most frivolous and fantastic description, amounting to about one hundred and fifty, against which, the punishment of death denounced by the law, was no longer executed. For such offences, there were other punishments quite adequate and sufficiently numerous, which the wisdom of the legislature might order to be inflicted. In reference to a middle class of crimes, consisting of larcenies and frauds of a heinous kind, he proposed to examine whether they should remain liable to the punishment of death, while in the administration of the law, they were never more severely punished than with transportation for life, or for limited periods. After expatiating on the evil consequences to be apprehended from a continuance of the existing penal code, he moved for the appointment of a select committee, to consider of so much of the criminal laws, as related to capital punishments in felonies, and to report their observations and opinion from time to time, to the house. The

[Abolition of wager of battel.—Discussion of the catholic claims.]

motion was carried, and a committee, consisting of several distinguished members, was accordingly appointed. In his speech on this important subject, sir James Mackintosh had to deplore, in common with every friend of humanity, the untimely fate of his excellent friend, sir Samuel Romilly.

In consequence of certain proceedings, instituted after a recent acquittal from a charge of murder, a bill, introduced by the attorney-general, was passed, for abolishing trial by battel. Sir Francis Burdett regarded this as a measure which tended to increase the power of the crown, by depriving the subject of an appeal against what might be an illegal and unjust extension of that power in pardoning criminals in cases of murder.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Grattan presented eight Roman catholic, and five protestant petitions, in favour of the catholic claims, which he supported with his usual energy. The main points of his argument were, that the Roman catholics had a common law right to eligibility; that the parliament had, in justice, no right to require them to abjure their religion; that this religion was no evidence of perfidy or treason; and that while the catholics were rejected for what they had abjured, they were required to abjure that which did not belong to the cognizance of the civil magistrate, namely, the articles of their religion. He concluded his speech with an animated appeal to the sovereign, whom he invited to transcend the glories of the Plantagenet and the Tudor, by relieving from civil disabilities one-fourth part of his subjects. The motion of Mr. Grattan for the house to resolve itself into a committee, was negatived by a majority of two. On the 17th, this question was brought before the peers by the earl of Donoughmore, who stated, that if the house went into a committee, he should propose in the first place, the repeal or modification of the declaration oath, a great part of which, amounted to a denial of doctrines held by those who believed them to be the great truths of the Christian religion; and in the second place, the repeal of the oath of abjuration. The lord chancellor considered the real point at issue to be, not what would satisfy the catholic alone, but what would, or ought to satisfy the protestant. He enquired what security by oath the catholics could give, which could reconcile the king's supremacy in things temporal, with the pope's supremacy in things ecclesiastical. Of all the plans proposed to parliament since the commencement of the discussions, not one appeared to him to be practicable; because, if the recorded history of the country from 1660 to 1688 were to be believed, it would there be seen how systematically the catholics pursued the accomplishment of their own objects, and the destruction of the national church. The sentiments avowed by their clergy during the whole reign of Charles II. would show how strongly the necessity of these disqualifications was impressed on the mind of the whole nation. At the close of the above period, it was resolved that there should be a protestant king, a protestant parliament, and a protestant government. This great principle, the legislature ought ever to keep in view, holding in due reverence the right which all men derived from God, that they should not be persecuted for religious opinions. Lord Grey contended, that the laws passed previous to the revolution, were all founded on particular circumstan-

[Reform of the Scottish burghs.—Marquis Camden's tellership.]

ces, which no longer existed. It was true that our ancestors, after the expulsion of James, retained those laws, and added others of a more severe tenor; but they had strong reason for so doing. The king had taken refuge with the greatest catholic sovereign in Europe; and was supported by a number of partisans in this country, of whom the largest proportion were catholics. The great men by whom the revolution was effected, were strongly impressed with a belief of the deceitful character of the catholic religion, and of the abhorrent nature of its tenets. To those causes might be ascribed enactments so contrary to the spirit which produced the revolution. The necessity for those laws no longer existing, the policy which induced our ancestors to pass them, could no longer be urged for their continuance; but the policy which induced them to declare that the English were free, required that freedom to be now extended to the catholics. The earl of Liverpool pursued the line of argument adopted by the lord chancellor, and on a division, the motion for a committee was negatived by a majority of forty-one.

Petitions having been presented during this session, for a reform of the royal burghs of Scotland, they were referred to a committee, on the motion of lord Archibald Hamilton. Anticipating the objections of the ministerial party, he stated, that these petitions had only a remote and indirect connexion with the great question of a reform in parliament. According to the existing practice in the Scottish burghs, the magistrates returned a member to parliament, without any interference or participation of the burgesses; the latter wished to have the same power as to the election of the magistrates, which the magistrates exercised in the election of the member. If this were granted, the magistrates would retain their power; and the only difference would be, that being themselves appointed and maintained by public opinion, instead of being self-elected, and maintained in defiance of it, they would probably elect such members as were approved by the burgh at large.

On the 11th of May, a bill was introduced into the house of commons, for enabling the public to accept the marquis Camden's magnificent sacrifice of the surplus profits accruing from his unreduced tellership of the exchequer. From the donation of that patriotic nobleman in this and other forms the country had already derived 45,000*l*. He was now desirous to be enabled to give up during life the surplus income of his office, amounting during peace to about 9000*l*. a year. Doubts having arisen whether this donation might not be considered as an illegal benevolence, unless sanctioned by parliament, it became necessary to bring in this bill, as a former act, authorizing contributions by his majesty's ministers and other public officers, had expired. This voluntary relinquishment of a patent office, which had always been considered as a legal estate, was extolled as a more splendid sacrifice of private right to the public service than was ever recorded in the history of any state.

The policy of ministers with respect to South America was manifested in the passing of a bill to prevent enlistments and equipment of vessels for foreign service. The attorney-general, by whom it was introduced, observed that one of the objects in view was to amend an inequality in an existing statute, which made foreign enlistment felony,



[Foreign enlistment bill.—Parliamentary reform.]

by introducing after the words “king, prince, state, potentate,” the words “colony or district, who do assume the powers of a government.” The law, as it stood on two statutes, the 9th and 29th of Geo. II., could not punish those who entered the service of unacknowledged states, and it was important to decide that no man should have a right to enlist in foreign service. The second provision of this bill was rendered necessary by the consideration, that assistance might be rendered to foreign states through the means of the subjects of this country; not only by their enlisting in warfare, but by their fitting out ships for the purposes of warfare. The objects of this provision were to prevent the fitting out of armed vessels for foreign service; and also to prevent the fitting out or supplying of other ships with warlike stores in any of his majesty’s ports. He proposed that the penalty on the first offence should be for a misdemeanor; on the second for a felony. This enactment was vehemently censured by the members in opposition, as tending to repress the rising spirit of liberty in South America, and to assist Spain in re-imposing the tyrannous yoke, from which the people of that continent were so nobly striving to free themselves. It was deprecated as an act of ignoble concession to Ferdinand VII. which might tempt that despot to insist on other restrictive measures, and instigate an attack on the freedom of our press.

A trial of strength between ministers and their opponents took place on Mr. Tierney’s motion, for a committee on the state of the nation. He proposed that parliament should institute an inquiry into the political relations with foreign powers, the commercial arrangements with them, and the state of the finances; on all which points he contended that the conduct of ministers had been so unwise, so feeble, and so vacillating, that their incompetency was now fully apparent, and nothing but their removal would be satisfactory to the country at large. His motion was negatived by 357 votes against 178.

On the 1st of July, sir Francis Burdett moved that early in the next session, the house of commons should take into its serious consideration the subject of the representation of the people in parliament. He observed, that had he sooner stirred this question, he should have been accused of throwing the apple of discord among the whigs, maliciously and advisedly, for the purpose of defeating all those rational and moderate plans of reform, as they were falsely called, of which that party were the advocates. But now, when all attempts at remedying minor abuses had failed, and the hopelessness of placing any reliance on a new parliament had become apparent, knowing the anxiety of the public mind, and the dissatisfaction prevailing among the people from public burthens and distress; knowing also that these evils were caused by the want of a fair representation, he felt it his duty to bring forward the subject. He did not expect that the resolution which he proposed would be immediately followed by the adoption of any specific measure; but he doubted not that it would tend to tranquillize the public mind, which ought to be tranquillized; that the people might give no pretence to ministers for again proposing the suspension of the habeas corpus act. An interesting debate ensued, which terminated in a division, by which the house passed to the orders of the day.

[Reversal of lord Fitzgerald's attainder.—Slave trade.—Cape of Good Hope.]

One of the most acceptable measures adopted during this session of parliament, was an act of grace on the part of the prince regent, for reversing the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, by which the blood of his two children, Edward Fox Fitzgerald, and Louisa Maria Fitzgerald, had become corrupted. The preamble of the bill introduced on this occasion, stated that lord Edward Fitzgerald had never been brought to trial; that the act of attainder did not pass the Irish parliament till some months after his decease; and that, as he had not the benefit of a trial, the attainder could not have issued against him upon a regular conviction. These were sufficient reasons for mitigating the severity of a measure decreed in unhappy and unfortunate times. The duke of Wellington bore testimony to the brave and excellent conduct of the young man in question during the time that he had been acquainted with him; and when the bill was sent to the lower house, it received the strong approbation of sir Francis Burdett, and was passed without opposition.

In renewing his efforts for the total abolition of the slave-trade, Mr. Wilberforce complained that two great powers had hitherto shown a reluctance to enter into the arrangements necessary for carrying that measure into effect. It grieved him to cast this reproach on a great and high-minded people like the French; and he was still more hurt to find that America was not wholly free from blame. As soon as the forms of their constitution admitted of a law to that effect, the United States had abolished the slave-trade; many of them were sincere in their endeavours to realize that measure, but others had entered into it with manifest reluctance. The congress, however, had lately passed a law on the subject, appointing a large naval force, and giving a bounty for bringing in ships engaged in the traffic. He trusted that care would be taken to enforce the practical execution of this law; and that all nations would cordially combine in ensuring to the inhabitants of Africa a progress in civilization equal to that of the other quarters of the world. He concluded by moving an address, entreating the prince regent to renew his beneficent endeavours, especially with the governments of France and of the United States, for the attainment of an object so generally interesting. The address was agreed to unanimously, and another to the same purport was voted in the house of lords, on the motion of the marquis of Lansdown.

The late distresses had given rise to various plans for disposing of the surplus population of the country, and for directing toward some of the British possessions the current of emigration to the United States. On the 12th of July the chancellor of the exchequer brought this subject before the house of commons, and stated that his majesty's government had selected the Cape of Good Hope as the colony to which emigration might be most advantageously encouraged. The particular portion of territory assigned for this purpose was on the south-eastern coast of Africa, at some distance from Cape Town. It was proposed to pay the expense of the passage, and to afford to the emigrant the means of exercising his industry on arriving at the destined spot. A small advance of money would be required from each settler before embarking, to be repaid him in necessaries at the Cape, by which means, and the assistance afforded by government, he would be furnished with a comfortable subsistence until he gathered his

[Concluding bill of supply.—Affairs of France and Spain.]

crops, which in that climate were of rapid growth. The sum of 50,000*l.* was granted for the purpose of enabling government to carry this measure into effect.

At the close of the session, the speaker of the house of commons, on presenting at the bar of the lords the concluding bill of supply, addressed a speech to the prince regent, in which, after noticing the various proceedings in parliament, he adverted to the state of the finances, and observed, that the excess of income had not been found fairly adequate for the purpose to which it was applicable, the gradual extinction of the national debt. It was necessary that there should be a clear available surplus of five millions, and this object had been effected by the imposition of three millions of taxes.

In France considerable agitation was created by a proposal in the upper chamber of the legislature, for changing the election law. To secure a preponderance against the ultra royalist party, who favoured this measure, the king had recourse to an extraordinary exertion of the prerogative in the creation of fifty-four new peers, and the recall of twenty-two of the number erased from the list by the ordinance of 1815. Public opinion was decidedly hostile to the violation of so important an article of the charter as that relating to elections, and it was ultimately abandoned. The discussions which led to this result had the effect of exciting disturbances at Nismes, which threatened to renew the persecution of the protestants; and after the defeat of the ultras, it was necessary to send an armed force into that city to preserve tranquillity. One of the most important measures adopted during this session, was an act for abolishing the *droits d'aubaine*. Some modifications were made in the law for restraining the liberty of the press. Petitions having been presented in favour of the exiles, the king was pleased to authorize the return of five out of the thirty-eight political offenders banished by the ordinance of the 28th July, 1815. One of the persons thus restored to their country was marshal Soult; and it was understood that the same favour would be extended to all, except those who had voted for the death of the late king.

In Spain the interests of Ferdinand VII. were in some degree strengthened by the death of his father at Rome, whose restoration had at one time been contemplated by the liberal party. But the spirit of disaffection spread rapidly through all classes of society, and especially among the military. The discovery of another plot at Valencia led to many severe acts of vengeance; colonel Vidal, the leader of the enterprise, was hanged; twelve other persons were shot, and many were sentenced to the galleys. At Cadiz the sailing of an expedition to South America was delayed in consequence of the bad condition of the Russian ships, which had been procured for this service. When the preparations were on the point of being completed, the troops refused to embark, and evinced a determination not to assist in restoring the colonies to the domination of a prince, with whose conduct they themselves were now thoroughly disgusted. On the 7th of June, the condé de Abisbal, commander-in-chief, was apprized of a conspiracy in the first division of the army, amounting to 7000 men. Having collected some forces at the isle of Leon and Puerto Real, he invested the mutinous camp, caused the soldiers to lay down their arms, took into custody 120 of the officers, dismissed the others, and



[Transactions in Germany, &c.—Assassination of Kotzebue.]

dispersed the regiments among the towns of Andalusia. The soldiers by whose aid he suppressed this meeting had been induced to co-operate, only on receiving his promise that they should not be sent to America; his own conduct excited suspicion, and he was dismissed from the command. To increase the woes of this distracted country, the yellow fever broke out at Cadiz, and its ravages extended to Seville, and other towns in the south of Spain. Ferdinand VII., who had become a widower, contracted a marriage with a princess of Saxony; but their nuptials, which took place in September, were followed by no act of grace in favour of the exiled patriots, nor by any relaxation of the tyranny which oppressed and enslaved the Spanish nation.

In Germany, some of the states were benefitted by the establishment of a representative system, while others were agitated by revolutionary projects. Various salutary reforms were effected in Hanover; torture was abolished; the army was reduced from 30,000 to 20,000 men; the value of the paper currency was improved by paying off the arrears of interest of the royal chamber; and it was decided that the nobles should share in the liability of the third estate, to contribute to the public burthens. In Wirtemberg the plan of a constitution was accepted by the representative assembly with few modifications; and the king obtained for it the guarantee of the emperor of Russia. The states general of Bavaria were convoked for the first time in February: and the king in his speech from the throne, expressed his satisfaction in having attained the object of his constant wishes during a reign of twenty years, the establishment of a constitution calculated to promote the happiness of his people.

An event occurred during the summer, which caused great consternation in all the courts of Germany. Kotzebue, a dramatic writer, on returning to his country, after a long residence in Russia, had engaged to furnish the emperor Alexander with frequent reports relative to the German universities. His conduct provoked the hostility of the students, who denounced him as a spy, a traitor, and an apostate from the cause of liberty. He was stabbed to the heart in his residence at Mannheim, by a young fanatic, named Sand, belonging to the university of Jena. After perpetrating this horrible crime, the assassin walked calmly into the street, knelt down, raised his hands to heaven, exclaiming "Vivat Teutonia," and plunged a dagger into his bosom. The wound did not prove mortal, and he was conveyed to prison and strictly guarded. This affair was immediately brought before the consideration of the diet, at Frankfort. The duke of Saxe-Weimar issued an order prohibiting all foreigners from studying at Jena; in consequence of which, the Prussian students were recalled, as were the Russians, from all the German universities. The general panic was augmented by the attempt of a medical pupil to assassinate Mr. Ibel, president of the regency of Nassau. Numerous arrests took place in various parts of Germany; papers were seized, and professors distinguished by their zeal for liberty were subjected to severe examinations. On the proposition of Austria, the diet at Frankfort appointed a general central commission at Mentz, with authority to prosecute inquiries in all parts of Germany, concerning the demagogical intrigues said to be going forward; to examine witnesses;

[Session of Parga by Great Britain to the Porte.]

to cause the arrest of suspected persons; and to take into its own hands the punishment of political offenders. This commission was composed of delegates from Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Baden, Hesse, and Nassau. Prussia entered with peculiar zeal into these severe measures for preventing the diffusion of democratical doctrines. Several professors in the universities were dismissed from their posts; the papers of Mr. Goerres, who had written a work entitled “Germany and the Revolution,” were sealed up, and the senate of Frankfort was required to seize all copies of the book, and to apprehend the author, who, however, found means to escape into France. A commission was appointed at Berlin, to inquire into charges of high treason, and to determine upon those which might deserve to be referred to the tribunal at Mentz; but the members composing it, had the spirit to liberate most of the persons brought before them. The perils which were apprehended, occasioned new delays in preparing the constitution which had been promised to the people of Prussia. Amidst the ardour for liberty which animated the Germans, it is singular to observe, that a spirit of persecution was excited against the Jews, which in some instances was not repressed without the interposition of a military force.

Early in the year, a discussion arose between Denmark and Sweden, respecting the completion of the payments due from the latter power, as a compensation for Norway. Through the mediation of lord Strangford, the British minister at Stockholm, an arrangement was at length made, by which Denmark was to receive a smaller sum than had at first been stipulated, but by instalments, at shorter intervals, and securely guaranteed.

Between Great Britain and Turkey, a transaction took place which excited much animadversion in the political circles. This was the fulfilment of a convention concluded in 1815, by which the fortress and territory of Parga, on the western coast of Greece, then protected by the British flag, were to be ceded to the Porte, under a stipulation that those inhabitants who chose to emigrate, should receive from the pacha of Albania, an indemnification for the fixed property which they would be compelled to abandon. The intelligence of such a doom filled this spirited people with consternation; they were the last of the free Christian Greeks of Epirus, who had resisted the intrigues and aggressions of Ali Pacha; in 1807, after the treaty of Tilsit had given the Ionian isles to Bonaparte, they had solicited and obtained a French garrison from Corfu; and in 1814, they had placed themselves under British protection, in the hope that they should be permitted to share the fortunes of the septinsular republic. Finding the fate of their country irrevocable, they all chose to emigrate rather than expose themselves to the vindictive malignity of the Turk; and an estimate was made of their buildings, lands, and plantations, amounting to nearly 500,000*l.*; but the compensation ultimately obtained for them from Ali Pacha, was less than a third of that sum, a miserable requital for the loss of their native land. Little doubt was entertained, that if firmness, and not concession, had actuated our policy towards the Porte, this sacrifice might have been avoided; and it was matter of astonishment, that Great Britain, in her day of triumph, should have condescended

[Acquisition of Florida by the United States.—Affairs of South America.]

to perform an act which France disdained in the time of her adversity and humiliation.

In a more distant quarter, discussions arose which exposed to severe criticism the foreign policy of Great Britain. Availing themselves of certain defects in the treaty for the restoration of Java, the Dutch commissioners committed various aggressions in the Malayan archipelago, and particularly against the sultan of Palembang, which drew forth a strong protest from the British functionary, sir Thomas Raffles. It was directed against the whole political system acted upon by those commissioners, as being exclusively suited to the views of their own government, hostile to existing engagements with the native princes, which they were called upon to respect, and derogatory to the honour and interests of Great Britain.

The United States, by a treaty, signed at Washington in February, obtained from Spain the cession of the Floridas. This treaty Ferdinand VII. declined to ratify; but, at the same time, intimated his intention of sending a confidential minister to ask explanations on certain points, as well as to state the reasons which occasioned the delay. The American government continued to adhere to its neutral policy in regard to the contest between Spain and her colonies, and refused to admit consuls from Buenos Ayres and Venezuela. One of the most important questions discussed in congress, related to negro slavery, on which a collision of interests was observable between the inhabitants of the northern or eastern states, who were zealous for the abolition, and the planters of the south and west. During the session of the former year, the state of Missouri was rejected as a member of the union, because its inhabitants opposed the insertion of a clause to preclude the further progress and continuance of slavery. In the month of May a meeting was held at St. Louis, where it was agreed, that a second refusal on the part of congress for the same reasons, would be deemed an attempt to expel the territory of Missouri from the federation of the states, and would compel its inhabitants to exercise their inherent right of forming a constitution and state government for themselves. This important affair, in which the interests of humanity were threatened on the one hand, and the integrity of the union on the other, engaged the most serious attention of congress. During this year America participated largely in the commercial embarrassments and distress which had been so prevalent in Europe. A sudden and ruinous depreciation took place in the value of merchandise; many of the state banks were involved in difficulties; private failures became alarmingly frequent, and a great diminution of confidence was manifest in all mercantile transactions. These evils, however, did not diminish the attachment of the people to their institutions, and were not considered as affecting the permanent prosperity of the country.

In South America the independents prosecuted the war with various success. Buenos Ayres was engaged in alternate hostilities and negotiations with the independent chieftain Artigas, who held the territory on the eastern bank of the Plata. In October a project was discovered for converting the republic into a monarchy in favour of a Bourbon prince, the young duke of Lucca; and its instigators were charged with high treason. Chili, having confided its maritime



[Meeting at Manchester—dispersed by yeoman-cavalry.]

force to lord Cochrane, as vice-admiral, was enabled to carry on an offensive war against Spain by sea, and for some time to place the coast of Peru in a state of blockade. In New Granada, Bolivar obtained some splendid advantages over the royalist general Murillo. The adventurer Macgregor, who was not avowed by any of the republics, seized Porto Bello, but was soon afterwards surprised by a force under general Hore, the commandant of Panama, and compelled to seek safety in a precipitate flight. After remaining inactive for some months, he exposed the wreck of his force in an attempt upon Riode la Hacha, the failure of which sunk him into his original obscurity.

The internal tranquillity of Great Britain was again disturbed by a series of events, of which the immediate and ultimate consequences were alike to be deplored. The practice was renewed of convoking assemblies of the people, to hear speeches from political orators, and to pass, by acclamation, resolutions drawn up for the occasion, recommending annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and the vote by ballot, as sovereign remedies for all existing grievances. At one of these meetings, held near Birmingham on the 12th of July, where about 15,000 persons were supposed to be present, a vote was passed that sir Charles Wolseley, of Staffordshire, should be sent up to parliament as legislatorial attorney and representative of the town of Birmingham. A deputation was appointed to convey to him the instructions of his constituents, and he pledged himself to claim his seat in the house of commons. He was afterwards arrested at his own residence, taken to Knutsford, and compelled to give bail for his appearance to answer for seditious words spoken by him at a public meeting in Stockport. A preacher of that town, named Harrison, was arrested on a similar charge at a public meeting in Smithfield, and conveyed into Cheshire. The radical reformers of Leeds announced their intention to imitate the example of Birmingham as soon as a fit person could be found to act as their representative. Those of Manchester gave notice of a meeting for the same purpose, but they afterwards changed their design, and appointed a day when the people should assemble for the legal object of petitioning for a reform in parliament. The magistrates issued a proclamation declaring their intention to take effectual measures for preserving the public peace, and warning the people of the peril to which they would expose themselves by attending the proposed meeting. It was held about mid-day on the 16th of August in an open space called St. Petersfield, near a church of the same name in Manchester, and this area was soon filled by a concourse of about 60,000 persons. A band of special constables, stationed on the ground, disposed themselves so as to form a line of communication from a house where the magistrates were sitting, to the stage or wagon fixed for the orators. Soon after the business of the meeting had been opened, a body of yeomanry cavalry entered the ground and advanced with drawn swords to the stage; their commanding officer called to Mr. Hunt, who was speaking, and told him that he was his prisoner. Mr. Hunt, after enjoining the people to be tranquil, said that he would readily surrender to any civil officer who should exhibit his warrant; and he was taken into custody by a constable. Several other persons were apprehended. Some of the yeomanry now cried out, "Have at their flags;" and they began to

[Public indignation at their conduct.—Riot at Paisley.]

strike down the banners in the wagon, as well as others which were raised in various parts of the field. A scene of dreadful confusion arose; numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses; many persons, even females, were cut down by sabres; some were killed, and the number of maimed and wounded amounted to between three and four hundred. In a very short time the ground was cleared of its former occupants, and military patrols were stationed in the principal streets of the town to preserve tranquillity.

The interference of an armed yeomanry for the prevention rather than for the suppression of riot, produced a strong sensation throughout the country. The corporation of London presented an address to the prince regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to institute an immediate and effectual inquiry into the outrages which had been committed, and to cause the guilty perpetrators of them to be brought to signal and condign punishment. This address was received with feelings of deep regret, and an intimation was given that they who presented it must have been unacquainted with the circumstances which preceded the meeting, and that they appeared to have received incorrect information respecting the meeting itself. His royal highness added, that if the laws were really violated on this occasion by those to whom it immediately belonged to assist in the execution of them, the tribunals of the country were open to afford redress; but that to institute an extra-judicial inquiry in existing circumstances, would be manifestly inconsistent with the clearest principles of public justice. Addresses were also prepared in the principal cities and towns in the kingdom, some simply calling for inquiry, and others censuring the Manchester magistrates, and the ministers by whom the royal sanction had been given to these acts of violence. A very numerous and respectable meeting of freeholders was held at York in consequence of a requisition to the high sheriff, signed by the duke of Norfolk, earl Fitzwilliam, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. The resolutions passed expressed no opinion on the late occurrences, but demanded an inquiry. Earl Fitzwilliam was soon afterwards dismissed from the office of lord lieutenant of the west riding of Yorkshire, a circumstance which excited much surprise, but which procured for that nobleman many testimonies of respect and attachment from his neighbours. The requisitions addressed to the sheriffs of other counties were not all attended with the same result; but the public sentiment was nevertheless strongly expressed. On the other hand loyal addresses were forwarded from various parts, and associations were formed in the north of England and in Scotland for raising troops of yeomanry in aid of the civil power.

Notwithstanding the tragical issue of the meeting at Manchester, others of a similar character were held at Leeds and Birmingham, where the orators appeared in deep mourning, and commented on the late proceedings in a strain of vehement and fearless invective. At Paisley, the radical reformers, in defiance of a proclamation from the sheriff and magistrates of Renfrewshire, held a meeting on Mickle-riggs moor, and afterwards entered the town in procession with banners and music. The magistrates, who exhorted them to disperse, were assaulted with stones; and it was not until a late hour that order was restored by the reading of the riot act, and the apprehension of

[Parliament.—*Traverse bill*.—Measures proposed by ministers.]

about twenty of the ringleaders. For several days ensuing, similar acts of outrage were committed; houses were plundered; and many persons abused; and the civil authorities, unable to quell the rioters, were obliged to avail themselves of the aid of a body of cavalry from Glasgow.

Among other measures adopted by government in this alarming crisis, was an order issued in October, by which all able-bodied pensioners were directed to attend at the times and places specified, to be formed into a veteran battalion. It was calculated that ten or eleven thousand men would thus be added to the military force of the country. A circular was issued to the lords lieutenants of counties by lord Sidmouth, stating, that, according to information received, there were many cannon in the maritime districts which were private property, and requesting that steps might be taken, with the consent of the owners, for rendering them useless, or for removing them to a place of security. Parliament was summoned to assemble on the 23d of November, for the despatch of business.

The session was opened by the prince regent in person. The speech related principally to the continuance of seditious practices in some of the manufacturing districts, which had led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and to the manifestation of a spirit utterly hostile to the constitution. The immediate attention of parliament was directed to the consideration of such measures as might be requisite for counteracting a system, which, if not effectually checked, must bring confusion and ruin on the nation. Addresses were voted after much discussion; and, on the following day, a great mass of documents, relative to the state of the country, was presented to both houses.

A measure, not immediately arising out of the circumstances of the times, was proposed on the 29th, by the lord chancellor. Its object was to remedy the inconvenience and delay of justice caused by the practice of the courts, which allowed defendants in cases of information or indictment, to *imparle* or *traverse*. The bill introduced by his lordship took away the right of traversing, but allowed the court to postpone a trial, upon ground being shown for delay. It encountered strong opposition, as tending to diminish the security of the subject, and increase the power of the crown; but it was finally passed.

On the 30th, lord Sidmouth called the attention of the peers to the measures which ministers deemed necessary in the actual state of the country, when a conspiracy existed for the subversion of the constitution in church and state, and of the rights of property. Adverting to one of the main instruments which had been employed for that purpose, he observed, that it was essential to the character of a free press, that its productions should not be interfered with before publication; and added, that this principle had been adhered to in the bill which he had to offer. No intention was entertained of visiting offenders with an increase of punishment in the first instance; but it was proposed that any person, having been tried, convicted, and punished for a blasphemous or seditious libel, should, on conviction of a second offence, be liable, at the discretion of the court, to fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation. It was also proposed that, in case of a second conviction, a power should be given to seize the copies of



[Motion on parliamentary reform.]

the libel in the possession of the publisher; the copies so seized to be preserved until it should be seen whether an arrest of judgment should be moved, and to be returned to the publisher if judgment should be in his favour. Another bill was to be proposed in the commons, by which all publications, consisting of less than a given number of sheets, should be subjected to a duty equal to that paid by newspapers. If this should be deemed an infringement on the principle already laid down, it would be for parliament to consider, whether such a check were not indispensably necessary to arrest the progress of blasphemy and sedition. By another clause of this bill, persons putting forth a publication of that kind would be required to enter into recognizances, or give security for the payment of any penalties which might be inflicted on them. In the regulations contemplated for obviating the danger of tumultuous or seditious meetings, it was not intended to interfere with the right of subjects to petition the prince regent or parliament, or to meet for the discussion of any grievance under which the people might conceive that they were labouring. No impediment or interruption would be offered to meetings regularly called by a sheriff, boroughreeve, or other magistrate; but it would be proposed to enact, that any parties, wishing to meet for the consideration of matters connected with church or state, should notify their intention in a requisition signed by seven householders; and that it should be illegal for any person, not usually inhabiting the place where the requisition originated, to attend such assembly. Magistrates were to have a power, under certain limitations, of appointing the place and time of meeting. In consequence of the alarming facts adduced respecting preparations for employing illegal force, it was proposed to prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate, or lord lieutenant of a county. Proof having appeared, that the disaffected were in possession of offensive weapons, it was proposed, that magistrates in the disturbed districts, on evidence affording well-grounded suspicion that arms were collected for seditious purposes, should have the power of seizing them. They were also to have authority for apprehending and detaining persons found carrying arms for such purposes, and of seizing those arms; an appeal to the quarter-sessions being allowed to the persons so detained. Such was the outline of five bills, which, notwithstanding the strong arguments urged against them in both houses, received the sanction of parliament. The restrictions on the press were regarded as peculiarly obnoxious; and, in a protest signed by sixteen peers, the bill for punishing libel by transportation was characterized as "subversive, in one of their main defences, of the rights and liberties which were secured to us by progressive struggles through a long succession of ages, and at length asserted, declared, and, as we had hoped, firmly established for ever, by the revolution of 1688."

Though the period during which these measures occupied the attention of the legislature seemed peculiarly ill adapted for the agitation of questions concerning the national representation, lord John Russell was not deterred from bringing forward a motion, of which he had given notice, on parliamentary reform. Without entering into the discussion of abstract principles, he called the attention of the house of commons to the unrepresented towns, many of which had

## [Illness and death of the king and duke of Kent.]

risen into places of great commercial wealth and importance, while certain boroughs had sunk into decay, and had become unfit to enjoy the privilege of sending representatives. He adduced examples from the history of parliament to show that the principle of change had been often acknowledged, and the suffrage withdrawn and conferred on various occasions. He pointed out the practical evils resulting from the corruption of small boroughs, and the advantages to be expected from an extension of the representative privilege to populous towns; a privilege which could be extended to them only on the principle of change, since neither the law of 1688, nor the act of union would permit the sovereign to issue his writ for adding to the number of members. After stating his views of the reform which the constitution required, and might safely receive, he proposed several resolutions, tending to establish the principle of change which he had laid down, and some rules respecting the voters of disfranchised places, on whom corruption should not have been proved. The last resolution was for the disfranchisement of the borough of Grampound, the corruption of which had already been proved to the house. On the suggestion of lord Castlereagh, who manifested a willingness to concur in the objects of the motion, to a certain degree, lord John Russell withdrew it, and a few days afterwards brought in a bill for the disfranchisement of Grampound, and the transfer of its representation to some populous town. The second reading of this bill was deferred by his lordship until after the recess.

At the close of the year it was announced that the bodily health of the king had partaken of some of the infirmities of age; and in the beginning of January, symptoms appeared which portended the rapid decay of his constitution. Amidst the anxiety caused by this change, the public mind received a severe shock by the death of the duke of Kent, who expired on the 23d at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, after a very short illness. The regrets excited by the loss of this illustrious prince were speedily absorbed in the greater grief occasioned by tidings from Windsor which foretold the approaching dissolution of his august father; and the illness of the heir-apparent at this crisis augmented the general gloom. On Saturday, the 29th, all hopes for the recovery of his majesty were extinguished, and at thirty-five minutes past eight in the evening, the royal sufferer without a struggle expired. The dutchess of Gloucester, and the princesses Augusta and Sophia, who had been unremitting in their attentions to their venerable parent, were at this time in the palace; and the duke of York watched with filial solicitude by the side of his couch. On that prince devolved the duty of announcing the mournful event to the regent, who now succeeded to the kingdom, which for nine years he had faithfully governed on behalf of his royal father.

Thus terminated, in its sixtieth year, the reign of George the third, a monarch who deserved to be styled, in terms more emphatical than those of common courtesy, the father of his people. Their loyalty and their affection he considered to be the most permanent security of his throne; and he promoted among them, by his own example, the practice of those duties which alone could enable them to appreciate and enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty, as secured by the constitution which he and they were bound to maintain. His habitual

[Character of the king.]

piety, and constant trust in Providence, exalted in a high degree the courage and firmness which he inherited from his ancestors, and for which, on occasions of personal danger, he was so eminently distinguished. If, on some questions of state policy, he evinced a tenaciousness of purpose, which seemed to border on obstinacy, this must be attributed to his strong sense of the obligations contracted at his coronation; the same inflexible consistency actuated his whole conduct; and it has been justly observed, that he never, from unworthy motives, relinquished any measure, or abandoned any friend, or failed in the performance of the slightest promise. He was punctually assiduous in the exercise of his royal functions; exemplary in the fulfilment of all the social duties; affable, yet dignified in his deportment toward his subjects; and in works of charity unostentatiously munificent. Temperance and exercise secured to him for a long period the enjoyment of uninterrupted health; and his equable cheerfulness seemed to flow naturally from a conscience void of offence. By the firm exercise of his authority, and by the influence of his pure and well-regulated life, he preserved his court from the contagion of those dissolute manners which had caused so much confusion and mischief among foreign courts at the era of the French revolution. The English sceptre may have been swayed by monarchs endowed with more splendid qualities than those of George the Third; but it may be questioned whether any of his predecessors, since the sixth Edward, has borne his faculties so meekly, or has been “so clear in his great office.”





# INDEX.

[N. B. *The Roman Numerals direct to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.*]

## A.

- ABBOT, Mr. resigns his office as speaker of the house of commons, iii. 296.
- Abercrombie, general, appointed to command in North America, in 1758, i. 99. Expedition against Ticonderoga, 100. Unsuccessful, *ib.* Subsequent successes, *ib.*
- lieutenant colonel, killed at Bunker's Hill, i. 361.
- general Robert, commands the Malabar army against Tippoo Saib, ii. 306. Progress of, 307. Prevented by the floods from joining the main army, *ib.* Co-operates in the siege of Seringapatam, *ib.* Success in the West Indies, 480.
- general Ralph, efforts of, in the Netherlands, ii. 370. Commands the first division of the expedition to Holland, 554. Landing at the Helder, *ib.* Subsequent conduct in Holland, 555. Testimony of the duke of York in his favour, 556. Commands an expedition to the Spanish coast, 597. Proceeds to Egypt, 614. Conduct on the 21st of March, wounded, 619. Death, *ib.* And character, *ib.*
- Abstraction in politics. See *Parliament*.
- Acadians, or French neutrals, i. 78.
- Acre. See *sir Sidney Smith*.
- Adam, William, esq. abilities and character, i. 529. His speech on the influence of the crown, *ib.* Adheres to lord North, 643. Proposed inquiry concerning the trial of Muir and Palmer, ii. 388. Masterly view of Scottish law, *ib.* Eloquent speech on the conduct of the Scottish judges, 389. Motion on the penal law of Scotland, 390. Able and profound reasoning, *ib.*
- captain Charles, son to the former, brilliant naval achievement, ii. 623.
- Adams, Daniel, secretary to an innovating Society, ii. 392. Arrested, 393.
- Samuel, president of the congress. See *Congress*.
- Addington, Henry, esq. is appointed speaker of the house of commons, ii. 158. Proposition of, respecting the slave trade, 303. He proposes voluntary contributions, 513. Is appointed prime minister, 603. Defends the treaty with France, iii. 12. Resigns, 39. See *Sidmouth*.
- Adultery, bill respecting divorces for. See *Auckland and Parliament*.
- Agricola, effect of his conquest of Britain, i. 2.
- Aix la Chapelle, congress at, iii. 308.
- Albanians, ii. 572.
- Albemarle, commands the expedition to the Havanna, i. 152.
- Albuera, battle of, iii. 180.
- Alexander succeeds his father Paul, ii. 612. Character and pacific dispositions, *ib.* Adjustment between him and Britain, *ib.* See *Russia*.
- Alexandria, (America,) attack on, iii. 248.
- Alfred, genius and wisdom of, i. 5. Extricates his country from imminent danger, *ib.* Perceives the security and aggrandizement of Britain to depend chiefly upon her navy, *ib.* Founder of English jurisprudence, navigation, and commerce, 6.
- Allen, Ethan, proceedings of, on the lakes, i. 364.
- Algiers, expedition to, iii. 287.
- Alien act, continued, iii. 306.
- Alvarez, bridge of, destroyed, iii. 193.
- Almeida taken by the French, iii. 165. Recovered, 179.
- Amelia, princess, death of, iii. 170.
- America, Americans, and American colonies. America, discovery of, i. 13. First voyages to, by England, *ib.* Farther discoveries in, 17. Voyages to, for discovering the north-west and north-east passages, 25. By Sir Francis Drake, *ib.* First project of colonization in, by Gilbert and Raleigh, *ib.* Colonies planted under James, 31. South colony of Virginia, and north colony of New-England. Genius of republicanism in New-England, i. 32. Different political principles of

the southern and northern colonies, 37, 38. Navigation act for securing to Britain the commerce of the colonies, 38. New colonies in the north, south, and middle, 40. Progress of the American colonies under William, 48. Under queen Anne, 58. Under George I. 66. Opinion of Walpole on the taxation of America, *ib.* State of colonies at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 75, 76. Encroachments of the French, 76. Settlement of Nova Scotia, 77. Further aggressions of the French, 79. Internal state of the colonies, 81. Hostilities in America, 82. Campaign 1755 in, 83 to 85. Campaign 1756 in, 89. Of 1757, 95. Expedition to Louisbourg, *ib.* Unsuccessful, 96. Result of that campaign unfortunate, *ib.* Campaign 1758 in, 99. Objects and plans of, *ib.* Conquest of Cape Breton, *ib.* Disappointment at Ticonderoga, 100. Capture of French forts, *ib.* Result of the campaign successful, *ib.* Campaign 1759 in, *ib.* Amherst commander in chief, *ib.* Expedition under Wolfe to Quebec, *ib.* Difficulties of the undertaking, 101. Battle of Quebec, victory and death of Wolfe, 102. Quebec surrenders, 103. Result of the campaign glorious, *ib.* Campaign 1760 in, *ib.* Complete subjugation of Canada, 104. Contraband trade in, 180. Projects of Mr. Grenville respecting our colonies in, *ib.* Innovating scheme of taxation in, 181. State, character, and dispositions of the northern, middle, and southern colonies respectively, 181, 182. Plan of taxing America, 187. Stamp Act, 189. Effects of the new system in America, 190. The people threaten to abstain from British commodities, 192. Violent proceedings in, 198. Especially in the north, *ib.* Non-importation agreement of the colonies, 199. Policy of the Rockingham ministry respecting, 200. Repeal of the stamp act, 212. Law declaring the British right of taxation, *ib.* New imposts on, 217. Colonies of, displeased at the new imposts, 240. Massachusetts foremost in discontent, *ib.* Lord Hillsborough's letter to assemblies of, 241. Outrages at Boston, *ib.* Revival against the colonies of the statute for trying, within the realm, treasons committed beyond seas, 246. Discontents in, 250. First policy of lord North towards the colonies, 259. Tumult at Boston, 260. Trial and acquittal of captain Preston; 261. The colonies become tranquil, 266. Diversity of sentiment between New England and the other colonies, 272, 273. Is not sufficiently regarded by ministers, 273. Southern colonies tranquil, northern turbulent, 286. Massachusetts disavows the authorities of the British constitution, *ib.* Tranquillity and prosperity of the colonies, 297. Export of tea to, 299. Alarm at Boston, 300. Letters to the governor discovered, *ib.* Tea arrives at Boston, 301. A mob throws the cargo into the sea, *ib.* For the proceedings thereon in England, see *Parliament and Britain*. Effects of the new British measures in the colonies, 321. Ferment through the colonies, *ib.* Resolution of the provincial assemblies, 322. Solemn league and covenant, 323. Meeting of a general congress at Philadelphia, 325. Proceedings of, see *Congress*. Spirit of colonial proceedings, 329. Military preparations, *ib.* Massachusetts the hinge of peace and war, 330. Provincial congress of, assumes the supreme power, 331. Farther proceedings respecting, in Britain. see *Britain and Parliament*. State of affairs and sentiments in the colonies at the beginning of 1775, 353. General enthusiasm, *ib.* Warlike preparations, 356. Commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country, *ib.* Battle at Lexington, 357. Attempt on Ticonderoga, 359. Battle of Bunker's Hill, 361. Washington appointed commander in chief, see *Washington*. Expedition to Canada, see *Montgomery, Carleton, &c.* Proceedings in Virginia, 368. Scheme of lord Dunmore for exciting negro slaves, 369. Project of Connelly in Pennsylvania, *ib.* Maryland and the Carolinas, *ib.* Campaign 1776: for British efforts, see *Howe, Burgoyne, Clinton, &c.* Internal proceedings of the colonies, 392. Declaration of Independence, 394. Was independence their original aim, 396. The provincials refuse offers of conciliation, i. 399. Defeated at Long Island, but escape, 400. Burn New York, 403. Partially defeated at White Plains, but escape, 404. Consternation of, on the successes of Cornwallis, 406. Expect Howe at Philadelphia, *ib.* But are greatly disappointed by his termination of the campaign, 407. They are animated to offensive operations, *ib.* Surprise the Hessians at Trenton, 408. Defeated on the lakes, 410. Their privateers annoy our trade, 411. Distressed situation of their army during the winter, 429. Nevertheless their hopes and spirits are high, *ib.* Dispositions of, to oppose the British at Brandywine, 432. Their fortifications on the river, 433. Their distressed situation at White Marsh, 434. And Valley Forge, 435. Their galleys destroyed at Skeensborough, 437. Stra-



- tagem of their general Schuyler, 438. They surround the British at Saratoga, 442, see *Gates*. They conclude a treaty with France, 469. Skirmishes with the royalists in the commencement of 1778, 480, 481. Refuse to treat with the British, but as an independent nation, 482. Operations in the Jerseys, 483. Their attempt on Rhode Island, 486. They are dispossessed of Georgia, 512. But assisted by the French, 514. They besiege Savannah, *ib.* But are repulsed, 515. Their defence of Charleston, 545. But are conquered, 546. Operations of their detached parties, 549, 550. State of their army at New York, 553. They are deserted by general Arnold, 554. Defeated at the battle of Guilford, 596. Besiege Ninety-Six, 597. Their successes against Cornwallis, 599. Inaction in 1782, 620. Their independence is acknowledged by Britain, 635. And peace concluded, *ib.* State of, at the peace, 640. Claims of royalists from, ii. 110. American republic as affected by the revolutions in Europe, 529. Their spirited conduct respecting the French, 530. United States purchase Louisiana from France, iii. 54. Spain acquiesces in the cession, 51. Discussions with Great Britain, 93. Mission to England for adjustment of differences, *ib.* Non-importation act, 94. Jefferson refuses to ratify the treaty concluded in England, *ib.* Affair of the Leopard and Chesapeake, 115. Measures adopted in consequence of Bonaparte's decrees, and the British orders in council, *ib.* Repeal of the embargo, 155. Non-intercourse act passed, 156. Arrangements with Mr. Erskine disavowed by the British government, *ib.* Policy of Madison, in regard to France and Great Britain, 169. Affair of the Little Belt and President, 174. Declares war against Great Britain, 191. Successes at sea, and reverses in Canada, 196. Campaign of 1813, 208. Loss of the Chesapeake, 209. Progress of the war, 247. Congress at Ghent, *ib.* Washington entered by the British, 248. Attack on Alexandria, *ib.* Close of the campaign in Canada, 249. Peace signed at Ghent, *ib.* Defence of New Orleans, 250. Loss of the frigate President, 251. Cessation of hostilities, *ib.* Discussion with Spain, 291. Affairs of, 300. 309. Acquire Florida from Spain, 321.
- America, South. British expedition to the river Plate, 95. Buenos Ayres taken, *ib.* Recovered by the Spaniards, 96. Failure of Miranda's expedition to the Caraccas, *ib.* Capture of Montevideo by the British, 106. Whitelock's failure at Buenos Ayres, *ib.* Affairs of the Spanish colonies after the usurpation by Bonaparte, 133, 168, 185, 247, 300, 369.
- Amherst, appointed commander in chief in America, i. 100. Progress in Canada, *ib.*
- Amsterdam, see *Holland*.
- Andre, major, his character, enterprise, and fate, i. 555.
- Anne, queen of England, popular among the contending parties, i. 52. Though a tory in principles, is long governed by the whigs, *ib.* Her successful war, *ib.* Rejoins the church party, 56. Her reign favourable to commerce and navigation, 58.
- Amiens, treaty of, iii. 20. Debates on, in parliament, 22.
- Anson, lord, with Hawke, destroys the trade of the enemy, i. 105.
- Anstruther, John, appointed one of the committee for prosecuting Mr. Hastings, ii. 84. Distinguished himself on the question of Scottish criminal law, 388. Distinguishes himself on the questions about Muir and Palmer, 390.
- Antwerp, hopes, through the emperor Joseph, to re-open the river Scheldt, ii. 18. Yields to the French, 329. Blockaded by the British, iii. 231.
- Arcis sur Aube, action at, iii. 234.
- Argyle, duke of, voluntarily raises two thousand men, i. 463.
- Armada, Spanish, discomfited by the English, i. 27.
- Arnold, general, marches to join Montgomery, i. 365. Arrives opposite Quebec, joins Montgomery in the siege, 366. On the death of Montgomery raises the siege, 367. Disgusted with the Americans, 554. Enters into a secret correspondence with the British general, *ib.* Which being discovered, he saves himself by flight, 556. Incursion into Virginia, 596.
- Arroyo Molinos, the French surprised there by general Hill, iii. 184.
- Aspern, battle of, iii. 147.
- Arthur, murder of, destructive to his uncle, king John, i. 8.
- Artillery, see different wars and battles. Moral, see *Acre* and *Egypt*.
- Assembly, general, of Scotland, debates concerning patronage, i. 450. National, see *France*.
- Athol, the duke of, cedes the Isle of Man to government, i. 191. Duke of, (son of

the former,) voluntarily raises a thousand men for the service of his country, 463.  
 Firm and prudent conduct of, during the militia disturbances, ii. 507, 508.  
 Auckland, lord, see *Eden*.  
 Auerstadt, or Jena, battle of, iii. 85.  
 Austerlitz, battle of, iii. 64.  
 Austria, depressed under the first war of Maria Theresa, i. 67. Assisted by Britain, 71. Confederacy with France, 92. War with Prussia, and operations, 98. The Austrians are defeated, *ib.* Prove successful, 117. Again defeated, 119. Campaign 1761, 133. Of 1762, 158. See *Frederick* and *Russians*. Joseph of Austria is chosen emperor of Germany, 219. He supports the catholics of Poland against the dissidents, 239. Dismemberment of Poland, see *Catharine*. Character of Joseph opens, 563. He aspires at the possession of Bavaria, *ib.* But is opposed and baffled by Frederick, 564. Peace of Teschen, *ib.* Death of Maria Theresa, and ambitious schemes of Joseph, ii. 17 to 22. Opposed and baffled by Prussia, 37. Operations of Joseph's armies against the Turks in 1780, 124 to 128. Unwise and unsuccessful, 127. Proceedings of Joseph in the Low Countries, see *Joseph* and *Netherlands*. Successes of the Austrians in 1789, 166, 167. Leopold disposed to peace, 248. Peace between Austria and Turkey, 249. Policy of Leopold caused by the French revolution, see *Leopold*. War between Austria and France, 316. Campaign 1793, 368. 372. 376. 378, see *Britain* and *Frederick*. Campaign 1794, 410 to 415. Campaign 1795, indecisive, 447. Campaign in Italy, 1796, 469 to 477. Campaign 1797, 496 to 499. Treaty of Campo Formio, *ib.* Congress at Rastadt, 544. Encroachments of the French, 545. The war is renewed, *ib.* Campaign in Germany, *ib.* to 547. Progress in Italy, 548. In Switzerland, 551. Siege of Genoa, 591. Capitulation, *ib.* Campaign in Italy, 592, 593. In Germany, 594, 595. Decisive defeat at Hohenlinden, *ib.* Peace, *ib.* Decline of her ascendancy in Germany, iii. 3. Disputes with Bavaria, 46. Francis II. proclaimed hereditary emperor, *ib.* Accedes to the league between England and Russia, 61. Correspondence with France, *ib.* Conduct towards Bavaria, 62. Surrender of Mack, *ib.* Vienna entered by the French, 63. Operations in Italy and the Tyrol, *ib.* Battle of Austerlitz, 64. Treaty of Presburg, 65. The emperor resigns his title to the German empire, 79. Remains neutral during the contest of Russia and Prussia with France, 90. Military preparations, 136. Declares war against France, 146. Her forces enter Bavaria, *ib.* Vienna entered by the French, 147. Battle of Aspern, *ib.* Operations in Italy, 148. Insurrection in the Tyrol, *ib.* Battle of Wagram, 149. Treaty with France, 152. Marriage of the archduchess Maria Louisa to Bonaparte, 161. Assists France against Russia, 197. Truce, 218. Declares war against France, 220. Campaign in Germany, 221. Battle of Leipzig, 222. Invasion of France, 226. Congress at Chatillon, 227. Operations of Schwartzemberg, 230. 234. March to Paris, 235. Peace, 240. Acquisitions in Italy, 245. Manifesto on the return of Bonaparte from Elba, 258. League, *ib.* Advance of the armies, 262. Conditions of peace granted to France, 275. Affairs of, 291. 300. 319.

## B.

BACON, the pride of English philosophy, described, i. 42.  
 Badajoz taken by the French, iii. 177. Invested by lord Wellington, 181. Blockade raised, *ib.* Taken, 192.  
 Baird, sir David, advances to join sir John Moore at Salamanca, iii. 129. Junction at Majorga, 130. Retreat, 131. Wounded at Corunna, 132.  
 Balloons, air, invention of, ii. 27. Essayed in England, 28.  
 Baltimore, expedition to, iii. 248.  
 Banda taken by the British, iii. 161.  
 Bank. (See *England* and *Britain*.) Restrictions continued, iii. 253. Inquiry into the affairs of, 285. Result of experiments made in the issue of specie, 304. Restriction act continued, 305. Arrangement for resuming cash payments, 312.  
 Banks, Mr. his motion concerning offices in reversion, iii. 103.  
 ———, Joseph, Esq. ability and laudable employment of an ample fortune, i. 249. Accompanies captain Cook to the South Seas, *ib.*  
 Bannat, overrun by the Turks, ii. 127.  
 Barrington, admiral, commands in the West Indies, i. 509. Wounded, 510. Intercepts a French convoy, 630.  
 Barbadoes, dreadful hurricane at, see *West Indies*.

- Barrosa, battle of, iii. 182.
- Basque Roads, operations of lord Cochrane in, iii. 139.
- Battel, wager of, abolished, iii. 314.
- Bautzen, battles of, iii. 220.
- Bavaria. (See *France* and *Austria*.) Dispute of, with Austria, iii. 46. Joins France against her, 62. Acquisitions in the treaty of Presburg, 65. Again joins France against Austria, 146. Acquisitions in the treaty of Vienna, 153. Joins the allies in 1813, 221.
- Bayonne, transactions at, between Bonaparte and the Spanish princes, iii. 121. The French driven into, from Spain, 216. Invested, 232. Sortie from, 238.
- Beckford, noted reply of, to the king, i. 266, 267.
- Barre, colonel, speech of, on American affairs, i. 310. Character of his eloquence, 334. See *Parliament*.
- Bedford, duke of, ambassador from Britain, concludes the peace of Fontainebleau, i. 167. Takes a lead in the Grenville administration, 174. Severely attacked by Junius, 254.
- , duke of, grandson of the former, opposes the war with France, ii. 399. n. Strenuous opposition of, to the treason and sedition bills, 455. His speech on the threats of an invasion, 523.
- Beaufoy, Mr. See *Parliament* and *Dissenters*.
- Belgrade, besieged by the Austrians without success, ii. 126. Captured, 167.
- Bender, captured by the Russians, ii. 167.
- Beresford, Marshal, his operations in Estremadura, iii. 179. Battle of Albuera, 180. Enters Bourdeaux, 237. His gallantry at Toulouse, 238.
- Beresina, Bonaparte crosses it, and blows up the bridge, iii. 202.
- Berlin decree, of Bonaparte, iii. 88.
- Bernadotte, created prince of Ponte Corvo, iii. 91. Elected heir to the crown of Sweden, 162. Commands the army in the north of Germany, 220. His victory at Dennevitz, 221. His services at Leipzig, 222. His accession, 308.
- Birmingham, riots at, ii. 291.
- Bishops, English. See *Parliament*, and their respective names, Horsley, Watson, &c.
- Bisset, captain James, answer of a French privateer to, ii. 368. n.
- , major Robert, killed at Alexandria, ii. 620.
- Blair, Dr. character of, i. 453.
- Blakeney, general, his gallant defence of Minorca, i. 88.
- Blockade, maritime, discussed, iii. 14.
- Blucher, general, his retreat after the battle of Jena, iii. 86. Commands the Prussian army of Silesia in 1813, 218. His proclamation to the Saxons, *ib*. Defeats Bonaparte on the Katzbach, 221. His services at Leipzig, 222. Marches to the Rhine, 226. Advances into Lorraine, 227. Defeats Bonaparte at La Rothiere, 229. Retreats to Chalons sur Marne, 230. Again advances, *ib*. Movement of Bonaparte against him, 233. Obligated to retreat from Craonne, *ib*. Beats Bonaparte at Laon, *ib*. Marches to Paris, 234. Visits England, 242. Commands the Prussians in Flanders, 263. Battle of Ligny, *ib*. Retreats to Wavre, 265. Joins Wellington at La Belle Alliance, 266. Marches to Paris, 271 to 273. Thanks voted to him in the British Parliament, 274.
- Bolingbroke directs his genius against Sir Robert Walpole, i. 69.
- Bolton, duke of, proposes an inquiry into the admiralty, i. 573.
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, a young Corsican, distinguishes himself in France, ii. 449. Commands the French army in Italy, 468. Victories of, 469. Battle of Lodi, 470. Rapacious plunder, *ib*. Policy of, 471, 472. Fresh victories of, 474. Reduction of the pope, 477. Campaign in Italy, 497. Treaty of Campo Formio, 499. Iniquitous disposal of the Venetian territories, *ib*. Expedition to Egypt with a great army and fleet, 524. Account of his fleet, see *Nelson*. Proceedings of, in Egypt, 564. Military progress, *ib*. Professes a respect for the Mahomedan faith, 565. Compared with Mahomet, *ib*. Civil and political administration, 566. Marches into Syria, *ib*. Progress of, 567. Invests Acre, 568. Operations and events, see *Sir Sidney Smith*. Vanquished the first time he ventured to encounter Englishmen, 572. Returns into Egypt and beats the Turks, 573. Civil administration, *ib*. Sudden departure for Paris, 576. Popularity of, 577. Especially with the army, *ib*. Plan of a new constitution, *ib*. He declares himself the advocate of freedom, 579. The national representatives ad-



verse to the change, 580. He enters their assembly with grenadiers and bayonets, 581. Who remove opponents to the will of the general, *ib.* And establish unanimity, *ib.* He is chosen chief consul, 582. Offers peace to Britain, *ib.* Civil proceedings of, 589. Preparations for the campaign, 590. March over the Alps, 592. Progress in Italy, *ib.* Battle of Marengo, *ib.* Danger of the Consular army, *ib.* Means of extrication, 593. Signal victory, *ib.* Italy surrenders, *ib.* Settlement of that country, *ib.* Proceedings of, in 1801, 613. His negotiations with the continental powers on the cessation of hostilities with England, iii, 3. His designs on Italy and Switzerland, 18. Sends an expedition to the West Indies, 19. President of the Italian Republic, *ib.* Conduct towards Switzerland, 20. Domestic policy, *ib.* Hostile to English commerce, *ib.* Treaty of Amiens, 21. Convention with Holland, 22. Sends an army into Switzerland, 24. Consul for life, 25. Dispute with England respecting Malta, *ib.* Sends French agents to reside in British ports, and requires the adherents of the Bourbons to be sent from England, 27. His interview with lord Whitworth, 29. His rudeness to that ambassador at a levee, *ib.* Hostilities renewed, 31. Seizes Hanover, 32. Detains English residents in France, 33. Sells Louisiana to the United States, 34. Causes the arrest and murder of the duke d'Enghien, 39. Plots ascribed by him to British envoys in Germany, 40. Nominated emperor, 41. Extorts money from Spain, 46. Causes the arrest of sir G. Rumbold, 52. Is crowned, *ib.* His overture to George III., 53. Reply of the British government, 54. Destruction of the French fleet at Trafalgar, 59. Crowns himself king of Italy, 61. His preparations against Austria, 62. Causes Mack to surrender, *ib.* Marches to Vienna, 63. Defeats the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz, 64. His acquisitions in the treaty of Presburg, 65. His declaration against the Neapolitan dynasty, 66. His overture to the British government, 69. Mr. Fox's answer, *ib.* Makes his brother Joseph king of Naples, 74. His troops are beaten at Maida, 75. His conduct toward Prussia, 78. Forms the confederation of the Rhine, *ib.* Orders Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, to be shot, 80. Makes war on Prussia, 83. His victory at Jena, 85. Enters Berlin, 86. Gains over the Saxons, 87. His Berlin decree, 88. Advances against the Russians, 89. Makes his brother Louis king of Holland, 91. Threatens Portugal, 92. Claims the victory at Eylau, 107. Gains the battle of Friedland, 108. Concludes peace at Tilsit with Russia, *ib.* and with Prussia, 109. Orders Portugal to shut her ports against the English, 113. His sentiments on the English expedition to Copenhagen, *ib.* His Milan decree, 114. Treats with Spain for the partition of Portugal, 115. Sends an army to Lisbon, 116. Occupies the principal fortresses of Spain, 119. Sends an army under Murat to Madrid, *ib.* His letter to Ferdinand VII., 120. Causes him to abdicate at Bayonne, receives the abdication of his father, and detains him with his brother and uncle in captivity, 121. Makes his brother Joseph king of Spain, 124. His proclamation to the Spaniards, *ib.* Meets the emperor of Russia at Erfurt, 126. They write letters to the king of Great Britain, *ib.* Answer of the British government, *ib.* He heads his army in Spain, *ib.* Returns to Paris, 136. Prepares for war against Austria, *ib.* Enters Germany, 147. Advances to Vienna, *ib.* Fights the battle of Aspern, *ib.* Defeats the Austrians at Wagram, 149. Makes peace with Austria, 152. Annexes Rome to the French empire, 154. Divorces his wife, *ib.* Marries the archduchess Maria Louisa, 161. His demands on Sweden, 163. His measures against English commerce, 176. Menaces Russia, *ib.* His son named king of Rome, 177. His expedition into Russia, 197. Crosses the Neimen, *ib.* Engages the Russians at Borodino, 198. Enters Moscow, 199. Conflagration of that city, *ib.* The Russians reject his overtures, 200. He retreats, *ib.* Sufferings of his army, 201. He crosses the Beresina and blows up the bridge, 202. His flight to Paris, 203. Distrusts his allies, 217. Joins his army in Germany against the Russians, Prussians, and Swedes, 219. Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, *ib.* Armistice, 220. Austria declares war against him, *ib.* He is defeated by Blucher on the Katzbach, 221. Battle before Dresden, *ib.* He is beaten at Leipzig, 222. Retreats to the Maine, 223. Goes to Paris, *ib.* His address to his council of State, 225. The allies cross the Rhine, 226. His reply to a deputation of the legislative body, 227. Sends Caulincourt to Chatillon, *ib.* His operations against the allies in France, 230. They join and march to Paris, 235. He marches after them, 236. Returns to Fontainebleau, 237. Is deposed, *ib.* Abdicates, *ib.* Sent to Elba, 239. Lands in France, 255. Attacks the allies in

- Flanders, 263. Beaten at Waterloo, 269. Returns to Paris, 271. Abdicates in favour of his son, *ib.* Goes on board a British man of war, 273. Is sent to St. Helena, 273.
- Joseph, minister for France at Amiens, iii. 18. Proclaimed king of Naples, 74. Placed on the throne of Spain, 124. Escapes into France, 213. Escapes from Paris, 236. Assists at the Champ de Mai, 261.
- Louis, proclaimed king of Holland, iii. 91. Abdicated, 161.
- Jerome, iii. 88, 261, 266.
- Borodino, battle of, iii. 198.
- Boscawen, admiral, commands a fleet against the French, i. 81. Commands in the Mediterranean, 105. Victory off Cape Lagos, 106.
- Bourbon, Isle of, taken by the British, iii. 161.
- Bordeaux, march of the British to, iii. 232. Declares in favour of the Bourbons, 273.
- Boulogne, attack upon the flotilla at, iii. 49.
- Braddock, general, sent to command in America, i. 83. Character, *ib.* Surprised, defeated, and killed, 84.
- Brazil, conspiracy discovered at Pernambuco, iii. 299.
- Brienne, battle at, iii. 229.
- Brissot and other revolutionists. See *France*.
- Bristol, city of, voluntary contributions for the war, i. 464.
- Britain, early history of, i. 2. Under the Saxons, see *England and Scotland*, till the union. Union, 57. Beneficial to both kingdoms, *ib.* Accession of the Hanover family, 60. See *George I.* Violence of the whigs, 61. Septennial Parliaments, 62. Growth of ministerial influence, 63. Intercourse of, with foreign powers, *ib.* Reciprocal benefit to France and England from long peace, *ib.* Policy of Walpole, 65. See *George II.* Expense of subsidiary treaties, 67. War with Spain, 70. Interferes in German politics, 88. War with France, *ib.* Effects of the rebellion, 72. Peace of Aix la Chapelle, 73. Prosperity under Mr. Pelham, 74. Encroachments of France on American territory, see *America*. Commencement of hostilities, 82. France the aggressor, *ib.* Seizure of the enemy's merchantmen, *ib.* Campaigns in America, see *Amherst, Wolfe, &c.* Sends Byng to the relief of Minorca, 87. Behaviour, trial, and execution of Byng, 88. Dissentions in the cabinet, 94. Mr. Pitt is appointed secretary of state, 95. See *Pitt*. Concludes an alliance with Prussia, 96. British operations in Germany, *ib.* Convention at Cloister-Seven, 97. Expedition to the coast of France, *ib.* Successes of Hawke, 106. Battle and signal victory, *ib.* See *Hawke*. British affairs in the East Indies. See *India, Clive*. Achievements of our armies in Germany, 116. Battle of Minden, 117. Representation of Britain to neutral powers, 120. State of British affairs in October 1760, 121. Death of George II. 122. Accession of George III. 152. See *George III.* National unanimity, 128. Achievements of the British in Germany, 132, 133. Negotiations for peace, 134. Proposed interference of Spain, 137. Refused by Britain, *ib.* Change of ministry, 140. Marriage of the king to the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg, 142. Family compact, 145. War with Spain, 146. Capture of Martinico, 151. Capture of Havanna, 155. See *Havanna*. Of Manilla, *ib.* Victories in Portugal, 157. Capture of the Hermoine, i. 156. Birth of the prince of Wales, 161. Peace of Fontainebleau, 164. Discussed, see *Parliament*. Unpopularity of the Bute ministry, 167. Change of administration, 169. Prosecution of Wilkes, 172, 173. Financial schemes of the new minister. 179. Taxation of America, see *Parliament and America*. Indisposition of the king, 192. Change of ministry, 194. Sentiments of Britain on American affairs, 199. Object and spirit of the Rockingham administration, 202. Grafton ministry, 213. Weakness of, 223. Irish affairs, 225. See *Ireland*. Prevalent discontents, 233. Return of Wilkes, 234. See *Parliament*. Declared ineligible, 245. National ferment, *ib.* Political writings, 252. See *Junius*. Petitions, 255. Remonstrance, see *city of London*. Change of ministry, 256. Conciliatory attempt of lord North, 259. Dispute with Spain about Falkland's island, 264. Adjusted, 266. Discontents begin to subside, 273. Death of the princess dowager of Wales, 280. Treatment of Matilda of England, queen of Denmark, 284. Rescued by her royal brother, 285. See *Matilda*. War with the Caribs, 294. Discontents subside, 297. National prosperity, *ib.* Rise of the war with America, 299. King's message, 302. See *Parliament and America*. Impression in Britain from the American disputes, 332. Literary efforts of, on

both sides of the question, 352. Campaigns in America, see *Gage, Howe, &c.* Internal proceedings, see *Congress*. Legislative measures of Britain, see *Parliament*. Majority of the nation favourable to the ministerial system, 371. The American, a popular war, 373. Apprehension of Sayer for high treason, *ib.* He is discharged, *ib.* The nation continues favourable to war, 413. Causes, reasonings, and motives, 414. Party violence, *ib.* Conspiracy of John the painter, 415. Conduct of France and Spain in the American contest, 455. Efforts on the fate of Burgoyne, 462. Voluntary levies of men, 463. Britain compelled to go to war with France, 469. Naval operations under Keppel and Palliser unsatisfactory, 492. See *Rodney, Hood, &c.* The nation is roused by difficulty to strenuous exertion, 495. Rupture with Spain, 506. Spain the aggressor, 507. Warlike operations in the West Indies, 509, 510. Indecisive, *ib.* An immense armament menaces our coast, 518. Patriotic and loyal unanimity of Britain when the country is threatened, *ib.* The resources and efforts of the country rise with her difficulties, 521. Ministers become unpopular, 530. Spirit of association, *ib.* Protestant society, 531. Riots of 1780, 533. Dreadful conflagrations, *ib.* They are crushed, 537. The successes of Rodney restore our naval supremacy, 543. Capture of the merchantmen, and censure of ministers, 543, 544. Proceedings against the rioters, 560. See *lord Loughborough, Wedderburne*. Political effects of the riots, 562. General election, *ib.* Hostile jealousy of the continental powers, 564. Armed neutrality, 565. A treaty discovered between the Dutch and Americans, 568. Rupture with Holland, 569. The Dutch the aggressors, *ib.* Campaigns in India, see *India*. Plan of the combined maritime powers against Britain, 582. Invasion of Jersey, *ib.* Gibraltar, siege of, see *Elliot*. Operations in the Atlantic, 586. In the north seas, 587. Action off the Dogger Bank by admiral Parker, 588. Dissatisfaction prevails, 601. On the capture of Cornwallis, the nation becomes averse to the war and to the ministry, *ib.* Dismission of the North administration, 606. Plan of the new ministers, 608. Mr. secretary Fox endeavours to make peace with Holland and America, 611. Change of ministry, *ib.* Naval and military operations, see respective *admirals* and *generals*. Hostile ambition against Britain frustrated, 634. Overtures for peace, 635. Treaties, 636. Review of the contest, 637. Lofty genius and invincible spirit of the British nation, 639. Administration of lord Shelburne, 642. Deficient in strength, *ib.* Coalition between Fox and North, 646. Change of ministry, 649. Constituents and strength of the coalition ministry, 658. Dismissed, *i.* 666. Causes of its dismission, see *Parliament*. Mr. Pitt, at twenty-five years of age, made prime minister, 670. Popular opinion favourable to the new minister, *ib.* Commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration, *ii.* 3. State of the country and objects to be pursued, *ib.* Britain resumes her attention to the affairs of the continent, 13. Disposed to protect the rights of Holland, 22. Recovers from the distresses of the war, *ib.* Great and increasing prosperity of, 38. Confidence of the monied interest in the minister, *ib.* Alarming attempt against the king, 57. Alarm of all ranks, 58. Commercial treaty between Britain and France, 61. Popular sentiments respecting Hastings, 76. Causes of a change, 77. Interposes in the affairs of Holland, 97. With effect, 98. Resumes her character of defender of Europe, 129. Thwarts the ambition of Catharine, *ib.* Illness of the king, 137. See *George III.* and *Parliament*. Joy and rejoicings at his recovery, 153. Defensive alliance with Holland and Prussia, 164. Caused by the confederacy of Catharine and Joseph, *ib.* Assists Sweden, 170. Effects of the French revolution in, 225. Dispute with Spain about Nootka Sound, 239. Spain yields to the demands of Britain, 243. Efforts for counteracting imperial ambition, 245. Liberal and wise policy of, 249. Better understands the French revolution, 260. Ministers forbear discussion of its merits, 261. Effects of Burke's work on the subject, 262. Dispute with Russia, 265. Principle of British interference in continental politics, 266. Effects of Paine's works, 291. Riots at Birmingham, *ib.* Political enthusiasm, 292. Wide diffusion of superficial literature, 293. Multiplication of political clubs, 297. Projects of reform, 298. Friends of the people, *ib.* Rise and progress of the corresponding societies, 399. Second part of Thomas Paine, *ib.* Proclamation against seditious writings, 300. State of the police, 302. Britain anxiously contemplates the French revolution, 310. But will not interfere, *ib.* English societies address the French national convention, 326. And send them a present of shoes, *ib.* Anti-constitutional ferment, 330. Asso-



ciation against republicans and levellers, 331. Discussion between Britain and France, at the close of 1792, 334. France the aggressor, 336. France declares war against Britain and Holland, 345. Public opinion favourable to war with France, 347. Objects of Britain, 348. Campaign of 1793, in Holland, 361 to 364. See *Frederick*. In the Netherlands, 368. Soldiers of, excel in close fight, 369. Operations of, 370, 371. 377. See *Frederick*. Successes in the East and West Indies, 379. Progress of revolutionary doctrines—facts and causes, 381. Progress of democratic societies, 391. Trials for treason commence, 424. Conclude, 427. Treaty between Britain and America, 428. Marriage of the prince of Wales to the princess of Brunswick, 435. Campaign 1795. Disastrous expedition to Quiberon, 446. Britain victorious by sea, 448. Discontents from the war, 453. Scarcity of provisions, *ib.* Seditious meetings, *ib.* Insults to the king, 454. See *Parliament*. Campaign of 1796. Britain successful where she fights alone, 480. Birth of an heir to the prince of Wales, *ib.* Sends an ambassador to Paris, 481. Campaign on the continent, see *France and Austria*. Negotiation for peace commences, 484. Concludes unfavourably, 486. Gloomy aspect of affairs, 488. State of the bank, *ib.* Rapid decrease of cash, *ib.* Order of council to suspend payment of coin, 489. Found to be in a flourishing state, 490. Mutiny of the sailors commences, 491. Quelled, 492. Marriage of the princess royal, 495. Naval preparations of our enemies, 500. Victory of Jervis, *ib.* Of Duncan, see *Duncan*. Second negotiation for peace commences, 503. Concluded, 504. Public opinions and sentiments after the victories of 1797, 511. Loyal and patriotic energy, *ib.* Voluntary contributions, 513. Voluntary associations, 514. The whole nation becomes armed, *ib.* Threats of an invasion, 523. Rouse the spirit and stimulate the efforts of Britons, *ib.* Naval operations, see *Warren*. And splendid victories, see *Nelson*. Effects of the battle of Aboukir, 527. Government is very popular, *ib.* 532. Scheme of alliance with Russia, 533. Projected union with Ireland, 535. 542. See *Union and Pitt*. Her fleets block up the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, 554. Expedition to Holland, *ib.* See *Frederick*. Capture of Surinam, 558. War with Tippoo Saib, see *Mornington and India*. Gloomy prospect at the close of 1799, 582. Wish for peace, *ib.* Refuses Bonaparte's overture for negotiation, 583. Campaign 1800, 596. 598. High price of provisions, 599. Alarming illness of the king, 609. Expedition to the Baltic, see *Nelson*. Expedition to Egypt, see *Egypt, Abercrombie, Hutchinson, and Keith*. Peace, 625. Conditions, *ib.* Britain ascertains her security, 626. Through the manifestation of resistless strength, *ib.* The tenure of British security, wisdom, loyalty, patriotism, and force, *ib.* So protected, Britain is invulnerable, *ib.* Character of the treaty between her and France, *ib.* 4. The peace considered insecure, 7. Comparison of her power with that of France, 11. Defects of the treaty, 12. Convention with Russia, 13. Amount of military and naval force retained, 17. Congress at Amiens, 19. Definitive treaty, 21. Arrangement respecting Malta, *ib.* Accession of Sweden and Denmark to the convention with Russia, 22. Discussion with France respecting Malta, 25. Provocations of France, 27. Hostile preparations on both sides, 28. War renewed, 30. State of naval and military force, 31. War declared against Holland, 32. Insurrection in Ireland, 33. Suppressed, *ib.* Blockade of the Elbe and Weser, *ib.* Success in the West Indies, 34. In the East Indies, 35. 37. Mr. Pitt prime minister, 39. His colleagues, 42. Measures for improving the defence of the country, 44. Forbearance towards Spain in her subserviency to France, 46. Remonstrance on her violation of neutrality, 47. Capture of Gorée, 48. Of Surinam, 49. Operations on the French coast, *ib.* Detention of Spanish treasure ships, 50. Negotiations at Madrid continued, 51. Declaration of war by Spain, *ib.* War in India against Holkar, 52. Reply to an overture from France, 53. Impeachment of lord Melville, 56. Victory of Trafalgar, 59. Alliance with Russia, 60. And Austria, 61. Reverses of the allies, 62. Battle of Austerlitz, 64. Treaty of Presburg, 65. Death of Mr. Pitt, 67. New ministry under lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, 68. Overture from France, 69. Negotiation, *ib.* Regulation of intercourse between the West Indies and the United States, 72. Bill for abolishing the slave trade, *ib.* Trial and acquittal of lord Melville, 73. Campaign in Calabria, 74. Battle of Maida, 75. Progress of negotiations with France, 77. Remark of Mr. Fox on the transfer of Hanover from France to Prussia, *ib.* State of the negotiation on the approaching rupture between France and Russia, 81. Refusal to

treat separately from Russia, 82. Lord Morpeth sent to the Prussian headquarters, 83. Reverses of Russia, 85. Bonaparte's Berlin decree, 88. Repulse of the Russians, 89. Austria neutral, 90. An English squadron at Constantinople, *ib.* Earl St. Vincent's mission to the Tagus, 92. Discussions with the United States, 93. New grounds of decision on the trade with neutrals, *ib.* Conference in London, 94. Ratification of the treaty refused by Mr. Jefferson, *ib.* Naval operations, 95. Cape of Good Hope taken, *ib.* Expedition to the river Plate, *ib.* Death of the marquis Cornwallis in India, 96. Lord Minto his successor, 97. Death of Mr. Fox, *ib.* Changes in the cabinet, *ib.* Catholic question introduced into parliament by lord Howick, 101. Change of ministry, *ib.* Result of investigation into the conduct of the princess of Wales, 104. Military affairs under the late administration: Expedition to the Dardanelles, *ib.* To Egypt, 105. To Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, *ib.* Capture of Curaçoa, 107. Treaty of Tilsit, between France, Russia, and Prussia, 108. Expedition against Denmark, 111. Alienation of Russia, 113. Orders of council to counteract Bonaparte's anti-commercial decrees, 114. Further disputes with the United States, 115. Emigration of the court of Portugal to Brazil, 116. Occupation of Madeira, *ib.* Affairs of India, *ib.* Determination of government to support Spain against the aggressions of Bonaparte, 119. Alliance of Spain, England, and Portugal, 125. Expedition to Portugal under sir A. Wellesley, 126. Battle of Vimiera, *ib.* Convention of Cintra, 127. March of sir John Moore into Spain, *ib.* Overtures from Erfurt, 128. Reply, *ib.* Retreat of sir John Moore to Corunna, 131. Battle, 132. Death of the general, *ib.* Peace with Turkey, 136. Attack upon the French fleet in Basque roads, 139. Progress of war in Spain, 139. Return of sir A. Wellesley to Portugal, 141. Battle of Talavera, and subsequent movements, 143. French convoy intercepted by admiral Martin, 145. War between France and Austria, 146. Diversion undertaken by England, 147. Expedition against Naples, *ib.* Austrians defeated on the Danube, *ib.* Armistice, 150. Expedition to Walcheren, 151. Capture of Flushing, *ib.* Fever, 152. Evacuation of Walcheren, *ib.* Peace between Austria and France, *ib.* Revolution in Sweden, 154. State of dispute with America, 156. Recall of Mr. Erskine, *ib.* Partial change of administration, 157. Jubilee, *ib.* Successes in the West Indies, 161. Disturbances at Madras, *ib.* Conquest of the Spice Islands, and of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, *ib.* English merchandise burnt by Bonaparte, 162. Sweden compelled to declare war against England, 163. Progress of war in Spain, *ib.* Retreat of lord Wellington, 166. Battle of Busaco, *ib.* Position at Torres Vedras, *ib.* America favours France, 169. Illness of the king, 170. The prince of Wales regent, 171. Hostile policy of the United States, 174. Conquest of Java, 175. Change in the policy of the northern powers, 177. Peninsular campaign, *ib.* Lord Wellington expels Massena from Portugal, *ib.* Almeida taken, 179. Battle of Albuera, 180. Of Barrosa, 182. Movements of lord Wellington to relieve Galicia, 184. Surprise of the French at Arroyo Molinos by general Hill, *ib.* Gloomy aspect of political affairs, 186. Returns under the population act, 187. Measures for suppressing disturbances in the manufacturing districts, *ib.* Overtures to lords Grey and Grenville, 188. Their answer, *ib.* Assassination of Mr. Perceval, 189. Ministerial negotiations, *ib.* Result, 190. Declaration of war by the United States, 191. Spanish campaign, 192. Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, *ib.* Of Badajoz, *ib.* Advance of lord Wellington, 193. Battle of Salamanca, 194. Madrid recovered, 195. Lord Wellington advances to Burgos, *ib.* Events of the war with America, 196. Bonaparte's expedition to Russia, 197. Treaty with Russia and Sweden, 197. Disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow, 200. Campaign in America, 208. Defence of Canada, 209. Capture of the Chesapeake, *ib.* Lord Wellington, generalissimo of the Spanish forces, 210. Advances to the Douro, 211. Pursues the French to the Zadora, 212. Battle of Victoria, *ib.* Sir John Murray's abortive expedition to Tarragona, 214. Battles of the Pyrenees, 215. Capture of St. Sebastian, *ib.* Of Pampluna, 216. Lord Wellington enters France, *ib.* The French driven into Bayonne, *ib.* Prussia joins the alliance against France, 218. Junction of Austria, 220. Campaign in Saxony, 221. Battle of Leipzig, 222. Hanover liberated, 223. Revolution in Holland, *ib.* Denmark joins the allies, 225. Declaration of the sovereigns, *ib.* They cross the Rhine, 226. Campaign in France, 229. Operations of lord Wellington in the south, 231. Battle of Orthes, *ib.* Bayonne invested, 232. Bonaparte re-

- jects the proposals from Chatillon, *ib.* His operations against Blucher and Schwartzenberg, 233. Their junction and march to Paris, 235. The allied sovereigns enter Paris, 236. Abdication of Bonaparte, 237. Battle of Tolouse, 238. Sortie from Bayonne, *ib.* Reduction of Genoa, 239. Bonaparte sent to Elba, *ib.* Louis XVIII. returns from England to France, 240. Treaty of the allies with France, *ib.* The sovereigns of Russia and Prussia visit England, 242. Return of the duke of Wellington, 243. National rewards of his services, *ib.* Continental arrangements, 244. Operations in Canada, 247. Expedition to Washington, 248. Against Baltimore, *ib.* Failure of general Prevost's expedition, 249. Peace signed at Ghent, *ib.* Expedition against New Orleans, 250. Capture of the President frigate, 251. Cessation of hostilities, *ib.* Return of Bonaparte to France, 253. Rejection of his overtures by the allies, 258. Enterprise of Murat in Italy, 260. Campaign in Flanders, 263. Battle of Ligny, *ib.* Of Quatre Bras, 264. Of Waterloo, 267. Glorious victory of the allies, 270. Bonaparte abdicates in favour of his son, 271. Capitulation of Paris, 272. Bonaparte conveyed to St. Helena, 273. National rewards to the duke of Wellington, 274. Conditions of peace granted to France, 275. Protectress of the Ionian isles, 279. Property tax abolished, 285. State of Ireland, 286. Expedition to Algiers, 288. Distress of the people, 292. Riot in London, *ib.* Suspension of habeas corpus act, 295. Trials for high treason, 301. Death of the princess Charlotte, 301. Disturbed state of the country, 322. Meeting at Manchester dispersed by yeomanry cavalry, *ib.* Proceedings in consequence, 326. Riot at Paisley, *ib.* Measures adopted in parliament for preserving public tranquillity, 324. Illness and death of the king, 326.
- Broke, captain, takes the American frigate Chesapeake, iii. 209.
- Brougham, Mr. his motion respecting the order in council, iii. 190. Respecting the holy alliance, 283. His bill for the education of the poor, 307.
- Brunswick, duke of, commands the combined armies of Germany, ii. 317. Proclamation, 318. Invades France, 328. Retreat of, *ib.* Mortally wounded at Jena, iii. 85.
- , Oels, duke of, his daring march through Saxony, iii. 150. Slain at Quatre Bras, 265.
- Buenos Ayres, taken by the British, iii. 95. Recovered by the Spaniards, 96. Failure of Whitelock's operations against, 107. See *South America*.
- Burdett, Sir Francis, committed to the tower for a libel on the House of Commons, iii. 159. Motion on parliamentary reform, 316.
- Burgos, advance of lord Wellington to, from Madrid, iii. 195. His retreat to the Portuguese frontier, 196.
- Burgoyne, general, successes in Portugal, i. 157. Commands in Canada, 436. Manifesto, 437. Progress and success of, 438. Difficulties begin, 439. Surrender at Saratoga, 443. Inquiry into his conduct. See *Parliament*.
- Burke, Edward, esq. supports the Rockingham party, i. 242. Speech of, on American taxation, 307. Extensive acquaintance with American affairs, *ib.* and 308. Parliamentary character of, 334. Plan of, for conciliation, 348. 349. Conciliatory motion of, 381. Motion on the employment of Indians, 466. Presents a petition in favour of the suffering catholics, 506. His part of the attack on ministers, 522. Bill for the reform of public economy, 527. Resumes his plan of economical reform, 571. Proposed inquiry into the capture of St. Eustatius, 602. Made paymaster-general of the forces, 609. Celebrated speech of, on chartered rights, 663. Remonstrance on the dissolution of parliament, ii. 4. Speech on the debts of the nabob of Arcot, 31. Opens an inquiry into the conduct of Hastings, 49. Proposes impeachment, *ib.* Opinion of, on imprisonment for debt, 71, n. His speech on the commencement of the trial, 113. Libels against, 161. Declares his disapprobation of the French revolution, 229. Deems the dissenters bent on the downfall of the church, 235. Writes on the French revolution, 262. Effects of, on the public mind, *ib.* Dispute with Fox on the French revolution, 270. Final separation, *ib.* Real difference with Mr. Fox on the French revolution, 296. Burke's view of the war with France, 346. Opinion of, on objects and conduct of the war, 371. Deems peace with regicides impracticable, 384. Treatise against a regicide peace, 483.
- Bute, earl of, educates the king, i. 124. Made a privy-counsellor, 127. Secretary of State, 129. Administration of, commences, 142. Character, public measures, see *Britain*. Unpopular, 147. Haughty deportment, 162. Totally unsuitable



to the English, 163. His peace reprobated, 164. Impartial estimate of, 166. Resigns, 169. Supposed by the people the prompter of the prosecution of Wilkes, 177. Charge of secret influence never proved, *ib.* The stamp act imputed to his influence, 190. Supposed to have prompted the dismissal of the Grenville administration, 194. The alleged influence never proved, *ib.*  
 Busaco, battle of, iii. 166.

## C.

CABOT, voyages of, i. 13.

Cadiz, besieged by the French, iii. 164. Proceedings of the cortes at, 167. Siege raised, 195. Expedition from, to South America, 247. Mutiny of troops at, 318.

Calabria, campaign in, iii. 74. Battle of Maida, 75. Expedition of Murat to, 377.

Calder, Sir R. engages the French fleet under Villeneuve, iii. 58.

Cambray, treaty at, an epoch in political history, i. 18.

Calcutta. See *India*.

Caledonia, an asylum to the Britons against the Romans, i. 2.

Cambridge, duke of, provision for him on his marriage, iii. 306.

Camden, lord, see *Pratt*. His son, earl Camden, lord lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 439.

Measures of, for repressing the Irish discontents, 515. Resigns the vice-royalty, 522. Marquis, sacrifices to the public the surplus profits of his office, as teller of the exchequer, iii. 315. Bill for enabling the public to accept that sacrifice, *ib.*

Camden, a town in America, battle of, i. 548. See *Cornwallis*.

Campbell, Dr. defender of christianity, i. 452.

——, colonel, expedition of, to Georgia, i. 511. Victory and reduction of the province, 512.

Cannes, landing of Bonaparte at, iii. 255.

Canning, Mr. treasurer of the navy, iii. 42. Succeeded by Mr. Sheridan, 68. His observations on the negotiation with France and Russia, 99. Secretary for foreign affairs, 101. Resigns, 157. Rejects overtures from lord Liverpool, 189. President of the board of control. See *Parliament*.

Canute, conquers England, i. 6. Policy and benefits of his reign, *ib.*

Capellen, Van der, admiral, joined with lord Exmouth in the expedition to Algiers, iii. 288.

Caracas, earthquake at, iii. 185.

Carnot, opposes the nomination of Bonaparte as emperor, iii. 41.

Carribs, war with, i. 294.

Carleton, general, defence of Quebec, i. 389. Progress of, on the lakes, 409. Crown Point taken, 410. Resigns, 436. Appointed commander in chief in America, 620.

Carlisle, earl of, heads a commission for offering peace to America, i. 469. Arrives in America, 482. His offers are refused, *ib.* Directs the evacuation of Philadelphia, 483. Returns to England, 489. Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 608. Able speech of, on the commercial treaty, ii. 65. Correspondence between, and earl Fitzwilliam, on the state of Ireland, 439. Arguments of, against lord Auckland's divorce bill, 588.

Carolina, see *America*. As one of the southern colonies, also *Clinton*, *Rawdon*, *Cornwallis*, &c.

Caroline, queen of England, i. 66. Ability and policy of, *ib.* Caroline, princess of Brunswick, married to George, prince of Wales, ii. 435.

Castlereagh, lord, secretary for the war department, iii. 101. His military plan, 110. Motion of lord A. Hamilton, on his conduct when president of the board of control, 137. Succeeds the marquiss of Wellesley as secretary for foreign affairs, 188. See *Parliament*.

Catalonia, operations in, iii. 140. See *Spain*.

Catharine, spouse of Peter, emperor of Russia, ability and conduct, i. 161. Is appointed imperial sovereign, *ib.* Her lofty character begins to unfold, 186. She raises her creature to be king of Poland, *ib.* Supports the dissidents and confirms her influence in Poland, 239. Rupture between, and Turkey, *ib.* Military operations, 261. Wisely courts connexion with Britain, 262. Her victories by land and sea, *ib.* Alarms Austria and Prussia, 263. Her farther successes, 280. To remove their fears proposes to dismember Poland, 281. To which they accede, *ib.* Execution of the scheme, 295. She concludes peace with Turkey,

319. She unwisely adopts a policy hostile to Britain, 565. Stimulates the armed neutrality, *ib.* Hostile to Britain, *ib.* Offers her mediation to the maritime powers, 639. Political concert of, with the emperor, ii. 21. She unwisely avoids connexion with Britain, 41. Her views upon Turkey, 118, 119. Endeavours to stir the Turks to revolt, 120. War with Turkey, 122. Operations of her armies in 1788, 128. In 1789, 165. Against Sweden, 173. In 1790, operations against the Turks, 250. Against Sweden, 252. Peace with Gustavus, 253. Peace with Turkey, 279. Motives and views, 280. Her designs against Poland, 282. Stimulates hostility against France, 310. Effects a new partition of Poland, 379. Death, 528.
- Catholic question discussed in parliament, iii. 54. 101. 103. 190. 206. 287. 296. 314.
- Cattaro, possessed by the Russians, iii. 77.
- Cavendish, lord John, motion of, for the removal of ministers, i. 605. Made chancellor of the exchequer, 608. Resigns, 611. Again appointed, 649.
- Cayenne, taken by the British and Portuguese, iii. 139.
- Ceylon, war in, iii. 37. Annexed to the British dominions, 282. Rebellion in, suppressed, iii. 300.
- Champ Aubert, battle of, iii. 230.
- Champ de Mai, assembly of the, iii. 261.
- Chaumont, treaty of, iii. 232. Renewed, 259.
- Charleroi, Prussians attacked there by the French, iii. 263.
- Charles IV. of Spain; his abdication, iii. 119.
- Charles, archduke, successes against Jourdain, ii. 478. A second time drives the French from Germany, 547. Operations of, against the French in Italy, iii. 63. Commands the Austrian army in 1809, 146. Battle of Aspern, 147. Of Wagram, 149.
- Charlotte, of Mecklenburg, married to our king, queen of Britain, i. 142. Crowned, *ib.* Dignified and affecting answer of, to an address of parliament, during the illness of the king, ii. 149. Maternal feelings of, exhibited at the marriage of her daughter, 495. Conjugal anxiety, 609.
- Charlotte, princess royal, eldest daughter of the king and queen, ingenuity and accomplishments, ii. 154. Display of her talents on the recovery of her royal father, *ib.* Married to the prince of Wirtemberg, 495.
- Charlotte, of Wales, princess, born, ii. 480. Provision for, on her marriage, iii. 286. Her death, 301.
- Chatham, lord, commands the expedition to Walcheren, iii. 150.
- Chatillon, negotiations at, iii. 227. Terminated, 234.
- Chesapeake, American frigate, taken by capt. Broke, iii. 209.
- Chesterfield, earl of, his remark on the patriotism of Wilkes, and the piety of the earl of Sandwich, i. 177. n.
- Churchill, the poet, object and character of his writings, i. 183. n.
- Churches, new, act for building, iii. 306.
- Christophe, proclaimed chief of the government of Hayti, iii. 96. Crowns himself king, 175.
- Cintra, convention of, iii. 127.
- Ciudad Rodrigo, taken by the French, iii. 165. Recovered, 192.
- Clairfait, and other Austrian generals, *sec Austria.*
- Clarence, duke of, *see William Henry.*
- Clinton, general, campaign in South Carolina, and siege of Charleston, i. 391. Expedition of, up the north river, 435. Appointed commander in chief, 482. Evacuates Philadelphia, 483. March through the Jerseys, with the battle of Freehold court-house, 484. (1779.) Carries on a war of detachments, 515. Expedition against Charleston, 545. Strength, siege, and capture of that town, 546. Returns to New York, 547. Operations at New York, 553. Overreached by Washington, 598. Attempts to relieve Cornwallis, 600. Too late, *ib.* Resigns the command, 620.
- Clive, account of, i. 110. Achievements of, *ib.* Receives the command of the British, iii. Campaign 1757 of, begins, *ib.* Ends, 113. Battle of Plassey, and revolution of Bengal, 112. Deposits Dowlah, and makes Jaffier viceroy, 113. Lord, returns to India, 210. Restores peace, 211. And obtains to the English an annual revenue of one million, seven hundred thousand pounds, *ib.* Defends himself from attacks in parliament, 279. Inquiry into his conduct, 292. Terminated, 293.

- Clootz, Anarcharis, heads an embassy from the whole human race, ii. 259. Preaches atheism on the scaffold, 423. And dies blaspheming his God, *ib.*
- Cochrane, lord, his operations in Basque roads, 139. Prosecution of, 242. Is re-elected for Westminster, *ib.* Vice-admiral of Chili, 321.
- Coghlan, lieutenant, heroic enterprise of, ii. 596.
- Colonne. See *France*.
- Commerce and navigation, English, founded by Alfred, i. 5. Promoted by the Danes, 6. Advances of, under Edward III. 8. Promoted by Henry IV. 9. Repressed by the civil wars, 10. Begins to flourish under Henry VII. 12. Advances under Henry VIII. 17. Under Edward VI. 22. Under Elizabeth, 24. Voyages of trade and discovery, 25. Commercial companies, 26. East India, 27. Under James, trade flourishes, 30. Plantation of colonies, 31. Advances under Charles I. 37. And the Protectorate, *ib.* Advances of, under Charles and James, 40. Under William, 48. Under Anne, 58. Principles of political economy, not thoroughly understood, 59. Commerce, British, in connexion with finance and funds—Enthusiasm of avarice, 64. South Sea bubble, *ib.* Rapid advances of trade notwithstanding, under George and his minister Walpole, 65. Advances of, under Mr. Pelham, 74. Increased by successful war, 126. Measures of Mr. Grenville for the promotion of trade and revenue, 179. Measures for the suppression of smuggling, 180. Principles and system of British colonization favourable to trade, 188. Commerce injured by the disputes with America, 199. Influence of our acquisitions in Hindostan, 211. With America, revives, 266. Mercantile failures, 286. Change of mercantile character, 287. Capture of the mercantile fleets, 343. Revival of trade with America, 650. Rapid increase of, in Britain, after the peace, ii. 38. Unprecedented prosperity, 237. Rapid increase, 304. Measures of Bonaparte against, after the signature of preliminaries, iii. 32. Bonaparte's Berlin decree, 88. British orders of council, 114. Bonaparte's Milan decree, *ib.* English merchandise burnt by the French, 162. Issue of exchequer bills for relieving commercial distresses, 172. Bonaparte enforces his decrees against English merchandise, 176. Measures for preventing disturbances in the manufacturing districts, 187. Conditional revocation of the order in council, 190. War already declared by America, 191. Arrangements on the renewal of the East India company's charter, 206. Regulation of the corn trade, 242. Issue of exchequer bills for local and temporary relief, 295.
- Congress, general, of America, first meeting and acts, begins, i. 325. End, 329. Second meeting and effects, 358. Proceedings of, and effects, 392—396.
- Consolidated fund produce bill, iii. 312.
- Constantinople, revolutions at, iii. 116. 135.
- Conway, general, opposes the stamp act, i. 189. Secretary of state, 196. Plan of conciliation with America, 530. His motion for terminating the American war, 604.
- Cook, James, lieutenant, lands the troops for ascending the heights of Abraham, i. 102. Heads an expedition of discovery and science, 237.
- Cooper, sir Grey, character of, i. 334.
- Coote, sir Eyre, commands in the Carnatic, i. 579. Successive victories, 581. Battle of Porto Novo, *ib.* Splendid and decisive event, *ib.* Campaign, 1782. 626. Victory at Redhill, *ib.* Complete success of, *ib.* Death, 628. The military saviour of India, *ib.*
- Copenhagen, bombardment of, iii. 112.
- Cordeliers, French party. See *France*.
- Corn-trade, regulations respecting, iii. 242.
- Cornwallis, successes of, in the Jerseys, i. 405. Ordered to retire into winter quarters, *ib.* Distinguishes himself at Charleston, 547. Left in Carolina, *ib.* Wise administration of, i. 548. Obligated to take the field, *ib.* Battle of Camden, *ib.* Decisive victory, 549. Marches toward Virginia, 595. Battle of Guilford, 596. British victorious with considerable loss, *ib.* Enters Virginia, 598. Is surrounded, 599. Expects succours from Clinton, *ib.* Skilful and gallant defence, *ib.* Receiving no assistance, he is forced to surrender, *ib.* And capitulates on honourable terms, 600. Governor-general and commander in chief of India, ii. 306. Invades Mysore, *ib.* Dictates peace to Tippoo, 307. Generous conduct of, *ib.* Appointed viceroy of Ireland, 522. Marquis, sent to France as plenipotentiary,



- iii. 18. Concludes the treaty of Amiens, 21. Appointed governor-general of India, 52. His death, 96.
- Cornwallis, admiral, battle with the French, ii. 448.
- Corresponding society, formation of, ii. 299. Proceedings of, 392. Meeting at Chalk farm, *ib.* Plan of national convention, 393. Ringleaders arrested and papers seized, *ib.*
- Corsica, gallant resistance of, against the French, i. 249. Captured by the English, ii. 420.
- Corunna, battle of, iii. 132.
- Courtenay, John, esq. member of the North party, i. 643, and satire of, 664.
- Craftsman, character, scope, and effects of, i. 70.
- Craonne, battle of, iii. 233.
- Cuesta, general, defeated, iii. 126. Defeated at Medellin, 141. His junction with sir A. Wellesley, 143. Battle of Talavera, *ib.* Resigns, 144.
- Cumberland, William Augustus, duke of, commands in Germany, i. 96. Resigns her command, 97. Death, 197. And character, *ib.* Eminent for private virtues, 198.
- , Henry Frederick, duke of, his majesty's brother. Marriage, i. 277.
- Curacoa, taken by the British, iii. 107.
- Curates, act for augmenting the stipends of, iii. 208.
- Currency, inquiry into the state of the, iii. 173. Mr. Tierney's motion on, 311.
- Curwen, Mr. his reform bill, iii. 138.

## D.

- DALTON, general, minister of Joseph's tyranny, ii. 182—184. Drives the Netherlanders to revolt, 185. Obligated to leave the Low Countries, 187.
- Dance, captain, repulses admiral Linois, iii. 48.
- Darby, admiral, endeavours to bring a superior fleet to battle, i. 586. Which they wisely elude, *ib.*
- Dardanelles, expedition to the, iii. 104.
- Dempster, Mr. character of, i. 334.
- Demarara, captured by the British, iii. 34.
- Denmark. See *Mutilda*. New revolution in, ii. 54. Dispute with Britain about the rights of neutral ships, 602. See *northern powers*. Accedes to the convention of Russia with Great Britain, iii. 22. Her neutral policy in the war between England and France, 91. Overtures of Great Britain to, through Mr. Jackson, iii. Copenhagen bombarded, and the fleet surrendered, 112. Capture of her West India islands, 116. Joins the allies in 1813, 225. Transfers Norway to Sweden, 244. Cedes Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen to Prussia, 279. Discussion with Sweden, 320.
- Dennevitz, Bernadotte's victory at, iii. 221.
- Despard's conspiracy, iii. 26.
- Dessaix, general, joins Bonaparte at Marengo, ii. 593.
- Dessalines, emperor of Hayti, killed by the negroes, iii. 96.
- Devonshire, the beautiful dutchess of, active and successful canvass of, in favour of Mr. Fox, ii. 2.
- Dick, Quintin, Mr. case of, iii. 138.
- Dickson, colonel of the 42d, wounded in Egypt, ii. 616, n.
- Digby, admiral, commands in a fleet for the relief of Gibraltar, i. 583. Attempts the relief of Cornwallis, 600. But too late, *ib.*
- Dissenters, apply to parliament for relief, i. 276. Through sir Henry Haughton, *ib.* Apply for the repeal of the test act, ii. 67. Their attempts to gain the favour of the public, 68. The application is rejected, 70. New motion for the repeal of the test act, 155. Fresh application, 232. Favourable circumstances, *ib.* Their cause is undertaken by Mr. Fox, 233. But is unsuccessful, 235.
- D'Oubril, Mr. treaty signed by him at Paris, iii. 81. The emperor Alexander refuses to ratify it, 82.
- Dowdsewell, chancellor of the exchequer, i. 235.
- Drake, sir Francis, voyage and achievements of, i. 25.
- , Mr. envoy at Stutgard, accused by the French, iii. 40.
- Dresden, battle at, iii. 221. Surrender of the French garrison in, 225.
- Dumourier, the French general, successes of, ii. 329. Invades Holland, 360. Progress, 361. Evacuates the Netherlands, 362. Leaves the French, 364.

- Duncan, admiral, brilliant and important victory at Camperdown, over the Dutch, ii. 501.
- Dundas, Henry, parliamentary character of, i. 334. Chairman of a committee for investigating India affairs, 573. Speech on the attempted removal of ministers, 605. Able and indefatigable exertions of, in the investigation of India affairs, 613. Result, *ib.* His comprehensive view of the country and political characters, 642. Conceives Mr. Pitt to be the man destined for saving his country, 643. His farther investigation of India affairs, 652. This examination first displayed the force and extent of his talents, i. 653. Proposes a bill for the regulation of British India, *ib.* His opinion of the duty of a member of parliament, i. *ib.* Opposes Mr. Fox's East India bill. See *Parliament*. Procures the restoration of the forfeited estates, ii. 11. Bill for improving the government of British India, 51. Presents a view of the financial state of India, 84. India finance. See *Parliament*. Bill for facilitating wages and prize money to seamen, 304. State of India under his direction, 305. View of Indian prosperity on the established system, 356. He proposes its continuance, and the renewal of the charter. See *Parliament*. Speech of, in defence of the Scottish criminal law, 391. Plan of national defence, 514. Produces voluntary associations, *ib.* Supports union with Ireland, 541. Demonstrates the beneficial results of union with Scotland, *ib.* Character of his administration, 608.
- Dundas, Robert, lord advocate of Scotland, nephew to Henry, able speech of, on the criminal law of Scotland, ii. 389. Defence of the Scottish judges, 390.
- , general, one of the commanders in Holland, praised by the duke of York, ii. 556.
- Dunning, Mr., opposes ministry, i. 256. His opinion on libels, 268. Parliamentary character of, 334. His part of the attack on ministers, 522. Motion of, concerning the influence of the crown, 529. Created lord Ashburton, 608.
- Dupont, general, surrender of, iii. 125.

## E.

- ECCLESIASTICAL courts, bill for improving, iii. 186.
- Eden, William, a commissioner for negotiation with America, i. 469. Propositions in favour of Ireland, 608. Negotiates and concludes the commercial treaty, ii. 61. Created lord Auckland. Negotiation with Dumourier, 345. Bill for the prevention of adultery, 587.
- Edinburgh, voluntarily raised a regiment, i. 463.
- Edward I. king of England. See *England*.
- Egremont, appointed secretary of state, i. 142. Able answer to the Spanish manifesto, 146.
- Egypt, French expedition to. See *Bonaparte*, *Kleber*, and *Menou*. British Expedition to, under Abercrombie and Keith, ii. 614. Arrives at Marmorice, 615. Proceeds to Egypt, *ib.* Landing, 616. Formidable force and obstacles, *ib.* Battle and victory, *ib.* Battle of the 13th of March, 617. Night attack by the French, *ib.* Tremendous dangers, 618. Bonaparte's invincibles conquered, *ib.* And standard taken, *ib.* British heroism triumphant, *ib.* Loss of their gallant commander, 619. And other distinguished officers, 620. Arduous difficulties of the march to Cairo, 621. Patient fortitude of the army, *ib.* Justice of our troops. British soldiers, not robbers, *ib.* Reduction of Cairo, 622. Of Alexandria, 623. Complete success of the expedition, 624. Leaves a lesson to the enemies of Britain, *ib.* Expedition to, in 1807, iii. 105.
- Elba, Bonaparte sent to, iii. 239. His return to France, 255.
- Elder, Mr., lord provost of Edinburgh, activity of, in dispersing the convention, ii. 463, n.
- Eldon, lord chancellor, in Mr. Pitt's last administration, iii. 42. See *Parliament*. Resumes the great seal in 1807, 101.
- Elliot, captain, captures Thurot, i. 108.
- , sir Gilbert, character of, i. 334. Charges against sir Elijah Impey, ii. 115.
- , general, defence of Gibraltar, i. 584. Masterly dispositions, *ib.* Sally of Nov. 27th. Completely destroys the preparations of the enemy, 585. Second attack, 632. Numerous and formidable force, and extraordinary machinery of the enemy, *ib.* Invention of red-hot balls, *ib.* Entirely destroys their preparations, *ib.*
- Elphinstone, Keith, captain, distinguishes himself at Charleston, i. 547. Made admi-

- ral, reduces the cape of Good Hope, ii. 448. Captures seven Dutch ships of the line, 480. Becomes lord Keith. Blockades, 591. Attempt of, on Cadiz, 597. Expedition to Egypt, 614. Disconcerts Ganteaume, 623. Efforts before Alexandria, *ib.*
- Elphinstone, Charles, captain, gallant exploit of, ii. 623. n. Another captain Charles, naval reputation, *ib.* n.
- Emmet, Robert, heads an insurrection in Ireland, iii. 33. Tried for high treason, and executed, *ib.*
- Empecinado, the, a Spanish Guerrilla chief, iii. 168.
- Enghien, duke de, arrested and murdered, iii. 40.
- England, little intercourse with southern Europe, before the Norman conquest, i. 6. Effect of the conquest on her laws, constitution, and manners, *ib.* Intercourse with continental Europe, 7. Origin of wars between her and France, *ib.* See her several kings. Edward the I. establishes a complete system of jurisprudence, 8. Edward the III. discovers the importance of manufactures and commerce, *ib.* And directs the genius of the English to those objects, 9. England under him imbibes a spirit of hostility against France, *ib.* And acquires considerable influence in the affairs of the continent, *ib.* Henry IV. promotes national prosperity, 10. Force and importance of the country under Henry V. *ib.* Civil wars impede the arts and civilization, 11. Institutions of England favourable to the maintenance of liberty, 12. Henry VII. reduces the feudal aristocracy, *ib.* And promotes nautical and commercial adventure, 13. Result of Henry's reign on the constitution and character of the people, 16. Henry VIII. under him the interests of England become more involved with those of the continent, 17. His continental policy, 18. Vigorous, but unwise, *ib.* Principle of English interference in foreign affairs, 19. Henry holds the balance of Europe, *ib.* Displays the strength of England, but not judiciously, 20. Reformation, *ib.* Effects of, on the commercial, political, and moral character of Englishmen, 21. Edward VI. promotes commerce and navigation, 22. Establishes a moderate and judicious reformation, 23. Mary for bad purposes admits good laws, *ib.* Elizabeth promotes trade and navigation, 24. Forms an English navy, *ib.* See *Commerce and Navigation*. Her wise internal policy, 26. In arduous circumstances preserves England, 27. And first renders her mistress of the ocean, 28. England, under Elizabeth, first attains the character of protector of Europe, *ib.* Her wars seek only security, 29. Wise moderation of ecclesiastical reform, *ib.* This reign, though not immediately, eventually friendly to liberty, *ib.* Result of this glorious reign, 30. James I. pacific character, *ib.* Raises commerce to an unprecedented height, 31. See *Commerce and American Colonies*. Judicious settlement of Ireland, 32. Continental policy, *ib.* Internal government speculatively arbitrary, without being practically tyrannical, 33. Growing spirit of liberty among the commons, *ib.* They ascertain their rights, 34. Progress of the contest between Charles I. and the commons, *ib.* and 35. Noble efforts of Hampden, *ib.* Spirit of freedom becomes excessive, 36. Degenerates into democracy, *ib.* Terminates in regicide and military despotism, 37. See *Commerce and American Colonies*. Continental policy of Oliver Cromwell, 39. Vigorous, but unwise, *ib.* Literature and science, *ib.* Arbitrary conduct of Charles II. 40. Rouses parliament to salutary laws, and the important improvement of the constitution, *ib.* Whigs, 41. James II. 43. Folly and infatuation of his conduct, *ib.* Revolution, *ib.* Progress of commerce and navigation under Charles and James, see *Commerce*. William III. forms a confederacy against France, for the security of Europe, 44. Crushes the French navy, *ib.* England the most efficient foe of French encroachment, 45. Finance, 46. Establishment of the bank, *ib.* Funding system, *ib.* Progress of commerce, see *Commerce*. The grand source of English prosperity, the constitution, 50. Parties, whigs, jacobites, and tories, 51. Anne attached to tories, but employs whigs, 52. Victories under Marlborough, *ib.* to 54. Whigs zealously support the protestant succession, 57. Union between England and Scotland, *ib.* Henceforth for England, see *Britain*.
- Enlistment, foreign, bill for preventing, iii. 315.
- Erfurt, meeting of Bonaparte and the emperor of Russia at, iii. 128.
- Erskine, Mr. joins the party of Mr. Fox, i. 643. Supports the freedom of the press, 273. Defence of Hardy, 426. Equals Cicero in judicial eloquence, 427. Opposes the treason and sedition bill, ii. 457. His view of the causes and consequences of the war, 487. Chancellor, iii. 68. 101.



- Erskine, Mr. envoy to the United States, iii. 156. Recalled, *ib.*
- Essex, American frigate, captured at Valparaiso, iii. 247.
- Estaing, D', operations of, on the coast of America, i. 484 to 487. Operations of, in the West Indies, 509. Siege of Savannah, 514. Insolent bravadoes, *ib.* Totally discomfited, 515.
- Estremadura, operations in, iii. 139 to 142.
- Exmouth, lord, his expedition to Algiers, iii. 288.
- Eylau, battle of, iii. 107.
- Eyre, justices in, bill for abolishing the office of, iii. 295.
- F.
- FERDINAND, prince of Brunswick, commands the allies in Germany, i. 115. Gains the battle of Minden, 117. Further operations, 18. And successes, 132. 158.
- VII. of Spain, iii. 119. Compelled to abdicate, and detained in France, 121. Abortive attempt to rescue him from captivity, 164. His conduct on his return to Spain, 246. See *Spain*.
- Fergusson, major Patrick, invents a new species of rifle, i. 431. Distinguishes himself at Charleston, 547. Made colonel, expedition, exploits, fate, character, 550 to 552.
- , Dr. Adam, character of, his philosophy, i. 453. Secretary to the commissioners sent to America, 469.
- , George, brother to colonel Patrick, governor of Tobago, i. 592. Kind and judicious treatment of negroes, *ib.* Gallant and able defence of Tobago, *ib.*
- Ferrol, blockaded by the British, iii. 47.
- Finland, ceded by Sweden to Russia, iii. 134. 155.
- Fitzgerald, lord Edward, reversal of his attainder, iii. 317.
- Fitzwilliam, earl of, viceroy of Ireland, ii. 439. Misunderstanding with ministers, *ib.* Is recalled, *ib.* Opposes peace with republican France, 483. Dismissed from the office of lord lieutenant of the west riding of Yorkshire, iii. 323.
- Flood, Mr. proposition of parliamentary reform, ii. 235.
- Florida, operations of the Americans in, iii. 309. Ceded by Spain to the United States, 321.
- Flushing, taken by the British, iii. 151. Evacuated, 152.
- Fox, Charles James, enters parliament, i. 246. n. Opposes the coercive laws against America, 311. Parliamentary character of, 335. Describes the inspiring effects of liberty, 343. Proposed inquiry into the war, 384. Proposes an inquiry into the state of the nation, 459. Which is partially granted, *ib.* Progress and result, 465. Inquiry into the state of the navy, 471. Into the conduct of the war, *ib.* Motion of, for censuring lord Sandwich, 501. For removing the same, 502. His part of the attack on ministers, 522. Speech of, on the influence of the crown, 530. Chosen member for Westminster, 563. Attacks the administration of lord Sandwich, 570. Heads a general attack against administration, 603. Motions by him, or under his auspices, to 606. Effects his purpose, *ib.* Appointed secretary of state, 608. Plan of the administration which he heads, *ib.* Offers peace to the Dutch, 611. And Americans, *ib.* Resigns, *ib.* His account of the reasons of his resignation, 612. Details the reasons of his conduct, 644. Coalition with lord North, 646. His grand view of public credit, 648. Made secretary of state, 649. Constituents and strength of his party, 658. His East India bill. See *Parliament*, for discussion. Unpopular, 665. Alleged to be disagreeable to his majesty, *ib.* Reputed interference. See *Temple*. Character of his India bill, 667. Its author becomes extremely unpopular, 668. Impartial estimate of this scheme, *ib.* Short sketch of Mr. Fox's character and conduct, 671. Classes hostile to him, 673. Contest for Westminster, ii. 1, 2. His views of continental alliance, 41. Opens a charge against Hastings, for his proceedings against Cheyt Sing, 50. His opinion of the means of supplying the deficiency of the illness of the king, 139. Contest with Mr. Pitt thereon, 140. Determined against Mr. Fox, 142. Praises the French revolution, 228. His speech for the repeal of the test act, 233. Contest of, with Horne Tooke for Westminster, 263. His efforts to prevent war with Russia, 267. Altercation with Mr. Burke on the French revolution, 269. Final separation, 270. Motion of, concerning the law of libels, 273. Supports the abolition of the slave trade, 277. Real difference between, and Burke, on the revolution, 296. View of the war with France, 346. He predicts it will be unsuccessful, 350.

Arguments of, against the continuance of the war, 384. Predicts the dissolution of the confederacy, 387. Denies the alleged acts of the reformists to amount to treason, 395. Reprobrates the treason and sedition bills, 457. Speech on that subject, *ib.* Speech of, on the failure of the first negotiation, 487. His sentiments on the peace with France, iii. 10. His opinion on the coalition against France, 60. Secretary for foreign affairs, 68. His reply to an overture from France, 69. Resolution moved by him for abolishing the slave-trade, 72. Progress of negotiation, 77. His remark on the transfer of Hanover by France to Prussia, *ib.* Negotiation continued, 81. Refuses to treat separately from Russia, 82. His illness and death, 97.

Fox, Henry, father to the former, resigns administration, i. 93. Vigorous talents of, 148. But yields to his inferiors, *ib.*

France, feudal institutions of, conducive to arbitrary power, i. 12. The monarchy strengthened by the wars with England, 15. Phrensy of the theological bigotry, 27. Rapidly increasing power of, under Richelieu, and Mazarine, 38. Under Louis XIV. 41. The impetuous ardour of the French operates in excessive loyalty, *ib.* Louis renders the profligate Charles of England, his tool, 42. Folly of France seeking maritime power to attack the mistress of the ocean, 45. Louis raises his grandson to the throne of Spain, 46. Which provokes a new confederacy, 52. Humbled and reduced, 53. Connexions of, with Britain under George I. Prospers by long Peace, 71. But returns to ambitious projects, *ib.* War with England, *ib.* Peace, 73. Encroachments upon British America, see *Britain and America*. Renews hostilities, 82. Captures Minorca, 87. Treaty with Austria, 92. Defeated by land and sea throughout the war, see *Britain and America*. Distress from the war, 184. Rising spirit of freedom, *ib.* Disputes between the king and parliament, 218. Death of Louis XV. 320. Character, *ib.* Situation of his kingdom, *ib.* Changing sentiments of the French people, 455. Hostile intimations to England, 469. Acknowledges the independence, *ib.* Warlike operations against Britain, see *Britain*, British generals, and admirals *Rodney*, &c. also French commanders, *d'Estaing*, &c. Plans of, in combination with the Spaniards and Dutch, 582. Her troops invade Jersey, *ib.* Repulsed, 583. Operations in Europe, America, the East and West Indies, see *British or French admirals or generals*. Peace, 635. Consequences of the war momentous and fatal, 640, 641. Internal state, ii. 37. Prevalence of Infidelity, 38. Commercial and political pursuits of, 56. Commercial treaty, see *Britain and Pitt*. Revolution, view of the old government, 190. Under Louis XIV. 191. Commercial change under Louis XV. 192. Infidelity, 193. Voltaire, *ib.* Instances of, *ib.* Beginning of anti-monarchical doctrines, 194. Rousseau, &c. *ib.* Co-operating causes, *ib.* Impolicy and burthensome expense of war against Britain, *ib.* American war, 195. Pecuniary distresses, *ib.* Schemes of extrication, *ib.* Convention of notables, *ib.* Colonne disgraced, 196. Brienne minister, 197. Disputes between the crown and parliaments, *ib.* Ardent spirit of freedom, *ib.* Becomes excessive, 200. Arbitrary measures of the court, 201. Ferment, *ib.* Scarcity, 202. Neckar recalled, 203. Who counsels the convention of the states-general, 204. The commons display a license inconsistent with useful liberty, 206. Meeting of the states, *ib.* Component parts, *ib.* Clergy and nobles disunited, 208. The commons declare themselves a national assembly, *ib.* Popular violence, 209. The orders meet in one chamber, 210. The soldiers catch the popular enthusiasm, 211. Troops approach Paris, *ib.* Neckar dismissed, 212. Popular alarm, *ib.* An army of national guards raised, *ib.* Capture of the Bastille, 214. The king comes to the national assembly, *ib.* Declaration of rights, 215. Basis, rights of man, *ib.* First proceedings of the French revolutionists, 216. Object, subversion, *ib.* Literary men, 217. Clubs, *ib.* Jacobins, *ib.* Extend their influence by affiliation, *ib.* Reduction of the privileges of the nobles, 218. Confiscation of the property of the church, *ib.* Annihilation of parliaments, *ib.* The law and policy of the kingdom subverted, *ib.* Complete and comprehensive revolution, *ib.* New constitution, 219. Entertainment at Versailles, 220. Rage and alarm at Paris, 221. A mob proceeds to Versailles, 222. Outrages, to 224. The king is brought to Paris, *ib.* Farther proceedings of the revolutionists, 225. 1790. Farther proceedings, 256. New and comprehensive system of financial legislation, 257. Progress of subversion, 258. Boundless power of the mob, *ib.* Abolition of nobility, 260. Summary of changes, *ib.* Confederation of the 14th of July, *ib.* Progress of confiscation,

283. Invasion of the rights of German princes, 284. Flight of the king, see *Louis*. Inviolability of the king's person decreed, 287. Dissolution of the assembly, 289. Result of its acts, *ib.* Proceedings contrary to the law of nations, 312. Character of the French, 313. Progress of republicanism, *ib.* 314. Declares war against the German powers, 316. State of the armies and first operations, 317. Proceedings at Paris, 319, 320. Riots, *ib.* Insurrection of the 10th of August, 322, 323. Massacre of September, 325. Meeting of the national convention, 326. Congratulations from English clubs, *ib.* With a gift of shoes, *ib.* Schemes of depredation, 327. Victories, 328. Decree of the 19th November, 330. Opens the Scheldt, *ib.* Discussion with Britain, see *Britain*. Parties and leaders, 339. Prosecution and trial of Louis, see *Louis*. Declares war against Britain, 345. Operations, see *Dumourier*. Proposes peace to Britain, 365. Unavailing, 367. Alarming state of, 368. Intestine contests, *ib.* Astonishing efforts, 374. Forced loans, requisitions, and levies *en masse*, 375. Effects, *ib.* Successes in the close of the campaign, 375. Fall of Robespierre, 424. Commencing return of social order, *ib.* New constitution, *ib.* Effects of her victories, 442. Extent of territory, 444. Campaign 1795 indecisive, 447. Internal affairs, 448. First appearance of Bonaparte, 449. Dissolution and character of the convention, 450. Campaign 1796. See *Bonaparte*, *Jourdain*, and *Moreau*. La Vendee reduced, 466. Negotiation with Britain, see *Britain*. Campaign 1797 in Italy, 496 to 499. Naval operations, see *Britain*, *Jervis*, and *Duncan*. Parties, 502. Negotiation, see *Britain*. Finds projects of invading Britain chimerical, 524. Scheme of distant conquest, see *Bonaparte*. Renewal of war with Austria, 546. War against Russia, 547. Operations, see *Moreau*, &c. Ultimate purpose of the expedition to Egypt, 560. Internal state. Change of government, see *Bonaparte*. Campaign 1800, 590. Peace with Austria, 595. Obtains Louisiana from Spain, *iii.* 2. Her ascendancy in Europe, 2. 4. Her treaty with Turkey, 3. Influence in Germany, *ib.* Her views respecting the West Indies, 4. Advantages gained by her in the peace, *ib.* Expedition to the West Indies, 18. Treaty of Amiens, 21. Convention with Holland, 22. Embassies interchanged between England and France, 24. Consular constitution, 25. Discussion respecting Malta, *ib.* Renewal of war, 30. Her hostile preparations, 31. Seizure of Hanover, 32. English residents detained, *ib.* Her losses in the West Indies, 34. Bonaparte nominated emperor, 41. Compels Spain to violate her neutrality, 46. Flotilla at Boulogne attacked by the English, 49. Measures for the improvement of her marine, 51. Coronation of Bonaparte, 52. Overture to England, 53. Her fleets put to sea, 56. Defeated at Trafalgar by lord Nelson, 59. Coalition of Great Britain, Russia, 60. Austria, 61. Her armies cross the Rhine, 62. Penetrate to Vienna, 63. Operations in Italy, *ib.* Battle of Austerlitz, 64. Treaty of Presburg, 65. Transfer of Hanover to Prussia, 66. Overture to England, 69. Campaign in Calabria, 74. Defeat of her troops at Maida, 75. Progress of negotiation with England, 77. Requires Prussia to accept Hanover in full sovereignty, *ib.* Preliminaries signed with Russia, 79. Which the emperor Alexander refuses to ratify, 32. War on Prussia, 83. Battle of Jena, 85. Her forces occupy Berlin, 86. And Hamburg, 87. Operations against the Russians, 89. Her policy towards Spain, 91. Menaces Portugal, 92. Treaty of Tilsit, 108. Invasion of Portugal, 116. Usurpation of Spain, 120. Resistance of the Spaniards, 124. Hostilities in the peninsula, 124. 132. 139. 145. War against Austria, 146. Battle of Wagram, 149. Armistice, 150. Treaty of Vienna, 152. Marriage of Bonaparte with an Austrian princess, 161. Progress of war in Spain, 163. Birth of the king of Rome, 177. Her troops evacuate Portugal, 178. Operations in Spain, 181. 184. 192. 196. Expedition to Russia, 197. Retreat from Moscow, 200. Reverses in Spain, 210. 216. The allies before Bayonne, *ib.* Campaign in Germany, 218. Battle of Leipzig, 222. Revolution in Holland, 223. France invaded on the side of the Rhine, 226. Campaign, 229. Bonaparte rejects the pacific proposals of the allies, 232. They enter Paris, 236. Abdication of Bonaparte, 273. Restoration of Louis XVIII. 240. Treaty with the allies, *ib.* Conspiracy, 255. Return of Bonaparte, *ib.* Renewal of war, 258. Champ de Mai, 261. Campaign in Flanders, 263. Battle of Waterloo, 267. Abdication of Bonaparte, 271. Capitulation of Paris, 272. Bonaparte conveyed to St. Helena, 273. Works of art in Paris claimed by their former owners, 275. Conditions of peace, *ib.* Affairs of, 276. 290. 299. Army of occupation withdrawn, 308. Affairs of, 318.



- Francis, Philip, esq. discussion of the propriety of his being a manager of the prosecution of Hastings, ii. 111. Able speech in his own defence, 112. n.
- II. emperor, tries to raise his subjects in Antwerp, ii. 408. Opposed by Frederick William, *ib.* Joins the allied armies, 409. Resigns his title to the German empire, iii. 79. See *Austria*.
- Franklin, Benjamin, discovers the governor's letters, ii. 300. Character of, 456. Ambassador to France, *ib.*
- Frederick, prince of Wales, imbibes English ideas, i. 72. Instils the same into his son George, *ib.*
- Frederick, son to his majesty George III. appointed bishop of Osnaburg, i. 184. Education and character of, ii. 142. Duke of York, *ib.* Differs from ministry, 143. Marriage with the princess of Prussia, 294. Campaign of 1793 in Holland, 361. Victory at Vicoigne, 369. Famars, 370. Capture of Conde, 370. Besieges Valenciennes, 370. Strength of the fortress, *ib.* Operations, *ib.* Capture, 371. Victory at Lincennes, 376. Siege of Dunkirk, 377. Concerts the operations of the campaign of 1794, 408. Arrives on the continent, 409. Defeats the French, 410. Farther operations, 418. Expedition to Holland, 554. Battle of Alkmaer, *ib.* Victory at Bergen, 555. Conflict at Limmen, 556. The British fall back, 557. Difficulties of the army, *ib.* They withdraw from Holland, 558. Resigns his office as commander in chief, iii. 137. His return to office, 174. Authorized by the prince regent to make overtures to lords Grey and Grenville, 188. Result, *ib.* Appointed custos of his majesty's person, 310. Attends his majesty in his last moments, 326.
- Frederick II. king of Prussia, character and efforts of, i. 90. Invades Saxony, 93. Splendid achievements of, in campaign 1757, begin 98, end 99. Admiration of his character in England, 115. His campaign 1758, 116. His campaign 1759, 117. Campaign 1760, 118, 119. Campaign 1761, 134. Campaign 1762, 159. State of his country at the end of the war, 185. Coincides in the politics of Catharine, respecting Poland, 186. Improvements of his kingdom, 219. Interference in the Polish disputes, 239. Dismemberment of Poland, 282. Jealous of the progress of Catharine, 319. Opposes and disconcerts the ambitious projects of the emperor, ii. 21. Again opposes the aspiring schemes of Joseph, 37. Death and character, 52.
- Frederick William, nephew and successor to the above, interposes in behalf of the prince of Orange, ii. 93. With effect, 98. Defensive alliance with Britain and Holland, 164. War with France, 316. Campaign 1792, see *Brunswick*, 1793, 372. 378. Shares the spoils of Poland, 379. Character of, 443. Abandons the alliance, *ib.*
- Friends of the people, see *Grey*.
- Frost, John, attorney and reformer, ii. 326. Presents shoes to the national convention, *ib.*
- Friedland, battle of, iii. 108.

## G.

- GAGE, general, efforts to allay the disturbances in America, i. 324. Remonstrance to, of congress, 329. Hostile operations, 356. Battle of Bunker's Hill, 361. The British are blocked up in Boston, 362.
- Gale, Jones, imprisoned, iii. 159.
- Gates, general, successes against Burgoyne, i. 440 to 443.
- Genoa ceded to France, iii. 51. Reduction of, 239. Annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia, 245.
- George I. king of Britain, attached to the whigs, i. 60. Suspicious of the Tories, *ib.* Partiality of, to his native dominions, 64.
- George II. adopts the internal and foreign policy of his father, i. 66. Subsidies to German principalities, 67. Partiality of, to Hanover, 71. Natural in his circumstances to be partial to the whigs, 72. Concludes an alliance with Prussia, 91. Death and character, 122.
- George III. education of, 124. Sentiments and character, at the death of his grandfather, *ib.* Formed and determined to be king of a country, and not of a party, 125. Accession to the throne, 126. First proclamation, 127. First speech to parliament, *ib.* National satisfaction, 128. Recommends to parliament to render the judges independent of the crown, *ib.* Act for the purpose, *ib.* Expresses his regret at the resignation of Mr. Pitt, 140. Marriage to the princess

Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, 142. Coronation of the king and queen, *ib.* His majesty proposes to choose his servants without respect to their party connexions, according to their talents and merit, 143. Success of his majesty's arms, 151. 157. Birth of the prince of Wales, 161. Who is named George Augustus Frederick, 162. Overtures for a negotiation, *ib.* In the career of victory our king is disposed to peace, *ib.* Impartial examination of the peace, 166. Change of ministry, 169. Praise due to his majesty for the principle of his choice, 170. Attempt of the sovereign to engage the services of Mr. Pitt, 174. Unavailing, *ib.* The king's second son, prince Frederic, is nominated bishop of Osnaburg, 184. His majesty's eldest sister, the princess Augusta, is married to the hereditary prince of Brunswick, *ib.* Indisposition of the king, 192. Plan of regency, *ib.* Dismission of ministers, 194. The king continues to desire a ministry unconnected with party politics, 196. Rockingham administration, *ib.* Well meaning, but inefficient, 204. Mr. Pitt forms an administration, 213. Of which the duke of Grafton is nominally the head, *ib.* Marriage of the princess Matilda, the king's youngest sister, to the king of Denmark, 214. Proposes to govern Ireland without respect to party, 231. Favourite studies of his Britannic majesty, 236. Voyages of discovery, 237. Plans and orders an expedition for the advancement of science, *ib.* Insulting letter of Junius, 254. Reply to the city of London, 258. Dignified answer to a London address, 266. Protects his injured sister, 285. Message from, to the parliament, on the riot at Boston, 302. Speech to parliament, 335. Message, 344. Speech, 373. Speech, 416. Speech, 457. Dignified speech of, on the unprovoked aggression of France, 479. Speech, 495. Intimates dissatisfaction with the events of the campaign, 1778, *ib.* Speech, 521. Speech to the new parliament, 1780, 569. Speech, 602. Speech, 643. Sends a message to parliament about the establishment of the prince of Wales, 651. Speech, 659. Reply to an address of the commons for the removal of ministers, 680. Declares his intention of taking the sense of the people, 681. And dissolves parliament, 682. Speech to the new parliament, ii. 4. Speech, 29. Speech, 40. Speech, 51. Alarming attempt against, by Margaret Nicholson, ii. 57. Providentially prevented, *ib.* Magnanimous humanity of the sovereign, *ib.* Anxious affection of all ranks, 58. Speech, 62. Message to the commons respecting the prince, 75. Speech, 99. Distemper, 137. General alarm, 138. Opinion of the physicians, *ib.* Second examination, 145. Report that the illness is temporary, *ib.* Recovery of the king, 150. Joy of his grateful people, 153. His majesty at St. Paul's offers thanks to Almighty God, *ib.* Festive rejoicings, 154. Speech, 227. Message to parliament, about Nootka Sound, 240. Speech at the close of the session, 241. Speech to the new parliament, 264. Speech, 295. Speech on the extraordinary convocation of parliament, 332. Speech, 428. Message to the commons, on the marriage of the prince of Wales, 436. Scandalous behaviour to, on his way to parliament, 454. Birth of a princess, heir to the heir apparent, 480. See *Britain*. Speech to the new parliament, announces pacific intentions, 482. The princess royal married to the prince of Wirtemberg, 495. Speech of, stating the progress and rupture of the negotiation with France, 511. Speech on the late splendid victory, 532. Attempt against, in the theatre, 588. Magnanimous coolness of, *ib.* The attempt found to arise from lunacy, *ib.* Alarming illness of, 609. Anxious concern of the public, *ib.* Indisposition providentially short, *ib.* Speech to parliament on the restoration of peace, iii. 1. Message recommending measures of precaution, 28. Declares war against France, 30. And Holland, 32. His illness and recovery, 38. His protest against the seizure of Hanover, 45. Letter to him from Bonaparte, 53. Reply of lord Mulgrave, 54. Concludes a treaty of concert with Russia, 60, and Austria, 61. Overture from France, and subsequent negotiation conducted by Mr. Fox, 69. Changes in the cabinet on the death of Mr. Fox, 97. Dismisses lords Grenville and Howick, and appoints a new administration, 101. Determines to support the Spanish nation against France, 119. Jubilee on the commencement of the 50th year of his reign, 157. Death of the princess Amelia, 170. His illness, *ib.* Regency, 171. (See *George*, prince of Wales.) On the death of the queen the duke of York appointed custos of his majesty's person, 310. Last illness, 326. Death, *ib.* Character, 327.

George, prince of Wales, eldest son and heir of George III. His abilities and character, i. 651. Provision for his establishment, 652. Magnanimous sacrifice by, of splendour to justice, ii. 73. Situation of his royal highness, 74. Affairs are

- happily accommodated, 75. Consulted by Mr. Pitt on the plan of regency, 143. Expresses his disapprobation and reasons, 144. Testifies his zeal for the British constitution, 301. Eloquent and impressive speech thereon, *ib.* General satisfaction, *ib.* Proposes to serve as a volunteer with lord Moira on the continent, 413. Marries the princess Caroline of Brunswick, 435. Provision for the establishment of their royal highnesses, 436. Birth of a princess, his heir, 480. See *Britain*. Filial piety exemplified in the illness of the king, 609. Appointed regent, iii. 171. On the expiration of the restrictions endeavours to strengthen the administration, 188. Overture to lords Grey and Grenville, *ib.* Overtures after the assassination of Mr. Perceval to lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, 189. Result of lord Moira's negotiation with lords Grey and Grenville, 190. Empowers lord Liverpool to form an administration, *ib.* Dissolves parliament, 192. Speech on the opening of the session in 1812, 204. In 1813, 228. Conducts Louis XVIII. into London on his return to France, 240. General treaty of peace, *ib.* Visited by the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, 242. Message to parliament on the return of Bonaparte to France, 253. Message after the victory of Waterloo, 274. Insulted on his way to parliament, 293. Message on the state of the country, *ib.* Death of the princess Charlotte, 301. Reply to an address from the city of London, 323. His accession to the throne, 326.
- Georges, conspiracy of, at Paris, detected, iii. 39.
- Germaine, lord George, character of, i. 334. Secretary of state, concert the expedition of Burgoyne, 436. Created a peer, 608. Strictures thereon, *ib.*
- Germany, influence of the French in, iii. 3. Indemnities settled, 24. Plots ascribed by the French to British envoys in, 40. States not disposed to resist the aggressions of France, 45. (See *Austria*, *Prussia*, and *Bavaria*.) Campaign of 1813, 219. Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, *ib.* and 220. Battle before Dresden, 221. Battle of Leipzig, 222. Advance of the allies to the Rhine, 226. Fall of French garrisons in Germany, 230. Peace, 240. Fate of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, 244. Acquisitions of Austria in Italy, 245. Declaration of the congress on the return of Bonaparte to France, 258. Armies, 262. Conditions granted to France, 375. Acquisitions of Prussia from Saxony and Denmark, 279. German confederation, *ib.* Affairs of, 291. 300. Measures adopted in consequence of the assassination of Kotzebue, 319.
- Ghent, congress of British and American commissioners at, iii. 247. Peace signed there, 249.
- Gibbon, the historian, character of, i. 253.
- Gibraltar, invested by the Spaniards, i. 519. For defence, see *Elliot*. Blockade of, 583 to 586.
- Gifford, John, answer of, to Erskine, ii. 504. n.
- Gironde, French party, see *France*.
- Glasgow, city of, voluntarily raises a regiment, i. 463.
- Gloucester, duke of, his majesty's brother, marriage, i. 277.
- , prince William of, son to the duke, valiant exploit, ii. 557. Duke of, marries the princess Mary, iii. 286.
- Good Hope, cape of, restored at the peace, 5. Orders sent for retaining, 26. Counter-orders sent to execute the cession, *ib.* Taken by the British, iii. 95. Bill for encouraging emigration to, 317.
- Gordon, duke of, raises a regiment, i. 463.
- Gordon, lord George, character of, i. 531. Becomes an enthusiast against popery, *ib.* Proceedings of, 532. Committed to the tower, 535.
- Gorée, taken by the British, iii. 48.
- Gower, earl, character of, i. 334.
- Grafton, duke of, administration of, begins, i. 213. Weakness of administration, 223. Poignant invectives against, 254. Resignation, 256. And character, *ib.* Conciliatory proposition, 386.
- Grampound, bill for disfranchizing, iii. 326.
- Granby, marquis of, achievements of, in Germany, i. 133. 159.
- Grattan, the celebrated Irish orator, address of, i. 608.
- Greene, American general, commands against the British in the south, i. 596.
- Grenfell, Mr. his inquiry respecting the affairs of the bank, iii. 304.
- Grenville, George, Hon. his administration commences, i. 171. Closes, 194. Public measures, see *Britain* and *Parliament*. Qualifications of, 174. His schemes of finance, 179. Regulations for preventing smuggling, 180. Projects respect-



- ing America, *ib.* Dismissed, 194. Character, *ib.* His bill for regulating contested elections, 259. Death, 267.
- Grenville, William Windham, son of the former, able speech on the commercial treaty, ii. 65. Bill of, respecting contested elections, 116. Chosen speaker of the house of commons, 143. Able speech of, on the plan of regency, 147. Appointed secretary of state, 158. His views of interference in continental politics, 267. n. Created lord, discussion of, with Chauvelin, 335 to 338. Treason bill, 454. Character of his administration, 608. Censures the treaty with France, iii. 4. Formation of a new ministry entrusted to him and Mr. Fox, 68. Causes of his resignation, 102. Overture to him, 188. Renewed by lord Moira, 190.
- Grey, Mr. able speech of, on the commercial treaty, ii. 65. Education and character, 298. Heads a society, entitled friends of the people, to procure parliamentary reform, *ib.* Object, composition, and proceedings of that association, *ib.* Motion for parliamentary reform, 353. Rejected, 354.
- Grey, sir Charles, father to the former, victories of, ii. 420.
- Guadaloupe, ceded to the French, iii. 25. Taken by the British, 161. Restored, 241. Revolt in, suppressed, 278.
- Guerrillas in the peninsular war, iii. 145. Their chieftains, 168.
- Guichen, French admiral, operations in the West Indies, 557. Departs for Europe, 559.
- Gustavus, king of Sweden, effects a revolution in his kingdom, i. 282. Catharine interferes in his government, ii. 130. Dispute with Catharine, 168. Genius and courage of the king, 169. Suppresses mutiny and faction, 171. 1789, warlike operations against Russia, 172. 1790, campaign against Russia, 251. Peace, 253. Preparations of, against France, 315. Assassinated, *ib.* Character, *ib.*
- , IV. king of Sweden, declares war against France, iii. 91. Cedes Finland to Russia, 134. Deposed, 155.
- H.
- HABEAS CORPUS act, suspended, iii. 295. Renewed suspension, 298. Repeal, 302.
- Halifax, earl of, colonizes Nova Scotia, i. 77. Secretary of state, 171. Viceroy of Ireland, 231. Prudent and popular administration, 232.
- Hamburgh occupied by the French, iii. 87. Evacuated, 241.
- Hamilton, duke of, voluntarily raises one thousand men, i. 463.
- Hamilton, sir Charles, captures Gorée, ii. 596.
- Hanover, seized by the French, iii. 32. Protest of his Britannic majesty to the Germanic body, 46. Transferred to Prussia, 66. Liberated from the French, 223.
- Harcourt, earl, wise administration in Ireland, i. 446.
- Hardy, sir Charles, commands the channel fleet, 1799, i. 517. Operations, see *Britain*.
- Hardy, Thomas, shoemaker, secretary to a society for new modelling the constitution, ii. 299. Congratulates the French convention on the abolition of monarchy, 326. Apprehended, 393. Tried and acquitted, 425. 427.
- Harland, admiral, commands under Keppel, i. 490.
- Hastings, Warren, governor-general of India, i. 541. Genius and character, *ib.* Scheme for dissolving the hostile concert, *ib.* Implicated in the reports of the committee on Indian affairs, 613. Scheme of, to procure supplies for the war, 620. Proceedings respecting Cheyt Sing, 621. The begums, 623. Detaches the Mahratta princes from the confederacy, 624. The political saviour of India, *ib.* Returns to England, ii. 39. Commencement of inquiry into his conduct, see *Parliament* and *Burke*. His speech at the commencement of his trial, 113. Slow progress of his trial, 161. Trial of, 238. Evidence for the prosecution closes, 278. Impressive speech of the defendant, *ib.* After seven years the trial terminates in his honourable acquittal, 438.
- Havanna, expedition to, i. 152. Fortifications and strength, 153. Capture of, 155.
- Hawke, admiral, expedition of, to the coast of France, i. 97. With lord Anson, destroys the trade of the enemy, 105. His signal victory over Conflans, 106. See *Britain*, naval operations.
- Hawkesbury, lord, defends the treaty with France, iii. 6. Home secretary, under Mr. Pitt, 42. Retires on the death of that minister, 68. See *Liverpool*.
- Haynes, general, distinguishes himself at Charleston, i. 547.

- Hesse Cassel, elector of, expelled from his dominions, iii. 87.
- Highlands of Scotland, state and improvement of, i. 448.
- Hill, sir Rowland, afterwards lord, his gallant services in the peninsula, iii. 166. 184. 192. See *Spain and Portugal*. At Waterloo, iii. 267.
- Hillsborough, earl, secretary of state for the American department, i. 223. Letter of, to the governors of colonies, 241. Character of, 335.
- Hofer, the Tyrolese patriot, iii. 148. His death, 153.
- Holkar, war in India against, iii. 52.
- Holland, unfriendly to England in her neutrality, i. 120. Favours the revolted colonies, 568. Accedes to the armed neutrality, *ib.* Treaty with the Americans, *ib.* Rupture with Britain, i. 269. Holland the aggressor, *ib.* Operations, see *British admirals*. Peace, 636. Effects of the war on, 640. Internal contest between the French party and the house of Orange, including a review of its causes and progress, ii. 86. 88. Encroachments on the constitutional power of the prince, *ib.* to 90. Rebellion, 92. Mediation, see *Frederick William and Britain*. Restoration of the stadtholder, 98. Defensive alliance with Britain and Prussia, 164. Yields to France, 418. Obligated to be hostile to Britain, 448. Operations, see *Elphinstone, Duncan, &c.* Influence of France in, iii. 4. Colonies restored to her at the peace of Amiens, 21. Separate convention with France, 22. Great Britain declares war against her, 32. Made a kingdom under Louis Bonaparte, 91. United to France, 161. Proceedings of Bonaparte in, 177. Revolution in, 223. Restoration of the prince of Orange, 224. Union with the Netherlands, 244. See *Netherlands*.
- Home, John, introduces the tragic muse to the Scottish woods, i. 453.
- Hotham, commodore, commands in the North river, i. 436. Defeats the French off Corsica, ii. 448.
- Houghton, sir Henry, see *Dissenters*.
- Hood, sir Samuel, efforts of, in the West Indies, i. 615, 616. Captures four French frigates, iii. 95.
- Horsley, Dr. defends the trinity against Priestley, ii. 26. Learning and ability, *ib.* View of the dissenters, 232. n.
- Howe, lord, killed at Ticonderoga, i. 100. n.
- Howe, Richard, lord, brother and successor to the former commodore, commands an expedition to the coast of Normandy, i. 104. Commander in chief of the fleet, 399. Pacific overtures, *ib.* Maritime operations against the French and Americans, 485, 486. Inquiry into his conduct, see *Parliament*. Relieves Gibraltar, 633. Splendid victory, ii. 421. Quells a mutiny, 492.
- Howe, colonel, William, brother to the two former, commands in ascending the heights of Abraham, i. 102. Efforts at Bunker's hill, 361. Appointed commander in chief, 388. Arrives at New York, 398. Pacific overtures, 399. Takes the field, 400. Battle of Long Island, *ib.* Capture of New York, 403. Battle of White Plains, 404. Capture of fort Washington, *ib.* Retires into winter quarters, 407. Surprise of the Hessians at Trenton, 408. Occupations of, during winter, 428. Opens the campaign by detachments, 430. Expedition to Philadelphia, *ib.* Battle of Brandywine, 432. Capture of Philadelphia, 433. Battle of Germantown, *ib.* Farther operations of, 435. Retires into winter quarters, *ib.* Begins campaign 1778, by detachments, 480. Resigns the command, 481. Mischianza in honour of, *ib.* Departs for Europe, 482. Inquiry into his conduct, see *Parliament*.
- Hughes, sir Edward, destroys Hyder's fleet, i. 582. Reduces the Dutch settlements, *ib.* Naval operations, 625. 628.
- Hume, David, character of, i. 452.
- Hunt, Joseph, an official delinquent, iii. 160.
- Huntley, marquis of, wounded in Holland, ii. 556. n.
- Hurd, bishop, defender of christianity, i. 451.
- Hutchinson, general, succeeds to the command on the death of general Abercrombie, ii. 620. Arduous difficulties of the task, 621. Progress of, in the interior country, 622. Capture of Cairo, *ib.* Returns to the coast, 623. Capture of Alexandria, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt, *ib.* See *Egypt*.
- Hyder Ally, talents and character of, i. 248. His first war with the English, *ib.* Instigates a combination against Britain, 541. Prepares to invade the Carnatic, 577. Invades the Carnatic, 578. Successes, 579. Discomfited by Coote, 581. Again defeated, 626. Death, *ib.*

## I.

IMPEY, sir Elijah, charges against, ii. 115. Negated, 116.

Indemnity bill, iii. 305.

India, British, state of, at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the designs and proceedings of the French, i. 109. Sou Rajah Dowla, viceroy of Bengal, captures Calcutta, 110. Shuts the British officers in the black hole, *ib.* The British commander, Clive, avenges the cause of his countrymen, see *Clive*. Signal successes and acquisitions of the British, 112. Operations in Southern India, 113. Conquest of Arcot, 115. Naval operations, 114. Farther operations against the French, with the reduction of Pondicherry, 131. Conduct of colonel Coote, *ib.* Affairs of Bengal, *ib.* French entirely conquered in India, 132. Transactions in, from the close of the French war, to the appointment of the company to the collection of the revenues, begin 204, end 212. New revolution in Bengal, 205. Jaffier deposed, *ib.* And Cossim Ally Cawn appointed viceroy, 206. Revolts from the English, 207. War, *ib.* Cossim deposed, 208. And Jaffier restored, *ib.* Lord Clive returns to India, 210. Restores peace, 211. And obtains the Dewanee for the English, *ib.* Spirit of English transactions, *ib.* First war with Hyder Ally, 248. Proceedings at Madras by, and respecting lord Pigot, 422. 424. In the India house thereon, 424. War in, 538. Capture of Pondicherry, 539. Confederacy against the British, 541. War with the Mahrattas, 540. Treaty of Poonah, 541. Invasion of the Carnatic, 578. Defeat of colonel Baillie, *ib.* Sir Eyre Coote takes the command, see *Coote*. Naval operations, see *Hughes*. Political administration, see *Hastings*. Peace, 629. New war, ii. 305. See *Cornwallis*. Third war with Tippoo, 562. Complete reduction of Mysore, 563. Administration of, see *Mornington*. Cession of Cochin at the peace, iii. 8. 21. Successes of British arms in, 35. War in Ceylon, 37. Budget, 43. War against Holkar, 52. Marquis Cornwallis, governor-general, *ib.* His death, 96. Lord Minto succeeds him, 97. Revolt of Dundea Khan, 116. Inquiry in parliament concerning East India appointments, 137. Disturbances at Madras, 161. Affairs in, 196. Renewal of the company's charter, 206. War in Nepaul, 280. Annexation of Ceylon to the British dominions, 282. Conclusion of the war in Nepaul, 289. Depredations of the Pindarees, *ib.* Operations against them, 298. Arrangement with the peishwa, 299. The peishwa deposed, and Mahratta power destroyed, 309.

Indies, West, successful cultivation in, i. 49. Operations in, 108. Farther operations, see *Briton*, *Martinico*, *Haranna*, &c. see the names of commanders, Rodney, &c. and islands, Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c. — D'Estaing departs to, 487. Hostilities 1779, 509. Operations 1780, see *Rodney*. Tremendous hurricane, 589. Campaign, see *Rodney* and *Vaughan*. Attack of Tobago, see *Fergusson*. Dangerous situation of, 615, 616. Extrication, see *Rodney*. Cession of British conquests at the peace, iii. 5. French expedition to, 18. Affairs of France in, 25. Surrender of the French army in St. Domingo, 34. Capture of Surinam, 49. Lord Nelson sails to, in pursuit of the French fleet, 57. Insurrection in Hayti; Christophe placed at the head of the government, 96. Curacoa taken, 107. Danish islands taken, 116. Cayenne and Martinique taken, 139. Guadaloupe and St. Eustatius taken, 161. Insurrection at Martinique, 175. Cessions at the peace in 1814, 241. Suppression of revolt in Martinique and Guadaloupe, 278. See sir *Charles Grey*.

Ionian Isles, republic of, restored, iii. 157. Great Britain protectress of, 279. Cession of Parga, 320.

Ireland, retrospective view of, to the commencement of the present reign, begins 225, ends 230. Viceroyalty of lord Halifax, 231. Of lord Townshend, 232. Octennial law, *ib.* Affairs of, from 1768 to 1777, 444. 446. State of, considered in the British parliament, 523. Independence of parliament acknowledged, 608. State of, ii. 33. Commercial propositions, 34. Unpopular, they are relinquished, 36. Parliament offers the regency to the prince of Wales, 152. Projects of political change, 380. United Irishmen, 381. Convention bill, *ib.* Affairs of, 494. Objects and projects of the united Irishmen, 516. Correspondence with France, 518. Advances of democracy and discontent to rebellion, 520. Arrestation of the delegates, 521. Projects of union with Britain, see *Union* and *Pitt*. Insurrection in, iii. 33. Trial and execution of Emmet, *ib.* Suspension of habeas corpus act in, 37. Symptom of her growing prosperity, 71. Free inter-



change of grain with Britain, 72. Affairs of, 171. Proceedings of the catholics, *ib.* Consolidation of English and Irish exchequers, 285. Motions on the state of that country, 286.

Italy, influence of the French in, iii. 3. Bonaparte president of the Italian republic, 19. Operations of the archduke Charles in, 63. The papal dominions, with Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, appropriated by Bonaparte, 134. Operations in 1809, 148. Murat joins the allies, 230. Genoa reduced, 239. Cessation of hostilities in Italy, *ib.* Acquisitions of Austria in, 215. Return of the pope to Rome, *ib.* Murat's enterprise in, 260. Its result, 261. Murat's expedition to Calabria, 277. He is taken and shot, *ib.*

## J.

JAMAICA, terrible hurricane in, i. 590. Danger of, 616. Extricated by Rodney's victory, 618.

Janeiro, Rio de, emigration of the court of Portugal to, iii. 116.

Java, conquered by the British, iii. 175. Restored to the Dutch, 290.

— frigate, loss of, iii. 209.

Jena, battle of, iii. 85.

Jenkinson, Charles, character of, i. 334. Vindicates himself from a charge of secret influence, 649. Created earl of Liverpool, assists in the formation of the commercial treaty, ii. 60. Able speech thereon, 65.

Jenkinson, lord Hawkesbury, son to the former, able speech of, on parliamentary reform, ii. 354. Succeeds lord Grenville as secretary of state, 609.

Jervis, captain, gallant exploit of, i. 630. Becomes admiral, obtains a signal and decisive victory over the Spanish fleet, ii. 500.

Jesuits, expulsion of, i. 220.

John, archduke, operations of, against the French in Tyrol, iii. 63.

John, the painter, a spy, singular instance of depravity, i. 415.

Johnson, doctor Samuel, his "False Alarm," a pamphlet, i. 252. "Taxation no Tyranny," 352. Death, ii. 23. Character, 24. State of literature at his decease, *ib.*

Johnstone, governor, his great knowledge of American affairs, i. 311. Character of, 334. One of the commissioners for treating with America, i. 469. Charges against, by the Americans, 488. Returns to England, 490. Severe accusations against the Americans by, 497. Expedition of, to the Cape of Good Hope, 588.

Jones, Paul, depredations by, i. 493. Conflict with two British frigates, 518.

Joseph of Austria, see *Austria*. Character and projects of, ii. 14. Connexion with Russia, *ib.* Innovating schemes respecting the church, 16, 17. For naval and commercial aggrandizement, 18. Claims on the Scheldt, 20. Designs on Bavaria, 36. Disconcerted, 37. He abandons the navigation of the Scheldt, *ib.* War with Turkey, and military operations, see *Austria*. Violent desire of innovation, 174. Progress of, in the Netherlands, *ib.* to 177. Confiscation and tyranny, *ib.* Remonstrances of the people, and pretended redress, 179, 181. Increased oppression and tyranny, 182. See *Dallton*. Directs the general not to spare blood, 183. Effects theological changes by musketeers, *ib.* Drives the Flemings to rebel, 186. His troops are expelled from the country, 188. See *Netherlands*. Death, 246. And character, 247.

Jourdain, victories of, in the Netherlands, ii. 412 to 414. Campaign in Germany, 478.

Jubilee in 1809, iii. 157.

Junius, ability, object, and character of his writings, i. 251, 255.

Jury, trial by, in civil causes, extended to Scotland, iii. 253.

## K.

KATZBACH river, Bonaparte beaten there by Blucher, iii. 221.

Kaunitz, negotiates and forms an alliance between Austria and France, i. 91. Profound policy and momentous effects of that measure, ii. 163.

Kempenfeldt, admiral, intercepts a French convoy, i. 587. Lost in the Royal George, 631. Character of, *ib.*

Kent, duke of, provision for him on his marriage, iii. 306. His death, 327.

Kenyon, created lord, succeeds lord Mansfield as chief justice, ii. 136. Ability and character of, *ib.*

Keppel, admiral, commands the channel fleet, i. 490. Operations, including the

battle of the 27th July, indecisive, to 492. Disputes between him and admiral Palliser, 493. Tried and acquitted, 494. First lord of the admiralty, 608.  
 Kilwarden, lord, assassinated, iii. 33.  
 Kotzbue, assassinated, iii. 319.  
 Kospotch, general, distinguished at Charleston, i. 547.  
 Kleber, general, left by Bonaparte commander in Egypt, ii. 597. Convention with the Turks, *ib.* Renews hostilities, *ib.* Assassinated, 598.

## L.

LABEDOYERE, defection of, iii. 256. Punished with death, 277.  
 Lake, captain, dismissed for exposing a British seaman on the isle of Sombrero, iii. 160.  
 Landaff, bishop of, able speech of, on the commercial treaty, ii. 65. His view of British interference in continental affairs, 100.  
 Laon, battle of, iii. 233.  
 Lauderdale, earl of, abilities and erudition, ii. 298. The votary of parliamentary reform, *ib.* Speech of, on the cases of Muir and Palmer, 391. Opposes the new treason and sedition bills, 455.  
 Lee, general, capture of, i. 405.  
 Leeds, meeting at, iii. 323.  
 Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, dismissed from his office, i. 129.  
 Leopold, emperor, character and policy, ii. 248. Concludes peace with Turkey, 250. Offers the Netherlands a redress of grievances, 255. And adjusts all differences, 256. Circular letters of, to other princes, concerning the French revolution, 282. Prudence of, 311. Convention at Pilnitz, *ib.* Disavows hostile intentions against France, 312. Sudden death, 315.  
 ———, prince of Saxe Cobourg, his marriage to the princess Charlotte of Wales, iii. 286.  
 Lesley, general, distinguishes himself at Charleston, i. 547. Efforts at Guilford, 596.  
 Libels, seditious, law for suppressing, iii. 324.  
 Ligny, battle of, iii. 263.  
 Lincoln, American general, besieges Savannah, with the assistance of D'Estaing, i. 514. Forced to raise the siege, 515.  
 Linois, admiral, sails for the East Indies, iii. 31. Repulsed by captain Dance, 48. Captured by sir John Warren, 95.  
 Literary property, great question of, i. 315, 316.  
 Little Belt, her encounter with the President frigate, iii. 174.  
 Liverpool, town of, voluntarily raises a regiment, i. 463.  
 London, city of, remonstrances to his majesty, i. 255. Voluntary contributions for the war, 463. Police, state of, ii. 301. New law, 302. Riot in, iii. 292.  
 Louis XIV. see *France*.  
 Louis XV. see *France*.  
 Louis XVI. amiable and benignant disposition, i. 320. Moderates his absolute power, ii. 194. Popularity, *ib.* Public measures, see *France*. Distressed situation of, 202. Speech to the states-general, 207. Repairs to the national assembly, 214. Forced to Paris, 224. Melancholy procession, *ib.* Flight from Paris, 285. Seized and brought back, 286. Accepts the constitution, 311. Refuses to escape, 314. Deposed, 323. Attempt to break his spirit, 341. Trial, *ib.* No proof, *ib.* Condemnation, 342. Self-possession and magnanimity, *ib.* Last interview with his family, *ib.* Execution, 343. Complicated iniquity of the prosecution, *ib.*  
 Louis XVII. son to the above, death of, ii. 441.  
 ——— XVIII. takes refuge in England, iii. 134. Restored to France, 240. Basis of the constitutional charter, *ib.* Treaty with the allies, *ib.* Conspiracy against his government, 255. Retires to Lille, 257. Returns to his capital, 273. See *France*.  
 Louisiana, ceded by Spain to France, iii. 2. Sold by France to the United States, 34.  
 Lutz, Anthony, a private of the foreign brigade, retakes the invincible standard, ii. 620.  
 Lutzen, battle of, iii. 219.  
 Lyons, arrival of Bonaparte at, from Elba, iii. 257.

## M.

- MACDONALD, French general, efforts of, to join Moreau, ii. 547. 549.
- Mack, general, surrenders to the French at Ulm, iii. 62.
- Mackenzies, clan of, voluntarily raise two thousand men, i. 463.
- Mackintosh, Mr. answers Burke's work on the French revolution, ii. 294. Genius and erudition, *ib.* Sir James, his motion on the criminal law, iii. 313.
- Macpherson, sir John, governor-general of India, ii. 305. Able and successful administration of, 306.
- Madeira, occupied by the British, iii. 116.
- Madrid, massacre at, iii. 123. Flight of Joseph Bonaparte from, 126. Central Mahon, colonel, discussion respecting, iii. 187.
- junta established at, iii. 124. Surrender of, 128. Entered by lord Wellington, 195.
- Maitland, colonel, gallant and successful defence of Savannah, i. 514.
- Maida, battle of, iii. 75.
- Malmsbury, lord, first negotiation with France, ii. 483, 484. Second, 503. 504.
- Malta, article respecting, in the treaty of Amiens, iii. 21. Discussed in parliament, 23. Conduct of France and Spain respecting, 24. Litigation between England and France respecting, 25.
- Manchester, town of, raises a regiment, i. 463. Meeting at, dispersed by yeomanry cavalry, iii. 322.
- Mansfield, lord chief-justice, disapproves of the proceedings against Wilkes, i. 172. Opinion of, on the dispensing power, 215. Charged with altering the records, but the alteration found frivolous, 235. Doctrines on the law of libel, 268. Controverted by lord Camden, *ib.* Opinion of literary property, 316. Parliamentary character of, 335. His house destroyed by the rioters, 533. Supports Mr. Fox's East India bill, 664. Retires from the bench, ii. 133. His judicial and general character, 134, 135.
- Martinique, insurrection at, iii. 175. Suppression of a revolt at, 278.
- Maria Louisa, archduchess, married to Bonaparte, iii. 161.
- Marie Antoinette, queen of France, malignity of the Orleans faction against, ii. 222. In danger of being massacred, 224. Magnanimous heroism, *ib.* Carried to Paris, *ib.* Treatment, see *Louis*. Situation after the murder of her husband, 401. Iniquitous trial and condemnation, 402. Execution, 403.
- Mary, princess, married to the duke of Gloucester, iii. 286.
- Massena, general, operations of, in the Grisons, ii. 546, 547. Restores the affairs of the French, 552. Gallant defence of Genoa, 591. Capitulates, *ib.* His operations in Calabria, iii. 76. In the peninsula. See *Portugal*.
- Matilda, sister to his majesty, married to the king of Denmark, i. 214. Talents and character, 283. Plot against, *ib.* Charges, 284. False and slanderous, *ib.* Unworthy treatment of, *ib.* Rescued by her royal brother, 285. Death, *ib.* n.
- Mauritius, isle, taken by the British, iii. 161.
- Mawhood, colonel, gallant action of, i. 409.
- Meadows, general, commands against Tippoo Saib, ii. 306. Generous conduct, 308.
- Medellin, defeat of Cuesta at, iii. 141.
- Melville, lord, proceedings against, iii. 54. Impeached by Mr. Whitebread, 55. His trial, 73. Acquittal, *ib.*
- Menou, general, see *Egypt*.
- Milan decree, of Bonaparte, iii. 114.
- Mina, the Spanish Guerrilla chief, iii. 168. Emigrates to France, 246.
- Minorca, captured by the French, i. 88. Restored at the peace, 164. Attacked by the Spaniards, 629. Gallant defence of, *ib.* Obligated to surrender, 630. Ceded to Spain at the peace, 636.
- Minto, lord, appointed governor-general of India, iii. 97.
- Miranda, his expedition to the Caraccas, iii. 96. Its failure, *ib.* Second expedition, 185. Sent prisoner to Spain, *ib.*
- Moir, see *Rauddon*. iii. 190. Governor-general of India, 281. Created marquis of Hastings, 289.
- Monckton, general, succeeds Wolfe at Quebec, i. 103. Captures Martinico, 152.
- Moncrief, major, distinguishes himself at Charleston, i. 547.
- Montgomery, general, heads an expedition to Canada, i. 363. Progress of, 364. Besieges Quebec, 366. Killed, 367.



- Moore, general, wounded on the 21st March, ii. 620. Commands the British in Portugal, iii. 127. Advances into Spain, 129. Joined by sir David Baird, 130. Retreats, 131. Slain at Corunna, 132.
- , captain Graham, captures the Spanish treasure-ships near Cadiz, iii. 50.
- Mordaunt, general, expedition of, to the coast of France, i. 97.
- Moreau, general, campaign in Germany, and masterly retreat, ii. 479. Campaign of, in Italy, 548. Invades Germany, 591. Masterly dispositions and movements, 592. Offensive operations, 594. Battle of Hohenlinden, 595. He gains a decisive victory, *ib.* Joins Bernadotte at Berlin, iii. 221. Mortally wounded before Dresden, *ib.*
- Mornington, lord, able speech for the continuance of the war, ii. 385. Governor-general of India, 561. Reduction of Mysore, 563. Humane and wise administration of, *ib.*
- Moscow, evacuated by the Russians, iii. 198. Occupied by the French, 199. Conflagration, *ib.* Retreat of the French, 200.
- Mountain, French party, see *France*.
- Murat, created grand duke of Bergen and Cleves, iii. 78. Made king of Naples, 134. Serves in Russia, 197. Joins the alliance against France, 230. His enterprise in Italy, 260. Takes refuge in France, 261. Last enterprise and fate of, 277.
- Murray, general, completes the conquest of Canada, i. 104. Is governor of Minorca, i. 629. Indignant refusal, *ib.* And gallant defence, *ib.*
- , sir John, his abortive expedition to Tarragona, iii. 214.

## N.

- NAPLES, Bonaparte's declaration against, iii. 66. Joseph Bonaparte king of, 74. British expedition against, 148. Murat king of, 134.
- Neckar, the French minister, advises the convocation of the states-general, ii. 204. Speech in the states, 207. Dismissed, 212.
- Nelson, admiral, sent by lord St. Vincent in pursuit of the French armament, ii. 525. Descries them in Abouker bay, *ib.* Dispositions for attack, 526. Emulous ardour of the British heroes, *ib.* Rapidity of movement, *ib.* Strong position of the enemy, and collateral advantages, *ib.* Bold and surprising movement of the British, *ib.* Impetuous courage and extraordinary efforts of the French, 526. In vain combat the naval heroism of England, *ib.* Decisive and splendid victory of Nelson, *ib.* Estimate of this achievement, *ib.* Re-animates Europe, 528. Second in command in the fleet sent to the Baltic, 611. Undertakes to attack the Danes, *ib.* Battle of Copenhagen, *ib.* Victory, 612. Terminates in amicable negotiations, *ib.* Expedition of, to the coast of France, 613. Destroys the gunboats, *ib.* Pursues the enemy's fleet to the West Indies, iii. 57. And back to Europe, 58. Returns to England, and again sails in pursuit, *ib.* His victory at Trafalgar, 59. And glorious death, 60.
- Netherlands, innovations and tyranny in, see *Joseph*. The people resolve on forcible resistance, ii. 185. Declaration of rights, 186. Defeat the Austrian troops, *ib.* Form themselves into a federal republic, 187. Drive the Austrians from their country, 188. Rise of a democratical spirit, 253. Intestine contests, 254. Violence, *ib.* Civil war, *ib.* Obtains favourable terms from Leopold, 255. And find security in their ancient constitution, 256. United to Holland, kingdom of, iii. 244. Constitution of, 278. Affairs of, 290, 300. Conduct of the Dutch in the Malayan Archipelago, 321.
- Neutral privileges discussed, iii. 14.
- New Orleans, expedition against, iii. 250.
- Newcastle, duke of, made prime-minister, i. 86. Deemed weak and inefficient, 93. Affectable in manners, 162.
- Ney, marshal, defection of, iii. 257. Execution of, 277.
- Norway, transferred to Sweden, iii. 244.
- North, Frederick, lord, made chancellor of the exchequer, i. 223. First lord of the treasury, 257. Conciliatory measures respecting America, 259. Acquires great credit for financial ability, 279. Plan respecting India, 290, 292. Prosperous state of the country under, 297. At the zenith of his fame, *ib.* Coercive plan respecting America, 307. Parliamentary character of, 334. Indecisive policy, 337. Asserted to be only the tool of a junto, 338. Plan of conciliation, 346. Irresolute and wavering, 348. Supposed not satisfied with the coercive

system, 385. Appears less disposed to coercion than his colleagues, 421. Behaviour of, on the news from Saratoga, 461. Plan of negotiation with the colonies, 467. View of his administration, 520. Plan for the relief of Ireland, 524. His noted loan of twelve millions, 575. Incorrupt himself, permits corruption in others, 576. His dexterous defence, 602. Skilfully addresses himself to different sentiments and opinions, 605. Announces his resignation, 606. Character of the North administration, *ib.* Coalition with Mr. Fox, 646, 647. Becomes secretary of state, 649. Opposes the repeal of the test act as prejudicial to the church, ii. 69. Afflicted with blindness, 148. Eloquent and witty speech of, on the regency, *ib.*

Northern powers, dispute with Britain, ii. 601, 602. See *Denmark, Sweden and Paul*. Promoted by the king of Prussia, 610. Disputes adjusted, 612.

Norton, sir Fletcher, speaker of the house of commons, address of, to the king, i. 427.

## O.

OAKES, general, wounded at the battle of the 21st of March, ii. 620.

Ogilvie, lieutenant-colonel, killed in the battle of the 21st of March, ii. 620.

Orange, prince of, rebellion against, ii. 92. See *Holland*. His interests, how affected by the peace with France, iii. 9. His restoration, 224.

Orders of council to counteract the anti-commercial decrees of Bonaparte, iii. 114.

Orleans, duke of, account and character of, ii. 221. Trial and execution, 403.

Orthes, battle of, iii. 231.

## P.

PAINE, Thomas, "Common Sense," a pamphlet, inflames America, i. 394. "Rights of Man," ii. 291. Dexterous adaptation of, to the vulgar, *ib.* Astonishing popularity, *ib.* Second part of the "Rights of Man," 299. Practical exhortation, 300. Influence of, *ib.*

Paisley, riot at, iii. 323.

Palembang, capture of, iii. 196.

Palliser, admiral, under Keppel, i. 491. Conduct on the 27th of July, 492. Dispute with Keppel, 493. Tried and acquitted, 494.

Palni, murder of, iii. 80.

Pampluna, besieged, iii. 213. Taken, 216.

Paoli, general, heroic conduct of, in Corsica, i. 249. Reception of, in England, 250.

Parga, cession of, to the Porte, iii. 320.

Paris, march of the allies to, iii. 235. Battle, *ib.* Capitulation, 236. Proceedings there, on the return of Bonaparte, 258. Invested, 272. Capitulates, *ib.*

Parker, sir Peter, commands a fleet at Charleston, i. 391.

——, sir Hyde, battle with the Dutch, off the Dogger bank, i. 588. Commands an expedition to the Baltic, ii. 611.

Parliament, British, debates in, on continental alliances, i. 94. Unanimity in the administration of Mr. Pitt, 128. Liberal supplies, *ib.* Act for the independence of judges, *ib.* Dissolution, 129. Meeting of the new parliament, 147. Debates on the war in Germany, 148. Discussion of the peace, 164, 165. Cider tax levied by excise, unpopular, 168. Meeting in 1763–4, 175. Proceedings against Wilkes, *ib.* Question of general warranty, 178. Finance, 179, 181. Abuses in mad houses represented to parliament, 184. Meeting 1765, 186. Plan of taxing America, including the stamp act, discussed, 187, 189. Passed into a law, 190. Annexation of the Isle of Man, 191. Regency bill, 192. 1765–6, meets, 200. Repeal of the stamp act, proposed, discussed, and passed, to 202. Law declaring the British right of taxation, *ib.* Popular acts, *ib.* Meeting 1766–7, 214. Dispensing power discussed, *ib.* Indian affairs considered, *ib.* Law for restricting dividends, 216. New imposts on America, 217. Meeting of, 1767–8, 223. Consideration of crown grants, *ib.* Law of limitation proposed, *ib.* Postponed, 224. Parliament is dissolved, *ib.* Parliament, new, meets, 243. 1769, proceedings against Wilkes, 244, 246. Measures respecting America, 246. Affairs of the East India company, 247. Civil list, *ib.* 1770, meeting, 255. Debates on the Middlesex election, 257. On the London remonstrances, 257, 258. On the qualifications of electors, 259. Repeal of the duties on America, except tea, *ib.* 1770–1, discussion of libels, 267. Prosecution of printers, 268. Punishment of bribery, 269. Discussion of adjustment with Spain, 270. Sup-

plies, 271. 1772, applications respecting the thirty-nine articles discussed, 274, 275. Proposed bill for the relief of the dissenters, 276. Law for restricting the marriage of the royal family, 277, 278. East India affairs, 279. Supplies, *ib.* India affairs as investigated by a committee, in the recess, 288, 289. Plan of lord North for relieving the company, in three bills, 289. 292. Inquiry into the conduct of lord Clive, see *Clive*. Increase of half pay to naval captains, 294. Supplies and reduction of the national debt, 295. 1774, meets, proceedings on American affairs, 301. Boston port bill discussed, 303. 306. Act for changing the government of Massachusetts, 308. For changing the administration of justice in that province, 309. Quebec bill, 311. Passed, 313. Gold coin, *ib.* State of prisons, *ib.* Libels, 314. Supplies, *ib.* Dissolved, 333. General election, *ib.* New, meets, 335. Address to his majesty, 336. Declares Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, 343. Prohibiting bill, 344. Further proceedings, 351. 1775-6, meets, 373. View of reasonings of both parties, respecting America, 374. 376. Military force, and militia, 378. Examination of Mr. Penn, 379. Bill for prohibiting trade with America, 381. Discussion of the employment of Irish troops, 383. Subsidies to German princes, 385. Scotch militia bill, 387. 1776-7, meets, 416. Proceedings respecting America, to 419. Secession of members, 420. Reprisal bill, *ib.* Bill for seizing suspicious persons, *ib.* Inquiry concerning the conduct and treatment of lord Pigot, 424. Supplies, 425. Debt on the civil list, 427. Address of the speaker to his sovereign. *ib.* 1777-8, meets, 457. Proceedings of, to 460. Learns the disaster at Saratoga, *ib.* Discusses the propriety of voluntary contributions, 464. Various motions, see *North, Fox, &c.* Bill for conciliation with America, 468. Commissioners appointed, 469. Testimonies of gratitude to the memory of Chatham, 476. Repeal of king William's laws respecting Roman catholics, 477. Finances, 478. 1778-9, meets, 495. Strictures on the employment of Indian savages, 496. Discussion on Keppel and Palliser, 499, 500. Inquiries into the conduct of admiral lord Howe, general Howe, and Burgoyne, 503. 505. Finance, 508. 1779-80, meets, 521. Plan of systematic attack on ministers, 522. Measures for the benefit of Ireland, 523. 525. Discussion of Burke's reform, 527, 528. Of the Influence of the crown, 529. Threatened by the mob, 532. Dignified conduct of, *ib.* Discussion of the riots, 536. Finance, 537. Dissolved, *ib.* 1780-1, new, meets, 569. Choice of a speaker, *ib.* Motions against ministers, to 571. Economical reform, 571. Consideration of Indian affairs, 572. Petitions of *delegates* for parliamentary reform, 573. Discouraged, *ib.* Finance, 575. 1781-2, meets, 602. Motions against ministers, *ib.* 603. Plan of general attack against administration, *ib.* Motion for the termination of the American war, 604. Carried against ministers, *ib.* Motions for the removal of ministers, 605. Ministers resign, 606. Adjustment with Ireland, 608. Adopts part of Mr. Burke's scheme of reform, 609. Discussion of parliamentary reform, 610. Investigation of India affairs, 612. 1782-3, meets, 643. Discussion of the peace and coalition, to 648. Censure of the ministers, 648. Question of parliamentary reform, 650. Provision for the prince of Wales, 651. Indian affairs, 652. Finance, 653. 1783-4, meets, 659. Objects for consideration, *ib.* East India bill of Mr. Fox, discussed in the commons, 660. 664. Passes, *ib.* Rejected by the lords, *ib.* Alleged causes, 665. Canvassed in the house of commons. Proceedings of the commons on the dismissal of ministers, 674. Reject Mr. Pitt's East India bill, 676. Address to his majesty for the removal of ministers, 680. Dissolution, 682. And character of, *ib.* New, meets, 1784, ii. 4. Measures for the prevention of smuggling, 5. Commutation act, 6. Discussion of Mr. Pitt's plans respecting India, 8 to 11. The bill is passed, 10. Debate on the Westminster election, 11. Restoration of the forfeited estates, *ib.* See *Dundas*. Finance, 12. 1785, meets, 29. Consideration of the Westminster scrutiny, 30. Debts of the Nabob of Arcot, *ib.* Considers Mr. Pitt's plan of parliamentary reform, 31 to 33. Which is rejected, 33. State of Ireland, *ib.* Commercial propositions, 34, 35. Finance, 36. 1786, meets, 40. Considers the duke of Richmond's plan of fortification, 42 to 45. Which is rejected, see *Sheridan*. Examines and approves Mr. Pitt's plan for reducing the national debt, 46, 47. Subjects foreign wines to the excise, 47. Appoints commissioners to examine the crown lands, 48. Commences an inquiry into the conduct of Hastings, *ib.* Finds grounds of impeachment, 50. At the instance of Dundas, passes a law for improving the government of India, 51. Finance, *ib.* 1787,



meets, 62. Discusses the commercial treaty, 62 to 65. And approves the same, 65. Convention with Spain approved, 66. Consolidation of the customs, *ib.* Application from the dissenters, and reception, to 70. Motion for the relief of insolvent debtors, 70. Negatived, 72. Inquiry concerning Scotch peerages, *ib.* Affairs of the prince, 73. Satisfactorily adjusted, ii. 75. Proceedings respecting Mr. Hastings, 75 to 77. Charges of the begums, 79 to 84. See *Sheridan*. Finance, 84. Financial state of India, *ib.* 1787-8, meets, 99. Subsidiary treaty with Hesse, 100. Plans for the defence of the West Indies, *ib.* Promotion of flag officers discussed, 101. Law for explaining Mr. Pitt's India bill, 102 to 105. Extension of the mutiny bill, 106. Bill against the smuggled exportation of wool, *ib.* Bill for regulating the transportation of negroes, 110. Bill for the relief of American loyalists, *ib.* Proceedings respecting Hastings, and commencement of his trial, 111 to 114. See *Burke*. Bill for regulating contested elections, 116. Finance, 117. 1788-9, meets, 138. Proceedings on the indisposition of his majesty, *ib.* to 142. Determine that the supply of the deficiency rests with parliament, 142. Plan discussed, 145 to 150. Bill founded on it, provisionally unnecessary, 150. Repeal of shop tax, 154. Penal laws, see *Dissenters*. Slave trade, see *Wilberforce*. Finance, 159. Bill for subjecting tobacco to an excise, *ib.* Unpopular, *ib.* Modified, passes, 160. India finance, *ib.* 1790, meets, 227. Opinions on the French revolution. See *Burke*, *Fox*, and *Sheridan*. Application about the test act, see *Dissenters*. Parliamentary reform, see *Flood*. Finance, 236. Indian finance, 237. Address to his majesty on the conduct of Spain, 241. Dissolved, 242. Election, 263. New parliament, 1790-1, meet, 264. Expenses of Spanish armament, 265. Unclaimed dividends, *ib.* Discussion of policy towards Russia, 265. 267. Constitution of Canada, *ib.* to 269. See *Burke* and *Fox*. Question, if impeachments abate by a dissolution of parliament, 270. 272. Determined in the negative, 272. Liberty of the press, *ib.* Relief granted to the catholics, 273. Discussion of the slave trade, 275 to 277. Bill for a settlement in Sierra Leone, 277. Finance, *ib.* Indian finance, 278. Meets, 295. Riots at Birmingham considered, 297. Proclamations against seditious writings considered, 300. Police bill, 302. Insolvent debtors, see *Rawdon*. Slave trade, 303. Crown lands, 304. Bill for enclosing the new forest, *ib.* Finance, flattering prospect of, *ib.* India finance, flourishing state of, 305. 1792-3, meets, 332. Alien bill, 338. Augmentation of the army, *ib.* Traitorous correspondence bill, 349. Law for the relief of commercial trade, 355. Renewal of the India charter, 357. Finance, 359. 1794, meets, 384. Discussion on war and peace, to 387. Trials, and criminal law of Scotland discussed, 387 to 390. See *Adam*. Consideration of alleged treasons, 392, 393. Bill for detaining suspected persons, 394. Proceedings respecting warlike preparations, 396. Finance and subsidies, 397. Funded property of the French, 398. Discussion of treaties, 399. Inquiry into the conduct of the last campaign, *ib.* 1794-5, meets, 428. Discussion of peace and war, to 431. Inquiry into the conduct of the war, and state of the nation, 431. Provisions for the campaign, 432. Finance, 433. Discussion of the late acquittals, 434. Indian finance, 435. 1795, meets. Treason and sedition bill, 454. 459. Peace and war, 460, 461. Finance, 462. Dissolved, 463. New meets, 482. Discussion of the negotiation, 486, 487. Consideration of the state of the bank, 488. 490. Mutiny, see *Britain*. Augments the pay of the sailors, 492. Law for rendering instigation to mutiny, felony, 494. 1797-8, meets, 511. New plan of finance discussed, *ib.* to 512. Voluntary contributions, 513. Redemption of the land tax, 514. 1798-9, meets, 532. Finance, *ib.* Income tax, 533. Subsidies, *ib.* Union with Ireland, see *Union*, *Pitt*, and *Ireland*. Short meeting in September, 1799, 559. 1800, meets, 583. French offer of peace discussed, to 584. The rejection approved, 584. An inquiry into the expedition to Holland proposed, 585. Rejected, *ib.* Progress of union, see *Union*. Corn and bread bill, 587. Lord Auckland's bill for the prevention of adultery, *ib.* Proceedings on an attempt against the sovereign, 588. Last British, meets, 601. Inquiries concerning the price of provisions, and new regulations, *ib.* Negotiation discussed, *ib.* United parliament meets, *ib.* Discussion of the northern confederacy, 602. Inquiries concerning the last campaign, 609. Finance, *ib.* Further regulations for the importation of wheat, *ib.* Debates on the preliminary treaty with France, iii. 4, 5. On the convention with the northern powers, 13. Budget, 22. Debates on the definitive treaty, 23. Dissolution, 24. New parliament, 26. Pro-

posed augmentation of forces, *ib.* King's message, 28. War declared against France, 30. Conduct of ministers approved, 31. War against Holland, 32. Suspension of habeas corpus act in Ireland, continued, 37. Return of Mr. Pitt to office, 42. Plan for the military defence of the country, 44. India budget, 43. Prorogation, 44. Discussions on the rupture with Spain, 54. Budget, *ib.* Proceedings against lord Melville, 55. Change of ministry on the death of Mr. Pitt, 68. Overture from France, 69. Mr. Windham's military plan, 70. Bill respecting foreign troops in England, *ib.* Finance, 71. Measures for preventing abuses in the public service, *ib.* Bill for abolishing the slave trade, 72. India budget, 73. Trial of lord Melville, *ib.* Prorogation, 74. Death of Mr. Fox, 97. Discussions on the negotiation with France, 99. Measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war, 100. Lord H. Petty's plan of finance, *ib.* Abolition of the slave trade, 101. Catholic question introduced by lord Howick, *ib.* Change of ministry, *ib.* Arguments on the responsibility of ministers, 103. Dissolution, 104. Lord Castlereagh's military plan, 110. Sir A. Wellesley's bill for suppressing disturbances in Ireland, *ib.* Budget, 118. Financial plan of Mr. Perceval, *ib.* Bill for improving administration of justice in Scotland, 119. Mr. Wardle's charges against the duke of York, 137. Charges against lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval, 138. Mr. Curwen's reform bill, *ib.* Budget, *ib.* Bill for augmenting the militia, 139. Inquiry into the Walcheren expedition, 158. Imprisonment of Gale Jones, and committal of sir F. Burdett to the Tower, 159. Catholic question, 160. Measures for procuring a general abolition of the slave trade, *ib.* Expulsion of Mr. Joseph Hunt, a public defaulter, *ib.* Regency bill, 170. Affairs of Ireland, 171. Budget, 172. Relief of commercial distresses, *ib.* Inquiry into the state of the currency, 173. Regulations respecting the army, 174. Failure of lord Sidmouth's bill for altering the toleration act, *ib.* Provision for the royal household, 186. Returns under the population act, 187. Measures for suppressing disturbances in the manufacturing districts, *ib.* Renewal of bill for prohibiting grants of offices in reversion, *ib.* Assassination of Mr. Perceval, 189. Ministerial arrangements, *ib.* Catholic affairs, 190. Conditional revocation of orders in council, *ib.* Budget, 191. Dissolution, 192. State of affairs on the opening of parliament, 204. Causes of war with the United States, 205. Catholic question, 206. Mr. W. Smith's bill in favour of Unitarians, *ib.* Renewal of East India company's charter, *ib.* Mr. Vansittart's plan of finance, 207. Discussion on the Swedish treaty, *ib.* Subsidies to the allies, 228. Bill for taking away corruption of blood in cases of felony, 241. Regulations respecting the corn trade, 242. Budget, *ib.* National rewards to the duke of Wellington, 243. Thanks to the army, *ib.* Debate of continuing the militia, 252. Extension of trial by jury in civil cases to Scotland, 253. Bank restrictions continued, *ib.* Message from the prince regent on the return of Bonaparte to France, *ib.* Subsidies to the allies, 274. Thanks to the duke of Wellington and marshal Blucher, *ib.* Marriage of the duke of Cumberland, 275. Mr. Brougham's motion on the Christian treaty, 284. Finance, *ib.* Property tax abolished, 285. Provision for the princess Charlotte on her marriage, 286. Slave registry bill, 287. Message on the state of the country, 293. Habeas corpus act suspended, 295. Finance, *ib.* Bill for compensating civil services, *ib.* Catholic question, 296. Mr. Abbot, the speaker, succeeded by Mr. Manners Sutton, *ib.* Suspension act renewed, 298. Repealed, 302. Indemnity bill, 303. Motions respecting the bank, 305. Royal marriages, 306. Motion respecting slaves in the colonies, *ib.* Alien act, renewed, *ib.* Mr. Brougham's bill for the education of the poor, 307. Change in the Windsor establishment, 310. Consolidated fund, produce bill, 312. Arrangement for resumption of cash payments, *ib.* Trial by battle abolished, 314. Marquis Camden's tellership bill, 315. Slave trade, 317. Bill for encouraging emigration to the Cape of Good Hope, *ib.* Traverse bill, 324. Seditious libel bill, *ib.* Seditious meetings bill, 325. Newspaper stamp bill, *ib.* Training bill and seizure of arms bill, *ib.* Lord J. Russell's motion on parliamentary reform, *ib.*

Passamaquoddy bay, operations in, iii. 249.

Patterson, general, distinguishes himself at Charleston, i. 547.

Paul, succeeds Catharine as sovereign of Russia, ii. 528. Character and internal regulations of, *ib.* Rise and progress of his enmity to Britain, 603. Lawless acts of, *ib.* Embargo on British shipping, *ib.* Sudden death of, 612.

Pelham, Mr., chief minister, flourishing state of the country under, i. 74.



- Pellew, sir Edward, expedition of, ii. 596.
- Perceval, Mr., chancellor of the exchequer, iii. 102. His financial plan, 118. Charges against him, by Mr. Maddocks, 138. Assassinated, iii. 189.
- Peter III. of Russia, account of, begins, i. 158, ends, 161.
- Petty, lord Henry, chancellor of the exchequer, iii. 68. His plan of finance, 100.
- Piercy, lord, saves the British troops at Lexington, i. 357.
- Picts and Scots, i. 2.
- Piedmont, annexed to France, iii. 24.
- Pigot, lord, sent to India, i. 422. Conduct and treatment, 423.
- Pigot, general, efforts of, at Bunker's Hill, i. 361.
- Pius, VII. brought prisoner to Avignon, iii. 154.
- Pilnitz. See *Leopold*.
- Pitcairn, major, killed at Bunker's hill, i. 361.
- Pitt, William, secretary of state, i. 94. Source of his power and influence, genius and popularity, 95. He turns the fortune of the war, *ib*. Plan for the annoyance of France, 97. Comprehensive and energetic policy of, for carrying on the war, 115. Result of his administration during the first three years, 121. On him and Frederick depend the fortune of Europe, *ib*. Finding Spain hostile, proposes to strike the first blow, 138. Outvoted in council, 139. He resigns, 140. Character of his administration, 141. Employs ability wherever it is to be found, *ib*. Severely censures the peace, 164. Invited to administration, 174. But refuses the proposition, 175. Again invited to head a ministry, 196. But will not accede to the terms, *ib*. Accepts unlimited powers to form a ministry, 203. Forms an administration, 213. The duke of Grafton, first lord of the treasury, *ib*. He is himself created earl of Chatham, *ib*. Opinion on the dispensing power of the crown, 214. On the territorial possessions of India, 215, 216. His bad state of health prevents him from taking an efficient share in administration, 222. Withdraws from the council, 242. Opposes ministers, 256. Strictures on the Middlesex election, 257. Parliamentary character, and importance in debate, 335. Takes an active share in parliamentary business, 338. Speech, 339. Plan of conciliation, 340. Rejected, *ib*. Motion of, for terminating the war, 425. His last session in parliament, 458. Takes an active share in business, *ib*. Opposes American independence, 472. Last efforts, 473. Illness and death, 474. Character, *ib*. Tributes of respect and gratitude paid to his memory, 476.
- Pitt, William, second son to William above mentioned, talents and character, i. 571. First appearance in parliament, *ib*. Connects himself with no party, 609. Project of reform in parliament, 610. Appointed chancellor of the exchequer, 611. Keeps aloof from party projects and intrigues, 643. Resigns his office, 649. His specific plan of reform, 650. Advice to the ministers, 659. Opposes Fox's East India bill, see *Parliament*. Appointed prime minister, 670. Prime minister in a minority, *ib*. Tenure of his office, personal talents and character, *ib*. East India bill of, 675. The king, lords, and public, favourable to the minister, 678. Attempt to effect an accommodation between, and the coalition leaders, *ib*. Unavailing, 679. Display of his talents in the contest, 681. Commencement of his efficient administration, ii. 3. State in which he found the country, *ib*. Measures of, for the prevention of smuggling, see *Parliament*. Scheme for the relief and regulation of the East India company, see *Parliament*. Bills of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt compared, 10. Laborious investigation of public accounts, 12. Plan of parliamentary reform, 31. Negatived, see *Parliament*. Irish propositions, see *Parliament*. Announces a scheme for paying the national debt, 36. Confidence of monied capitalists in, 38. His observation on the eloquence of Mr. Fox, 41. Plan for reducing the national debt, 46. For subjecting wine to the excise, 47. Enlarged views respecting commercial policy, 59. Treaty with France, 60. Arguments thereon in parliament, see *Parliament*. His scheme for consolidating the customs, 66. Opposes the repeal of the test act as politically inexpedient, 69. Conduct of, respecting Holland, unanimously approved, 99. Introduces a bill for explaining his East India law, see *Parliament*. His opinion on the means of supplying the deficiency from his majesty's illness, 139. Contest with Mr. Fox thereon, to 142. Plan of regency submitted to the prince of Wales, 143. Disapproved, 144. Laid before parliament, 145. See *Parliament*. Tobacco bill, see *Parliament*. Opposes the repeal of the test act, as inexpedient, 234. Deems the leaders of the dissenters inimical to our establishment, *ib*. Forbears discussing the French revolution, 261. Opinion on continental inter-



- ference, 267. Canada bill, *ib.* Supports the abolition of the slave trade, 277. Disapproves of Mr. Grey's association, 299. View of the war with France, 346. Plan of, for the relief of commercial credit, 355. Arguments for the continuance of the war, 384. View of the proceedings of the democratic society, 393. Plan of, for manning the navy, 433. Declares his majesty's willingness to make peace, if attainable with security, 439. Plan for preventing seditious meetings, 456. 458. Lessens his popularity, 459. Financial ability, 462. Eloquent speech of, on the issue of the first negotiation with France, 486. Recovers a great share of his popularity, 511. Forms and proposes a new scheme of finance, *ib.* By alleviating the funding system, and raising a great part of the supplies within the year, 512. Popularity after the successes of the campaign, 532. His plan for the administration of Ireland, 535. Proposes union, 538, 539. See *Union*. Unexpected resignation, 604. 608. Character, *ib.* His sentiments on the peace with France, iii. 7. Rejects the overtures of ministers, 31. His motion on the administration of the navy, 38. Returns to office, 39. His overture to lord Grenville rejected, 42. Continental coalition, 60. Its failure, 64. His illness and death, 66.
- Plate, river, expedition to, iii. 95. Failure at Buenos Ayres, 107.
- Pococke, commands the British fleet in India, i. 113.
- Poland, parties in, i. 238. Dismemberment of, see *Frederick, Catharine, and Austria*. Wise and magnanimous efforts for recovering liberty and independence, ii. 280. New constitution of, 281.
- Pomerania, evacuated by the Swedes, iii. 109.
- Popham, sir Home, his expedition to the river Plate, iii. 95.
- Population act, returns under, iii. 187.
- Portland, duke of, dispute between, and sir James Lowther, about a crown grant, i. 223. Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 608. Made first lord of the treasury, 649.
- Portugal, invaded by the French and Spanish troops, i. 156. Who are defeated and driven off by the British, 157. Treaty with Spain, iii. 2. With France, *ib.* Mr. Pitt's sentiments on the conduct of Britain towards, 8. Arrangement respecting, at the peace of Amiens, 21. Exactions of Bonaparte from, 34. Threatened with invasion, 92. Mission of earl St. Vincent to the Tagus, *ib.* Invaded, 116. Emigration of the court to Rio de Janeiro, *ib.* Expedition to, under sir A. Wellesley, 126. Battle of Vimiera, *ib.* Convention of Cintra, 127. March of sir J. Moor into Spain, *ib.* Manifesto of the prince regent at Rio de Janeiro, 133. Return of sir A. Wellesley, 141. Soult expelled from Oporto, *ib.* Retreat of lord Wellington to Torres Vedras, 166. His march after Massena, 178. Almeida retaken, 179. (For further operations in the Peninsula, see *Spain*.) Glorious termination of hostilities in 1814, 239. Affairs of Portugal and Brazil, 299. Decree of the king respecting the slave trade, 308.
- Pownal, governor, his knowledge of colonial affairs, and sentiments, i. 311. Character of, 334.
- Pratt, lord chief justice, his opinion on the case of Wilkes, i. 173. Created lord Camden, and made chancellor, 213. See *Parliament*. His opinion on the dispensing power of the crown, 215. Opposes ministers, 256. Contraverts Mansfield's doctrines on libels, 268. Opposes the coercive system of ministers against the colonies, 311. Opinion of, on literary property, 316. Parliamentary character of, 335.
- Prague, congress at, iii. 220.
- Presburg, treaty of, iii. 65.
- President, American frigate, taken, iii. 251.
- Prevost, general, failure of his expedition, iii. 249.
- Price, Dr. political writings of, i. 352. A votary of the French revolution, ii. 261.
- Priestley, Dr. political writings of, i. 352. Attacks the doctrine of the trinity, ii. 26. Answers Burke, 290. Predicts the diffusion of virtue and happiness from the French revolution, 291. Destruction of his library, 292. Correspondence thereon, *ib.*
- Property-tax abolished, iii. 285.
- Prussia, conduct on the renewal of the war between Great Britain and France, iii. 33. Not disposed to resist the aggressions of Bonaparte, 45. Remains neutral on the coalition of England, Russia, and Austria, 62. Treaty at Vienna with France, 66. Hanover ceded to her, *ib.* Required to accept the territory in perpetuity, 77. Measures against British trade, *ib.* Conduct of Bonaparte

towards her, 78. Prepares for war, 80. Her temporizing policy, 82. Tardy application to Russia for assistance, 83. Distrusts Great Britain, *ib.* Battle of Auerstadt or Jena, 85. Losses, *ib.* Berlin occupied by the French, 86. Fall of various fortresses, 87. Advance of the Russians, 89. Their repulse, *ib.* Battle of Friedland, 108. Peace of Tilsit, *ib.* Losses sustained by her, 109. Compelled to assist France against Russia, 197. General York concludes a convention with the Russians, 217. Offers to mediate, 218. Joins Russia, *ib.* Campaign in Germany, 220. Battle of Leipzig, 222. Invasion of France, 226. Congress at Châtillon, 227. Operations of Blücher, 229. 233. March to Paris, 235. Peace, 240. The king visits England, 242. Manifesto on the return of Bonaparte from Elba, 258. League, 259. Forces in Flanders, 263. Battle of Ligny, *ib.* Retreat to Wavre, 265. Co-operation with the British at Waterloo, 270. March of Wellington and Blücher, 272. Capitulation of Paris, *ib.* Peace with France, 275. Acquisitions from Saxony and Denmark, 279. Affairs of, 291. Measures of the king for preventing the diffusion of democratical doctrines, 319.

Provost, expedition of, to assist Campbell, i. 511.

Pulteney, sir William, his able treatise against Mr. Fox's East India bill, i. 673. n.

———, sir James, son-in-law to the former, a general in Holland, praised by the duke of York, ii. 556. Expedition of, 597. Attempt on Ferrol, *ib.*

Pyrenees, battles of the, iii. 215.

## Q.

QUATRE Bras, battle of, iii. 264.

## R.

RALEIGH, sir Walter, achievements of, i. 25.

Rawdon, lord, signalizes himself at the battle of Camden, i. 549. Commands in Carolina, 296. Battle of Hobkirk-hill, *ib.* Masterly movement and victory, 597. Drives the Americans from Ninety-six, *ib.* Farther enterprises, *ib.* Enlightened and liberal policy of, ii. 72. Bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, *ib.* Postponed, new proposition, 303. Postponed, *ib.* Becomes earl of Moira, heads an expedition intended for France, but is ordered to the Netherlands, 413. Arrives at Ostend; masterly march to join the duke of York, *ib.* Able speech of, on finance, 463. Liberal and wise bill of, in favour of insolvent debtors, 609.

Reid, Dr. investigates the human mind, on principles of common sense, i. 451.

Regency act, amendment of, iii. 307.

Reserve, army of, levied, iii. 31.

Rhine, confederation of, iii. 78. Passage of that river by the allies, 226.

Richmond, duke of, character, i. 335. Proposed address to the king, 472. Opposed by lord Chatham, see *Pitt*. Motion concerning the profusion of public money, 525. Strictures of, on the execution of colonel Haines, 607. Contest with lord Loughborough, 651. Plan for fortifying the dock yards, ii. 42. Discussion, see *Parliament*.

Rigby, Mr. character of, i. 334.

Robespierre, character, ii. 339. Becomes ruler of France, 373. Abolishes christianity, and abjures the Supreme Being, 374. Extensive and ferocious tyranny, *ib.* Terrible system, *ib.* Murderous cruelties, 375. Progress of atrocity, anarchy, and atheism under, 404. 406. Overthrow and death, 423.

Robertson, the historian, character of, i. 453. Deprecates the agitation of a question about popery, 506.

Rochambeau, commands the French in America, i. 599.

Rocheftort squadron, operations of, iii. 56.

Rockingham, marquis of, made prime minister, i. 196. 202. See *George III. Britain and Parliament*. Supported by the duke of Cumberland, 197. Who dies suddenly, *ib.* Plans of, respecting America, 199. Popular measures, 203. Treaty with Russia, *ib.* Administration terminated, *ib.* Character of, *ib.* Opposes the coercive system respecting America, 311. Weight in parliament, 335. Appointed first lord of the treasury, 608. Death and character, 611.

Rodney, admiral, commands against Martinico, i. 151. Success, 152. Sails to relieve Gibraltar, 542. Obtains a signal victory over the Spaniards, *ib.* And retrieves the naval glory of England, 543. Proceeds to the West Indies, 557. Forms a new plan of attack by breaking the enemy's line, 558. Endeavours to draw the French to battle, *ib.* But they will not venture a close engagement, *ib.*

- Reduction of St. Eustatius, 590. Offers battle to the French, 591. They avoid a close engagement, *ib.* Returns to England, 593. Goes back to the West Indies with a reinforcement, 616. Pursues the enemy, 617. Battle of the 12th of April, 618. Signal victory, *ib.* Important advantages, *ib.* Summary of his exploits against our three naval enemies, 619. He is created a peer, 620.
- Romagna, marquis, his movements in Galicia, iii. 140. His death.
- Rome, influence of, diminishes, i. 238. Annexed to the French empire, iii. 154.
- Romilly, sir Samuel, his proposed alteration of the criminal law, iii. 118.
- Rumbold, governor, charges against, i. 613.
- , sir George, seized by the French, iii. 52.
- Russel, lord John, his motion on parliamentary reform, iii. 325.
- Russia, convention with Great Britain discussed, iii. 13. Accession of Sweden and Denmark to, 22. Her remonstrance with France after the murder of the duke d'Enghien, 45. Alliance with Great Britain, 60. Accession of Austria, 61. Campaign in Moravia, 63. Battle of Austerlitz, 64. The army withdraws from the Austrian states, 65. Dispute with the French in the Adriatic, 76. Preliminaries signed between her and France, 79. The emperor refuses to ratify it, 82. March of an army to assist Prussia against France, 83. Its repulse, 89. War with Turkey, 90. Battle of Eylau, 107. Of Friedland, 108. Peace of Tilsit, *ib.* Demands from Great Britain satisfaction for Denmark, 113. Overtures of Alexander and Bonaparte to Great Britain from Erfurt, 128. Acquires Finland from Sweden, 134. 155. Progress of war with Turkey, 155. 163. Menaced by Bonaparte, 176. Invaded, 197. Battle of Smolensko, *ib.* Peace with Great Britain, Turkey, and Sweden, *ib.* Battle of Borodino, 198. Evacuation of Moscow, *ib.* Conflagration on the entrance of the French, 199. Overtures of Bonaparte rejected, *ib.* Expulsion of the French from Russia, 202. Convention with the Prussian general York, 217. Truce with the Austrians, 218. Campaign in Germany, 219. Battle of Leipzig, 222. Invasion of France, 226. Congress at Chatillon, 227. Advance of Winzingerode and Czernicheff, 231. March to Paris, 235. Peace, 240. The emperor visits England, 242. Manifesto on the return of Bonaparte from Elba, 258. League, 259. Advance of the armies, 262. Peace with France, 275. Expulsion of the jesuits from Petersburg and Moscow, 291. Military measures, *ib.* Russian students withdrawn from German universities after the assassination of Kotzebue, 319.

## S.

- SALAMANCA, battle of, iii. 194.
- Santarem, position of the French at, iii. 167. Retreat of Massena from, 177.
- St. Domingo, affairs of, iii. 25. Surrender of the French army there, 34.
- St. Eustatius, taken by the British, iii. 161.
- St. Helena, Bonaparte conveyed to, iii. 273.
- St. Lucie, captured by the British, iii. 34.
- St. Sebastian, besieged, iii. 214. Taken, 215.
- Sandwich, earl, prosecutes Wilkes for impiety, i. 176. Parliamentary character of, 335. Motions against, see *Fox*.
- Saumarez, sir James, gallant enterprise at Algesiras, ii. 613.
- Saville, sir George, character of, i. 334. Proposes the repeal of an act against Roman catholics, 477.
- Saxony, alliance of, with France, iii. 83.
- Schill, colonel, heads an insurrection in the north of Germany, iii. 147.
- Scotland, affairs of, i. 447. 554. Loyal levies of men, 463. Riots in, from zeal against popery, 505. Projects of political change, ii. 382. Muir and Palmer, *ib.* Convention, 383. Misapprehension of the militia act, 505. Riots in Perthshire, 505 to 509.
- Scott, sir John, the attorney-general, bill against traitorous correspondence, ii. 348.
- , major, challenges Burke to an inquiry concerning Hastings, ii. 48.
- Scottish burghs, motion for the reform of, iii. 315.
- Sebastiani's report on his mission to the Levant, iii. 27.
- Shannon, frigate, captures the American frigate Chesapeake, iii. 209.
- Shelburne, earl, adheres to lord Chatham, i. 242. Opposes the ministerial system respecting America, 311. Parliamentary character of, 335. Motion of, concerning the profusion of public money, 525. Secretary of state, 608. Succeeds



- Rockingham as prime-minister, 611. His administration deficient in strength, 642. His conduct censured in parliament, 648. Resigns, *ib.* Made marquis of Lansdown, able speech of, on the commercial treaty, ii. 65.
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, his genius and fame, i. 572. Enters parliament, *ib.* A member of Fox's party, 643. Eloquent and witty speech on the duke of Richmond's fortifications, ii. 44. Controverses the financial plan of Mr. Pitt, 46. Splendid eloquence of, on the begum charge against Hastings, 78 to 83. Disputes the financial calculations of the minister, 158. Praises the French revolution, 231. Proposes an inquiry into the alleged sedition, 352. Arguments of, against the continuance of the war, 386. Inquiry concerning the alleged treason, 434. Opposes the treason and sedition bills, 457. Treasurer of the navy, iii. 68.
- Shoreham, singular confederacy for bribery in, i. 269.
- Sidmouth, lord, president of the council, iii. 53. Secedes from administration, 56. Failure of his bill for altering the toleration act, 174. His circular to magistrates, 296. Bills introduced by him for securing public tranquillity, 324.
- Sieyes, character and projects of, ii. 576. Plan of a new constitution, 577.
- Sinclair, sir John, character and pursuits, ii. 357. Procures the establishment of a board of agriculture, 358.
- Slavery, negro, begins to occupy the public attention, ii. 107. Arguments against, from religion, justice, and humanity, to 110. See *Wilberforce*. Opposite arguments, *ib.* Slave trade, motion for the abolition of, 157. Postponed, 158. Abolition carried in the commons, 303. But rejected in the lords, 304. New motion by Mr. Wilberforce for the abolition of, 437. Negatived, 438. Progress of measures for the abolition of, iii. 43. 72. Measures for procuring a general abolition, 160. Discussion on the registry bill, 287. Motion on foreign slave trade, 298. The trade, north of the line, abolished by Spain, 299. Treaty with Spain respecting, 306. Motion for ensuring the total abolition, 317.
- Smith, Adam, his philosophy of political economy, i. 453.
- , sir Sidney, arrives at Acre, ii. 569. Perceives the critical situation of affairs, *ib.* His first purpose to inspire the Turks, 570. Assaults by the French, 571. Inspired and headed by the English, the Turks repel the attack, *ib.* Grand assault by the French, *ib.* Employs his sailors as soldiers, *ib.* Bonaparte entirely defeated, retreats, 572. Efforts of, in the expedition to Egypt, see *Egypt*. Operations on the Neapolitan coast, iii. 74. In the Dardanelles, 104.
- , Spencer, envoy at Munich, accused by the French, iii. 40.
- Smolensko, battle of, iii. 197.
- Soult, enters Portugal, iii. 141.
- Spain, makes war with England, i. 70. After the peace, cultivates a close connexion with that country, 74. Maintains her connexion till the death of her king Ferdinand, 120. Becomes hostile to Britain, 137. Declares war against Britain, 149. Defeated by sea and land, see *Britain*. Expulsion of jesuits, 221. Dispute about Falkland's Island, see *Britain*. Restricts the inquisition, 321. Rupture with Britain, 506. Spain the aggressor, 507. Warlike operations, see *Britain and France*. Attempts to storm Gibraltar, 584. Mighty preparations and incessant efforts, *ib.* Event, see *Elliot*. Reduces West Florida, 593. Captures Minorca, 629. Renewed preparations of, against Gibraltar, with the assistance of France, 632. Immense force, new and tremendous machinery, *ib.* Event, see *Elliot*. Peace, 635. Result of the war, to 640. War with France, ii. 368. Compelled to receive peace from France, 444. War with Britain, see *Britain and Jervis*. Cedes Louisiana to France, iii. 2. Treaty with Portugal, *ib.* Colonies restored to her at the peace of Amiens, 21. Exactions of Bonaparte from, 34. Her subserviency to France, 46. Remonstrance of Great Britain on her violation of neutrality, *ib.* Blockade of Ferrol, 47. Detention of her treasure ships, 50. Negotiations at Madrid continued, 51. Declares war against England, *ib.* Junction of her fleet with that of France, 57. Battle of Trafalgar, 59. Conduct of her government on the negotiation between France and Russia, 91. Treaty with France for the partition of Portugal, 115. Abdication of Charles IV. and accession of Ferdinand VII. 119. The French in Madrid, *ib.* Ferdinand goes to Bayonne, 120. Renounces the crown in favour of his father, who transfers it to Bonaparte, 121. Massacre of Madrid, 123. Resistance of the Spanish nation, 124. Alliance with England, 125. Siege of Zaragoza, *ib.* Flight of Joseph Bonaparte, from Madrid, 126. Bonaparte recovers that capital, 128.

- Retreat of sir J. Moore to Corunna, 131. Affairs of the colonies, 133. Operations in Estremadura, 139. State of affairs at Cadiz, 140. In Catalonia, *ib.* Cuesta, defeated at Medellin, 141. Reverses in Aragon, 142. Operations in Estremadura, *ib.* Battle of Talavera, 143. Resignation of Cuesta, 144. Guerrillas, 145. Cadiz besieged, 163. Events in Catalonia, 164. Campaign on the Portuguese frontier, 165. Ciudad Rodrigo taken, *ib.* Proceedings of the cortes at Cadiz, 167. New regency, *ib.* Guerrilla chieftains, 168. Operations in Estremadura, 179. Battle of Albuera, 180. Of Barrosa, 182. Fall of Tarragona, *ib.* Surrender of Blake at Valencia, 183. Measures of lord Wellington for relieving Galicia, 184. Operations of general Hill in Estremadura, *ib.* Gallant defence of Tarifa, *ib.* Ciudad Rodrigo recovered, 192. Badajoz taken, *ib.* Battle of Salamanca, 194. Concerted movements of the French, 195. Campaign of 1813, 210. Battle of Victoria, 212. Battles of the Pyrennees, 215. Capture of St. Sebastian, *ib.* Of Pampluna, 216. The French driven into France, *ib.* Glorious termination of hostilities in 1814, 239. Conduct of Ferdinand on his return, 246. Unsuccessful revolt of Porlier, 280. Affairs of, 291. Marriage of Ferdinand VII. to his niece, *ib.* Affairs of, 299. Treaty with, respecting the slave trade, 306. Affairs of, 308. Distracted state of, 318.
- Spencer, earl, character and efforts of his administration, ii. 608. Secretary of state for the home department, iii. 68. 101.
- Stanhope, earl of, motion for the relief of non-conformists, ii. 156. His bill for preventing the depreciation of bank notes, iii. 174.
- Stirling, major of the 42d, captures the invincible standard, ii. 620.
- Stuart, sir John, his victory at Maida, iii. 75.
- Surinam, taken by the British, iii. 49.
- Stewart, lieutenant-colonel James, of the 42d, wounded at the landing in Egypt, ii. 620. n.
- Stewart, Alexander, lieutenant-colonel, commands the 42d, on the 21st of March, ii. 618. Valour and conduct, *ib.*
- Stuart, general of the foreign brigade, important efforts of, on the 21st of March, ii. 619.
- Surrey, earl of, motion of, for the removal of ministers, i. 606.
- Sutton, Manners, Mr., elected speaker of the house of commons, iii. 296.
- Suwarrow, marshal, heads the Russian army against the French, ii. 548. Campaign of, in Italy, to 551. Marches into Switzerland, 553. Not properly supported, withdraws into Germany, *ib.*
- Sweden, revolution in, i. 282. Discussion with Britain about neutral ships, ii. 602. See *Northern powers*. Accedes to the convention of Russia with Great Britain, iii. 22. King of, declares war against France, 91. Evacuation of Pomerania, after the treaty of Tilsit, 109. Cedes Finland to Russia, 134. The king deposed, 155. The duke of Sudermania elected under the title of Charles XIII. *ib.* The prince of Augustenburg, crown prince, *ib.* On his death, Bernadotte elected heir to the crown, 162. Compelled to declare war against England, 163. Change of policy, 177. Alliance with Great Britain and Russia, 197. Co-operation of the army in Germany, 221. Bernadotte at Cologne, 231. Cedes her claims on Guadaloupe to France at the treaty of Paris, 241. Transfer of Norway to, 244. Death of the king and accession of Bernadotte, 308. Discussion with Denmark, 320.
- Switzerland, influence of France in, iii. 4. Conduct of Bonaparte towards, 20. He sends an army into, 24. The Austrians pass through into France, 226. Treaty of Paris, 240. Federal union of, 245.

## T.

- TALAVERA, battle of, iii. 143.
- Talleyrand, his correspondence with Mr. Fox, iii. 69.
- Tarifa, gallant defence of, iii. 184.
- Tarleton, colonel, distinguishes himself at Charleston, i. 547. Exploits of, 549. Expedition and progress of, 595. Overpowered by numbers and defeated, *ib.*
- Tarragona, horrible massacre, perpetrated there by the French, iii. 182.
- Temple, earl, in council agrees with the opinion of Mr. Pitt, i. 139. Supports Mr. Wilkes on constitutional grounds, 173. Disagrees with Mr. Pitt about the new appointments, 213. Opposes the coercive system respecting America, 311.

- Earl, nephew of the above, alleged to interfere with Mr. Fox's East India bill, 665. Secretary of state, 666. Resigns, *ib.*
- Thelwall, John, lectures of, ii. 392. Apprehended, 393. Tried and acquitted, 428. Resumes his lectures, 433.
- Thompson, William, his able writings in the Political Herald, on the contest between Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, i. 665. n. Masterly view of the French revolution, ii. 261.
- Thurlow, heads the prosecution against Clive, i. 293. Parliamentary character of, 334. Created lord, able speech of, on the profusion of public money, 526. Opposes Mr. Fox's East India bill, 664. Opposes the liberation of insolvent debtors, ii. 72. Regards the acts of the innovating societies, sedition, but not treason, 395.
- Thurot, exploits of, i. 107, 108.
- Tierney, Mr., president of the board of control, iii. 97. His motion on the state of the currency, 311. On the state of the nation, 316.
- Tilsit, treaty of, iii. 108.
- Tippoo Saib, son to Hyder Ally, i. 581. Defeats colonel Braithwaite's corps, 626. Surprises general Mathews, 628. War with lord Cornwallis, ii. 306. Forms a new confederacy against the British, 561. War, 562. Fall of Seringapatam, 563. And death of Tippoo, *ib.*
- Tooke, Horne, his comparison of Messrs. Fox and Pitt, i. 674. n. Contest of, with Mr. Fox, ii. 263. Arrested on a charge of high treason, 393. Trial of, 425. Acquitted, 427.
- Torres Vedras, retreat of the British army to, iii. 166.
- Toulon fleet, operations of, iii. 56. Reinforced at Cadiz, 57. Sails for the West Indies, *ib.*
- Toulouse, battle of, iii. 238.
- Townshend, general and lord, compels Quebec to surrender, i. 102. Viceroy of Ireland, 232.
- Townshend, Charles, brother to the former, joins the Grenville administration in the stamp act, i. 189. Chancellor of the exchequer, 213. New project respecting America, 217. Death and character, 222.
- Trafalgar, battle of, iii. 59.
- Turkey, peace with France, iii. 3. War with Russia, 90. English squadron at Constantinople, *ib.* Expedition under sir T. Duckworth, 104. Revolution at Constantinople, 116. Another revolution, 135. Peace with Great Britain, 136. War with Russia, 155. 163. Cession of Parga to, 320.
- Tyrol, insurrection in, iii. 148. Fate of the inhabitants, 153.

## U.

- UNION with Ireland, arguments of statesmen and writers, for and against, ii. 536, 537. Motives and views of certain parties and classes, 538. Mr. Pitt's reasoning on the subject, and plan of union, 538. 540. Proposed to the Irish parliament, *ib.* Vehemently opposed, *ib.* Arguments in favour of, from the Scottish union, 541, 542. The plan, and time of commencement, are finally fixed, 586.
- Unitarians, Mr. William Smith's bill in favour of, iii. 206.

## V.

- VANSITTART, Mr. chancellor of the exchequer, iii. 191. His new plan of finance, 207. See *Parliament*.
- Vaughan, general, defence of the Leeward Islands, i. 557. Commands at the capture of St. Eustatius, 590.
- Venezuela, confederation of, iii. 163.
- Viasma, the French beaten at, iii. 201.
- Victoria, battle of, iii. 212.
- Vienna, entered by the French, iii. 63. Again entered by them in 1809, 147.
- Vimiera, battle of, iii. 126.
- Voltaire, see *France*.

## W.

- WAGER of battle abolished, iii. 314.
- Wagram, battle of, iii. 149.
- Walcheren, expedition to, iii. 151. Parliamentary inquiry into, 158.
- Wales, prince of, late, see *Frederick*. Present, see *George*. Princess dowager's



- death, i. 280. Princess of, see *Caroline*. Young princess, see *George III.* and *George*, prince of Wales.
- Wardle, Mr. his charge against the duke of York, iii. 137. Result, *ib.*
- Warrants, general, see *Parliament*.
- Warsaw, grand dutchy of, appropriated by Russia, iii. 244.
- Warren, sir John Borlase, defeats a French squadron, ii. 522. Expedition under, 597.
- Washington, colonel, masterly retreat of, with the remains of Braddock's troops, i. 84. Appointed commander in chief of the American forces, 362. Dispositions during winter, 428. Devises means of rendering their armies efficient, 429. See *Howe* and *Clinton*. Operations of, in conjunction with the French, 554. Dexterous stratagem of, overreaches Clinton, 598. Joins the forces in Virginia, 599. And effects the surrender of Cornwallis, *ib.*
- Waterloo, battle of, iii. 266 to 270.
- Watson and others, tried for high treason, iii. 301.
- Webster, colonel, distinguishes himself at Charleston, i. 547. Death and character, 596.
- Wedderburne, Alexander, defends lord Clive, i. 293. Parliamentary character of, 334. Created lord Loughborough, 560. Charge to the grand jury on the rioters, *ib.* 562. Splendid ability of, *ib.* Doctrines on treason, *ib.* Trial of the rioters, *ib.* His speech on the appointment of judges, 651. Supports Mr. Fox's East India bill, 664. Able speech on the commercial treaty, ii. 65.
- Wellesley, marquis, his able administration in India, iii. 35. Marquis Cornwallis appointed his successor, 52. His mission to Cadiz, 144. Secretary for foreign affairs, 157. Resigns, and is succeeded by lord Castlereagh, 188. Declines the overture of ministers, 189.
- Wellesley, general, afterwards DUKE OF WELLINGTON, his victories in India, iii. 56. His bill for suppressing disturbances in Ireland, 110. His expedition to Portugal, 126. Battle of Vimiera, *ib.* Convention of Cintra, 127. His return to Portugal, iii. 141. Expels Soult from that kingdom, 142. Battle of Talavera, 143. Withdraws into Portugal, 144. Operations against Massena, 166. Battle of Busaco, *ib.* Retreat to Torres Vedras, *ib.* Compels Massena to evacuate Portugal, 178. Reduces Ciudad Rodrigo, 192. And Badajoz, *ib.* Defeats Marmont at Salamanca, 194. Advances to Madrid, 195. Marches on Burgos, *ib.* Retires to the Portuguese frontier, 196. Advances to the Douro, 211. The French evacuate Madrid, and retreat towards the Ebro, 211. He pursues them to the Zadora, 212. Battle of Victoria, *ib.* Battles of the Pyrennees, 215. Capture of St. Sebastian, *ib.* Of Pampluna, 216. He enters France, and drives the French into Bayonne, 216. Battle of Orthes, 231. Directs general Hope to invest Bayonne, 232. Sends a force under Beresford to Bourdeaux, *ib.* Movements against Soult, 238. Victory of Toulouse, *ib.* Glorious termination of hostilities, 239. National gratitude on his arrival in England, 243. His victory over Bonaparte at Waterloo, 269. Paris capitulates to him and Blucher, 272. Acknowledgment of his transcendant services by parliament, 274. Generalissimo of the army of occupation in France, 276. Votes for reversing the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, 317.
- Weymouth, lord, letter to the Surry magistrates, i. 242.
- Whitebread, Mr. ingenious speech of, on parliamentary reform, ii. 354. His plan for improving the condition of the poor, iii. 103.
- Whitelocke, general, his failure at Buenos Ayres, iii. 107. His disgrace, *ib.*
- Whitworth, lord, sent ambassador to France, iii. 24. Interview with Bonaparte, 28. Insulted by him at a levee, *ib.* Negotiations protracted, 29. Quits Paris, 30.
- Wilberforce, talents and character, ii. 108. Benevolent zeal for the abolition of slavery, *ib.* Motion for the abolition of the slave-trade, 157.
- Wilkes, character of, i. 171. Writes the North Briton, No. 45, 172. Proceedings against, *ib.* Popular enthusiasm in his favour, 173. See *Parliament*. Expelled the house, 176. Retires into exile, *ib.* Returns, 234. Chosen member for Middlesex, 235. Object, 244. And measures, *ib.* Proceedings respecting, see *Parliament*. Colloquial talents, 334.
- William, Henry, prince, third son to George III. Created duke of Clarence, ii. 278. Masterly view of the slave-trade, 303. Reasoning on lord Auckland's

- bill for the prevention of adultery, 587. Provision for him on his marriage, iii. 306.
- Williams, David, esq. application to, by the Gironde rulers, ii. 366.
- Windham, Mr. distinguishes himself by a speech on the commercial treaty, ii. 65. Speech on parliamentary reform, 235. Secretary of war, plan of, for improving the militia, 434. Genius and virtues, 608. Censures the treaty with France, iii. 11. Secretary for the war department, 68. His military plan, 70. Is succeeded by lord Castlereagh, 101.
- Windsor establishment, changes in, on the death of the queen, iii. 310.
- Wolfe, general, heads an expedition to Quebec, i. 101. Achievements of, to 103. He dies in the arms of victory, *ib.* In the circumstances of his death resembles Epaminondas and Gustavus Adolphus, *ib.*
- Wolstonecraft, Mary Anne, Rights of Women, ii. 293.

## Y.

- YARMOUTH, lord, employed in the negotiation between Great Britain and France, iii. 81.
- York, Edward, duke of, dies, i. 22.
- York, Frederick, duke of, see *Frederick*.

## Z.

- ZANTE, capture of, iii. 157.
- Zaragoza, siege of, iii. 125. Second siege of, 140.

## FINIS.













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